

ued to keep fair with him, and gave him leave to erect six new Bishopricks, and to endow them with the Revenues of certain Monasteries, which he had given him leave to dissolve, but he still delayed the Case of the Divorce. *Karne* pleaded in the Consistory at several Audiences, that the King could not be obliged by any means they could use to appear at *Rome*. The Pope was not willing to pass Sentence in the Cause, and contented himself with ordering *Henry* to send his Proctor to *Rome*, giving him hopes of all manner of Satisfaction.

An Interview between the Kings of France and England. In the Month of *October* 1532. there was an Interview between the Kings of *France* and *England*, in which these two Princes agreed, that the Cardinals of *Tournon* and *Grandmont*, who were to go to *Rome* upon the Account of the King of *France*, to complain of the *Annates*, and other Exactions of the Court of *Rome*, and to desire an Interview between the Pope and that King to regulate these Grievances, should sollicite the Business of the Divorce with his Holiness, and desire that the King of *England* might be present at their Interview. *Anne Bolein*, whom *Henry* had lately made Marchioness of *Pembroke*, was at this Interview of these two Kings, and *Henry* was no sooner returned into *England*, but he married her privately, *November* 14. by *Rowland Lee*, afterward Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, who performed that Office upon the King's Assurance, that the Pope had allowed him to marry her privately.

Proposals about the Divorce. The time given the King of *England* at *Rome* to send a Procurator in Form to one of his Agents, being expired, the Process was recommended, and *Capisucchi* Dean of the *Rota* having cited him a-new, the Pope published a Breve, *November* 25. to declare these Citations sufficient. Notwithstanding these Resolutions, the King's Agents proposed divers things to the Pope, as first, that he should appoint the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Clergy of his Province to be Judges of this Matter. Secondly, to leave the Determination of it to four Arbitrators, of which *More* or the Bishop of *London* should be the first as the King should chuse, the second should be chosen by *Catherine*, and the third by the King of *France*, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to be the fourth. The third, that the Divorce should be decided in *England*, and in case of an Appeal on the Queen's part, three Arbitrators should be chosen, one by the Pope, another by the King of *France*, and the third by the King of *England*. All these Proposals were refused, and the Pope offered, that if the Court of *England* would appoint an indifferent Place, he would send a Legate and two Auditors of the *Rota* to form the Process, and then he would pass the definitive Sentence himself. This Proposal would not be accepted by the King of *England*, who resolved, whatever it cost him, to dissolve his Marriage with *Catherine*, and to raise *Anne Bolein* to the Throne.

The Act of Parliament to make the Nation of England independent. The Parliament assembled again *February* 4. 1533. and it was there declared, that the Kingdom of *England* was absolutely independent, and ought not to acknowledge any foreign Power in any Cause, either temporal or spiritual, and that all Ecclesiastical Matters ought to be determined within it self without any Appeals to the Pope; that is to say, private Causes by the Bishop of the Diocess; and, in case of Appeals, by the Archbishop of the Province; and such Processes wherein the King is concerned, by the Upper House of Convocation: That these Judgments should be executed, notwithstanding any Prohibitions which might come from *Rome*; and if any of the Clergy should refuse it, they should suffer one Year's Imprisonment, and be fined at the King's Will: That there should be no Respect or Regard had to the Censures or Excommunications, which the Court of *Rome* should denounce to hinder their Effect; and that those who should obtain them, or use them, should incur the Penalty inflicted by the Statute of *Præmunire*.

The Church of *England* about this time lost one of its eminent Members in the Person of *William Warham*, who died *August* 23. 1532. after he had enjoyed that Dignity 21 Years, having lived 83. This Bishop was a constant, sagacious, and zealous Man for his Religion, and for the Advantages of the State, and a great Protector of learned Men. It was *Henry's* Interest to fill the See with a Person entirely devoted to his present Designs, and to that end cast his Thoughts on *Thomas Cranmer*, who was one of those that had most vigorously asserted the Nullity of the King's Marriage, with *Queen Catherine*. He was born in a Village in the County of *Nottingham*, and was bred up [in *Jesús College*] in the University of *Cambridge*, where he went out Doctor in Divinity. He had suffered himself to be seduced by *Luther's* Books, and approved of his Doctrine, tho' he durst not profess it, and had great Correspondences with the *Lutherans* in *Germany*. It was he, as we have above said, that advised King *Henry* to put the Question about the Validity of his Marriage, upon the Prohibition in *Leviticus*, and to consult the Universities upon it. He was employed in *England*, *France*, and *Germany*, to get the Opinions of the Universities and Divines in favour of the King's Cause, and he was sent to *Rome* to defend it. He had been Chaplain to *Anne Bolein's* Father, had frequent Conversation with her, and had instructed her in *Luther's* Doctrine; and it was by her Commendation that he was made Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Bulls were desired of the Pope for him, who granted them to him without any Scruple, and required no more of him than 900 Ducats for them, and as a Discharge of the *Annates*. *Cranmer* accepted them, tho' he was of Opinion, that he ought not to seek to the Pope in such Cases. He was consecrated *March* 13. 1533. by the Bishops of *Lincoln*, *Exeter*, and *St. Asaph*. He was obliged to take the Oath of Obedience, which the Bishops of *England* for many Ages past, had made to the Pope before their Ordination; but he being of such Sentiments that he could not do it without acting against his Conscience, he thought to save it by a Protestation which he made, that by this Oath he did not intend by any means to bind himself up from doing his Duty, to his Conscience, the King, and the State; and that he renounced all those Clauses of the Oath, which might be contrary to the Resolution he had taken.

The first thing that *Cranmer* did after his Consecration, was to take his Place in the Upper House of Convocation, where two Questions much debated at that time, were examined; namely, Whether the Law of God did not forbid a Man to marry his Brother's Widow, if the Marriage were consummated; and whether *Arthur* had not consummated his Marriage with *Catherine*. The Lower House, which consisted only of 23 Persons, were divided about the first Question; for 14 voted that such Marriages were forbidden by the Law of God, and 7 were of a contrary Opinion; and an eighth gave his Opinion, that the Pope might dispense with such Marriages. In the Upper House this Question was disputed a long time between *Fisher* Bishop of *Rocheſter* who held the Negative, and *Stokesley* Bishop of *London* who maintain'd the Affirmative; but the Majority voted, that such Marriages were in themselves null. The second Question was sent to the Civilians, who judged, that the Marriage between *Arthur* and *Catherine* was consummated; and the Upper House of Convocation confirmed their Judgment, contrary to the Opinion of the Bishop of *Bath* [and *Wells*.]

After these Resolutions of the Clergy of *England*, the Queen was earnestly importuned to withdraw her Appeal; but she refused, and declared she would accept of no other Judge of the matter but the Pope. In the mean time *Anne Bolein* growing big with Child, so that her Marriage could be no longer conceal'd, it was necessary that *Queen Catherine's* Marriage

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The Death of Warham Archbishop of Canterbury.

Cranmer chosen to succeed him.

The Judgment of the English Clergy upon the Divorce.

The Sentence of Divorce pronounced by Cranmer.

riage should be dissolved right or wrong; and so, tho' the Cause was depending at *Rome*, and the Pope had reserved the Sentence to himself, yet *Crammer* undertook to decide it, and summoned the King and Queen to appear before him at *Dunstable*, May 20. he went thither with the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Bath* and *Lincoln*, and some Divines and Canonists. The King appeared by his Proctor. The Queen not appearing, was call'd twice, and being pronounced *contumax*, her Marriage was condemned as null from the beginning, by a Sentence dated May 23. in which the Archbishop of *Canterbury* assumes the Title of the *Legate of the Holy See*; and five days after, King *Henry's* Marriage with *Anne Bolein* was confirmed, she came to *London* in Triumph, May 29. made a magnificent Entrance, and was proclaimed Queen on the 30th. day of the same month. Then the King commanded his Subjects not to give *Catherine* the Name of Queen, and caused her to be importuned not to stand upon the Validity of her Marriage, but all in vain.

This News being carried to *Rome*, incensed that Court against *Crammer*, and the Pope made all *Crammer's* Proceedings void, denouncing Excommunication against the King and *Anne Bolein*, if they did not appear at *Rome* before the end of *September*, or if they parted not before that time. *Henry* in the mean time did his Endeavour to set the King of *France* at variance with the Pope, and to prevent the Interview which they were shortly to have at *Marseilles*, and ordered the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was gone into *France*, to be at it, to return immediately into *England*. But *Francis I.* who had some private Interests of his own to carry on, would not break with the Pope, and engaged *Henry* to send *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Sir Francis Brian*, to *Marseilles*, assuring him, that he would endeavour a Reconciliation between him and the Pope. In the mean time the Cardinals of *Tournon* and *Grandmont* engaged the Pope to give farther time to the King of *England*, which made some think that it might be amicably ended at the Interview at *Marseilles*. The Business being then propounded to the Pope by the King of *France*, *Henry's* Ambassadors were sent for; but they said that they had no Order to submit to the Pope's Judgment; but on the contrary, *Bonner* declared in the Name of his Master, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that they would not acknowledge him for their Judge, but appealed from all he had done to a future General Council. This Conduct extremely angered the Pope, who remitted the Matter to be determined in the Consistory. *Francis I.* not being able to pacify his Holiness, sent *Du Bellay* Bishop of *Paris* to *London*, soon after his Return from *Marseilles*, to complain of the Conduct of *Henry's* Ambassadors at *Marseilles*, and to engage that King to re-commence a Treaty with the Pope. The Bishop of *Paris*, who had been in *England* before, and was very zealous for *Henry's* Cause, offered himself to go to *Rome* to transact that Affair, and undertook that Journey in the midst of Winter. Being arrived there, he ordered things so well, that Men began to hope that the King of *England* might have some Satisfaction. *Du Bellay* reckoned upon several Cardinals, and accordingly wrote an Account of it both into *France* and *England*. Nevertheless, when the Matter was proposed in the Consistory, May 23. 1534. of the 22 Cardinals, there were 19 of Opinion, that the Marriage of *Henry* and *Catherine* was good, and that the King should take her again for his Wife, under pain of Excommunication. This Decree was drawn up, and declared by a Majority of Voices, and the Proceedings in *England* for the nulling of the Marriage of *Catherine* with *Henry*, were declared null, his Marriage with her pronoun-

ced good and lawful, and the Children born, or to be born of it, legitimate, and he was enjoined to take her again for his Wife, and forbidden to continue his Separation from her any longer. Two days after this Sentence was passed, came a Courier from *Henry* to *Rome*, who brought a Submission from him, and the King of *France's* Letters, to desire the Pope to accept it; but it was to no purpose, for the Sentence was drawn up, and pronounced (m).

The King of *England* called his Parliament, January 15. and there they laboured to abolish the Pope's Power intirely in *England*. In it was enacted, that none should go to *Rome* about any Matter, nor procure any Bulls from thence, nor Provisions for any Benefice; that none should go to *Rome* to obtain Dispensations, but all were to apply themselves to the Archbishops of the Kingdom, who might grant Dispensations in such things, as were not settled by the Law of God, and with which the Church hath used to dispense. They continued to give the King the Title of *Supreme Head of the Church in his Kingdom*, and consequently acknowledged, that he had Power to appoint and confirm the Elections of Bishops and Abbots; to judge of Ecclesiastical Affairs at the last Appeal; to visit the Monasteries, examine Privileges and Exemptions granted by the Court of *Rome*, and exercise the same Authority, which the Pope before used in *England*. However all Expeditions which had been brought from *Rome* before the 12th. of *March*, 1534, were confirmed. It was also farther declared, that neither the King nor his Subjects, did intend to depart from the true Doctrine of *Jesus Christ*, nor from the Articles of Faith held by the Catholick Church. This Law was made with the full Consent of both Houses, but in the House of Lords there were none present of the Clergy but the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Lincoln*, *Bath*, *Landaff*, and *Carlisle*, with 12 Abbots. *Fisher* Bishop of *Rocheſter* opposed it zealously, both before and after the Session of Parliament. The same Parliament repealed the Act made against Hereticks in the Reign of *Henry IV.* by which the Bishops were allowed to imprison any Person suspected of Heresie; but confirmed the Acts made against Hereticks in the Reigns of *Richard II.* and *Henry V.* and it was enacted, that none should be prosecuted for Heresie, but upon an Accusation in Form, proved by two Witnesses: That the Person accused may be sent to Prison after this; but he shall have liberty given him to defend himself in open Court: That if he be found guilty, and refuseth to abjure, or after relapseth, the Judges may condemn him to death; but the Sentence shall not be executed but by the King's Order. They also settled the Succession of the Crown upon the Children that should be born of *Anne Bolein*; and the Princess *Mary* Daughter of *Catherine*, was excluded. The King also appointed 32 Commissioners, of whom 16 were chosen out of the two Houses of Parliament, and the like Number of the Clergy, to examine the Ecclesiastical Laws, and confirm, or disannul them, if they were thought contrary to the Laws of the Nation.

At the same time there was in *England* a Nun of *Kent*, named *Elizabeth Barton*, who ruin'd her self thro' her own Folly, and involved several other Persons in the same Misfortune. This Maid was born in the Parish of *Aldington*, in the County of *Kent*. She was subject to Fits, and fell often into Trances, which were accompanied with Convulsions and strange Motions of the Body, in which she pretended to Inspirations and Revelations. She lived a very austere Life, and used long Fasting; and tho' her Conversation was very extraordinary, yet nothing

[(m) Bishop *Burnet* says, that when King *Henry's* Submission came to *Rome*, the indifferent and wise Cardinals came to the Pope, and desired that the Cause might be brought again into the Consistory. And that it was so, but then the Imperi-

allists so managed the Matter, that the Pope and Consistory confirmed the Sentence anew, and ordered the Emperor to execute it. *Hist. Reformat. part 1. lib. 2. pag. 136.*]

irregular was found in her Life. In a little time she got a great Reputation, and all People went to see her, either out of Curiosity or Devotion. Not only the Rabble believed her Prophecies, and thought her inspired, but some very judicious Persons besides, set a great Value upon them. *Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury* consider'd her much, and *Fisher* Bishop of *Rocheſter* believed her to be a Saint, and gave credit to her Revelations. Chancellor *More* was not quite of the ſame Opinion; but he did not ſuſpect her to be an Impoſtor, only look'd upon her as a deceived Maiden, and he calls her in his Letters *The ſilly Nun*. This great Man's Judgment ſeems to be the moſt true of her; and that this Maid was neither a profligate Woman, nor an Hypocrite, as her Enemies gave it out of her; nor a Prophetess who had true Revelations, as her Complices maintain'd, but a ſilly Maid, who took the convulſive Motions which were ſtirred up in her by Vapours to be Extacies, and the Fancies of her diſtemper'd Brain for Revelations. But however that was, this Nun either of her own Head, or by the Inſtigations of *Catherine's* Servants, undertook to ſpeak againſt the Divorce, and propheci'd againſt *Henry*, that if he diſſolved his Marriage with *Catherine*, and married another Woman, he ſhould not reign a Month; that God would forſake him, and he ſhould come to a tragical End. She had this Diſcourſe, and others like it, with the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and ſeveral other Perſons, who wiſhing well to *Catherine* defended them. Both ſhe, and thoſe that heard them, were accuſed of High-Treaſon. She was arreſted in November 1533. with *Richard Maſter*, *Dr. Bocking*, *Richard Deering*, *Henry Gold*, a Parſon of a Pariſh in *London*, *Hugh Rich*, a Franciſcan, *Richard Riſby*, *Thomas Gold*, *Edward Thwaites*, *John Addiſon*, *Thomas Lawrence*, and *Tho. Abel*: They were all attain'd, and *Eliz. Barton*, *Bocking*, *Maſter*, *Riſby*, *Deering* and *Gold*, were condemn'd to ſuffer Death. *Rich* was either pardon'd or died in Priſon: The reſt were condemn'd to remain in Priſon, during the King's pleaſure, and all their Goods forfeited. The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* and Sir *Thomas More*, were accuſed of the ſame Crimes; but the laſt of them by proving that he never believed her Prophecies, and that in the Diſcourſe he had with her, there was nothing ſpoken about the King, obtained that his Name was never put into the Attainder. As for the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, he could not deny but that he had an Eſteem for her, and that ſhe had ſpoken ſuch things as concern'd the King to him; but he excuſed himſelf, by ſaying, that he did not think that it was a Crime to keep a thing ſilent that was publick, and which the Nun had ſpoken to the King himſelf. This was the Beginning of the Diſgrace of *More* and *Fisher*, which was ſoon after attended with a tragical End, as we ſhall ſhew preſently.

The Seſſion of Parliament being ended, the King ſent his Commiſſioners into all Parts, to have the Act ſubſcribed, by which every one was to take an Oath to obey the King and his lawful Succeſſors, born, or to be born of his Marriage with *Anne Boleyn*, and acknowledge no foreign Power or Authority, but the King to be the chief Head of the Church of *England*. It was ſubſcribed by the Biſhops, Abbots, Parſons, and Monks, and all other Perſons of Note in the Kingdom. It was offered to *More* and *Fisher*, but they reſuſed to ſign it; not ſo much upon the Account of the Succeſſion, for they offered to accept that Article, but chiefly upon the Account of the Supremacy, which was taken from the Pope, and given to the King. This Reſuſal provok'd the King ſo highly, that he impriſon'd them in the Tower of *London*, where they were very hardly uſed. They were attain'd by Parliament, their Goods conſiſcated, and they themſelves

ſome time after condemn'd and executed. *Fisher*, who was made Cardinal in his Imprisonment by Pope *Paul III.* had his Head cut off, June 15. and *More*, July 6. 1535. The ſame Severity was uſed towards all others, who would not ſubſcribe the Act of Supremacy and Succeſſion; and ſome time before, a Doctor of Divinity, a Monk of the Abby of *Sion*, named *Reginaldus*, ſeveral *Carthuſians*, one *Hall* a Secular Prielt, and ſome others, were put to Death for the ſame thing. Mr. *Burnet*, as favourable as he ſhews himſelf to this King, owns, that this tragical Buſineſs has left one of the greateſt Blots upon his Memory, who, as he obſerves, having reigned 25 Years without putting (n) any Man to Death for any Crime againſt the State, did in the laſt ten Years of his Life obſerve no Moderation in his Executions.

The King having thus ſettled his Supremacy by Violence, gave *Cromwel* the Title of his Vicar-General, and Viſitor of all the Convents, and privileged Places in *England*. *Cromwel* was the Son of a Smith, and had learned the Trade of a Barber; but being diſcontented at his Trade, he took Arms, and was at the ſacking of *Rome*. Being returned into *England*, he got into the Service of Cardinal *Wolſey*, was much truſted by him, and by that means had a conſiderable ſhare in publick Affairs. After *Wolſey's* Death he continued in favour with the King, and becauſe he was a dexterous Man, devoted to the Interests and Paſſions of his Maſter, an Enemy to the Pope and the Monks, a *Lutheran* in his Judgment, and firm to the Party of *Anne Boleyn*, the King left the Care of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs to him, and made him his Vicar-General and Vicegerent in all Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes. He immediately betook himſelf, according to the King's Intentions, to the Diſſolution of the Monaſteries, that he might turn all the Revenues to the King's Advantage. He viſited the Monaſteries, and formed what verbal Proceſſes he pleaſed. *Cranmer* alſo made his Metropolitane Viſitation in his Province, and carried on the ſame Deſign with *Cromwel*. The Effect of theſe Viſitations was the Suppreſſion of 376 Abbies, which was enacted by the Parliament aſſembled in February 1536. and their Revenues were given to the King.

While theſe things were in agitation, the unhappy Queen *Catherine* died at *Kimbolton*, January 8. 1535. being 50 Years of Age, after ſhe had lived 33 Years in *England*. Mr. *Burnet* can't forbear drawing the Character of this Princeſs, in theſe Words. 'Catherine was eminent for her Piety, and Application to heavenly Things, living in great Aſterity and Mortification, working with her own Hands, and taking care in the miſt of her Greatneſs to keep her Women conſtantly employ'd.' She had a great Soul, and ſhewed as much Courage and Conſtancy in her Adverſity, as ſhe had done Moderation and Meekneſs in her Proſperity. She bore the Diſgrace ſhe lay under to the laſt, with a truly Chriſtian Patience and Humility, yet without doing any thing prejudicial to her royal Dignity, or the Interest of her Daughter *Mary*, altho' all ſorts of Threatnings and Artifices were made uſe of to bring her to ſome Act that might ſhock the Validity of her Marriage. Juſt at her Death ſhe wrote a moſt melting Letter to the King, in which ſhe adviſeth him to think upon his Salvation, and pardon'd him all the Troubles he had given her. She recommended their Daughter *Mary* to him, and implored him to love her always with the Tenderneſs of a good Father. She prayed him to marry her three Maids of Honour, and to give her other Servants one Year's Wages beſides what was due to them. The Letter concluded with theſe Words, *I proteſt that my Eyes deſire you above all Things.* *Henry* ſeemed to be ſenſibly moved at this Letter and her

[(n) This is too haſtily expreſt. King *Henry* cut off two great Men before, *Pool* Earl of *Suffolk*, and *Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*; and ſo Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, in the very Place

which *Du Pin* here mentions. *Hiſtory of the Reformation Part 1. Book 3. Page 180.*

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The Condemnation and Execution of Anne Bolein.

Death. He caused her to be interred in the Abby of *Peterborough*, which was afterwards turned into a Cathedral Church.

Anne Bolein, who could not forbear shewing an excessive Joy at the Death of *Catherine*, did not long enjoy that Satisfaction, for the King being enamoured with *Jane Seymour*, and displeased with her Carriage, ordered her to be apprehended. She was accused of abandoning herself to her own Brother the Viscount *Rockford*, to one *Norris*, *Weston*, and *Brereton*, even to a poor Fidler, one *Smeton*. She, and those who were accused to have had a criminal Commerce with her, were try'd, tho' none but *Smeton* confessed it. She was condemned to be burnt, or beheaded at the King's Pleasure. The Viscount *Rockford* and the other Four were to be beheaded. Before this Sentence was executed she was forc'd to declare before the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Ecclesiastical Court, that before she marry'd the King there was a Promise or Contract of Marriage between her and the Lord *Percy*, who was then become Earl of *Northumberland*; and upon this Declaration *Cranmer* passed a Sentence, by which her Marriage with the King was declared null, and her Daughter *Elizabeth* declared illegitimate, as *Mary* the Daughter of *Catherine* had been. Then she was beheaded May 19. 1536. (o) having shewed a great deal of Weakness, and even of Folly, in the last part of her Life. The next Day after her Death *Henry* marry'd *Jane Seymour*, with whom he was passionately in Love. The Princess *Mary* was received into Favour after she had acknowleg'd in Writing that the King was Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, and that the Marriage of her Mother was null (and incestuous.)

Articles of Doctrine for England.

In the following Parliament, which was held in July 1536. a very severe Law was made against those who should acknowledge the Authority of the Pope, and by another Act all the Privileges, Immunities and Exemptions granted by the Pope were taken away. In the Convocation of the Clergy Matters of Religion were debated, and after many Disputes these following Articles were agreed on: 1. That all the Bishops and Preachers should recommend to the People to believe whatsoever is contained in the Scripture and the three Creeds, and to reject all Heresies contrary to them. 2. That Baptism is a Sacrament necessary to be administer'd to Infants, for obtaining the Pardon of Original Sin and Eternal Life. 3. That Repentance, commanded by Jesus Christ is necessary to procure Forgiveness of Sins; that it is made up of three Parts, Contrition, Confession, and Satisfaction; that Confession to a Priest is necessary, and that Absolution is appointed by Jesus Christ, which gives the Priest Power to remit Sins; that the Use of auricular Confession is not to be taken away, and that the Satisfaction of Jesus Christ doth not exempt us from the Fruits of Repentance, or Works of Satisfaction, such as Prayer, Fasting, and Alms-deeds. 4. That in the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper the same Body of Jesus Christ which was born of the Virgin is really and substantially received under the Elements of Bread and Wine. 5. That to be justify'd and to obtain Remission of our Sins we must have Contrition, Faith and Charity. 6. That the Use of Images is allowable, and that it is not forbidden to burn Incense, or kneel before them, provided that we consider that Honour as a Relative Worship only, which is paid to God, and not to the Image. 7. That it is a good thing to reverence the Saints, and to pray to them to intercede for the Faithful. 8. That Ceremonies are to be retained, as good and commendable, as also the Ornaments of the Priests, the Use of Holy Water, consecrated Bread, and burning Ta-

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pers, &c. 9. That it is a good Work and a charitable Action to pray for the Souls of the Dead, and to say Masses for their Release. To this Article was added, that tho' the Scripture mentions neither the Place where these Saints are nor the Pain they suffer, we ought to recommend them to the Mercy of God, and take away several Abuses practis'd in favour of Purgatory, as the Virtue attributed to the Indulgences of the Popes to deliver Souls out of it, and the Virtue of Masses said in certain Places, and before certain Images, &c. The King confirmed these Articles, and ordered them to be published, enjoining the Bishops to preach them to the People; most of these Articles are very Catholick, and the Errors of the *Lutherans* and *Sacramentarians* are very plainly condemned, for *Henry VIII.* was so far from approving or favouring them, that he would never endure them to teach in his Kingdom, and punished those severely who had the Rashness to attempt it. Nevertheless he did not spare the Abbies and Nunneries, but dissolved them all, that he might seize their Revenues. The Abbots and Monks were obliged to resign, and if they would not do it they seized them by force, and turned out the Monks and Nuns. The King made himself Master of all their Lands, and to engage the Nobility he sold them at easy Rates to the Lords and Gentlemen, for whom they lay most conveniently. The People were much discontented at this Suppression, and it caused great Risings in the Counties of *Lincoln*, *York*, and *Lancaster*, but *Henry* having routed the Rebels made them lay down their Arms and accept of a Pardon. He went on the next Year (1537) to force the Monks to resign, or to seize on the Monasteries. The Abbots of *Glastenbury*, *Reading*, and *Colchester*, making Resistance were condemned to suffer Death. The Churches belonging to the Monasteries were pillaged and destroyed, the Images and Relicks of Saints trampled under Feet, the Shrines and Ornaments taken away. The Body of *St. Thomas* of *Canterbury* was burnt, his Shrine broken, and the rich Ornaments carried away; the Priests and Monks who opposed these Disorders were imprisoned and put to Death.

Reginald Pool, who was of the Royal Blood, being descended by the Mother's side from the Duke of *Clarence*, the Brother of King *Edward IV.* and related to *Henry* in the same Degree by his Father's side, departed the Realm, because he could not approve either of *Henry's* Divorce, or of his breaking with *Rome*. He retired into *Italy*, and there wrote a Book, *Of the Unity of the Church*, in which he declaims in a very vehement manner against *Henry's* Conduct, who was so enraged at it that he deprived him of all his Dignities and all his Estate which he had in *England*. But the Pope and Emperor took care to make up his Loss, and *Paul III.* rewarded him with a Cardinal's Hat. His Relations and Friends in *England* who held a Correspondence with him were brought into Disgrace, and most of them condemned upon several pretences. His Brother the Lord *Montague*, the Marquis of *Exeter*, Sir *Edward Nevil*, the Countess of *Salisbury* his Mother, and some others, were put to Death in 1538. and the Cardinal himself was for Contumacy pronounced guilty of High Treason.

The Pope's Bull against the King of England.

The News of the Dissolution of the Monasteries, and the Persecutions raised in *England* against such as defended the Pope's Supremacy, being carry'd to *Rome*, *Paul III.* the Successor of *Clement VIII.* who had hitherto deferred to publish and order the Execution of his Sentence of Deposition against *Henry*, and of his Interdict of the whole Realm, which he had given August 30. 1535. did it now by his Bull of January 1. 1538. *Henry* to secure himself from this

[o] Tho' in this whole Account the Truth is no where disguised, yet it is so much concealed that the Memory of *Anne Bolein* suffers much. She testify'd her Innocence constantly to the Hour of her Death. *Smeton* was condemned before her Trial, that he might not then be confronted with her. *Norris* was

offered his Life if he would accuse her, which rather than he would do he chose to die. And the Acts of Folly which this unfortunate Queen shew'd after her Apprehension were the Effects of Vapours, which her unexpected Misfortunes threw her into; these things should not have been omitted.]

The History of the Divorce of Henry 8. of England, &c.
The Six Articles against the Lutherans and Sacramentarians.
 Bull obtained a Declaration from the Bishops of his Kingdom, by which they acknowledged that the Pope has no Right to assume to himself a Power to depose Kings, and to shew that he intended not to depart from the Faith of the Roman Church, he shewed more Zeal than ever against the Lutherans and Sacramentarians, and in the Year 1539. caused Six Articles to be drawn up, and to be established by the Parliament, namely, 1. That after the Consecration of the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament there remains none of the Substance of the Bread and Wine, but the natural Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are there under the Elements. 2. That it is sufficient for Salvation to receive the Communion under one kind alone, since the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are contained under each Element. 3. That it is not lawful for those that are in Holy Orders to marry. 4. That a Vow of Chastity is necessarily to be observed if it be made after the Age of 21 Years. 5. That the Use of private Masses is commendable and profitable. 6. That the Practice of auricular Confession ought to be retained in the Church as a thing very necessary. These Six Articles were imposed by Authority of Parliament, which commanded under Pain of Death, that no Preachers should obstinately oppose them in their Sermons or Writings. The Marriages of Priests were declared void, and all those ordered to be punished with Death that should marry. In this Parliament he also obtained that the great Abbies, which had been spared hitherto, should be suppressed. The King got by those rich Spoils, and founded some new Bishopricks, which he endowed with part of the Revenues of these Abbies. He also seized upon the Revenues of several Hospitals, and particularly of those of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.

Henry marry'd to Anne of Cleve.
Cromwell's Disgrace and Condemnation.
Jane Seymour, the third Wife of Henry, dying in the Year 1537. Two days after she was delivered of Edward, the King, by the Advice of Cromwell, marry'd the Princess Anne of Cleve, but she was no sooner arrived in England but he took a Dislike at her, and immediately after his Marriage endeavoured to break it. Cromwell, who had advised this Marriage, was soon disgraced, and the King, who had made him his Vicegerent in Spiritual Affairs, and Lord Privy-Seal, and had lately conferred on him the Title of Earl of Essex (p), and the Office of Lord-Chamberlain, ordered him to be arrested, and carry'd to the Tower of London, June 11. 1540. His Trial was brought on in a little Time, and he was accused of Heresy, maintaining a Correspondence with the Lutheran Princes in Germany, Bribery, and

The History of the Divorce of Henry 8. of England, &c.
Henry's Marriage with Anne of Cleve declared null.
Henry marry'd to Catherine Howard.
 Extortion, and was attainted by Parliament as an Heretick and Traitor, and all his Goods forfeited to the King. He was no sooner condemned but the King sought to dissolve his Marriage with Anne of Cleve. The Causes alledged for the Nullity were, That she had been before contracted to the Marquis of Lorrain, and that the King having marry'd her against his Inclination had never consummated the Marriage. Upon these Reasons, as weak as they were, the Parliament declared the Marriage null, and Cranmer and the rest of the Clergy were of the same Opinion, and so the Sentence which declared this Marriage null was given July 9. The Queen consented to it, and remained ever after in England. The King soon after marry'd Catherine Howard, whom he had a passionate Love for. Cromwell was beheaded July 28.

An Instruction drawn up by Henry's Authority about Religion.
 The Commissioners whom the King had appointed for Ecclesiastical Affairs drew up a long Instruction, in which, after they had explained the Articles of the Creed, they owned Seven Sacraments, made the Sacrament of Penance to consist in the Absolution of the Priest, and declared Confession to be necessary, owned Transubstantiation, and the Union of the Body and Blood in either Element, allowed of the Worship of Images and Invocation of Saints, and Prayer for the Dead, and all the other Catholick Doctrines except the Supremacy. They also held Free-Will, and the Merit of good Works. These same Commissioners regulated also the Ceremonies and Rites then in use, according to the practice of the Primitive Church, but alter'd nothing of the outward Worship. Doctor Barnes and some others having preached against this Doctrine were condemned to Death as Hereticks. In short, Henry punished with Death Lutherans, and the Defenders of the Pope's Supremacy alike. Catherine Howard behaved herself no better than Anne Bolein had done before. (q) Cranmer discovered that she lived a loose Life, and it being proved against her she was condemned to Death by an Attainder of Parliament, and her head cut off February 12. 1542. King Henry's sixth Wife was Catherine Parr, the Widow of Nevil, Lord Latimer, whom he marry'd in July 1543. Though she favoured the Protestants, yet the King did not stop the Execution of such as were proved to be Lutherans or Sacramentarians. In a word, Henry to his Death continued in the same Judgment as to his Religion, but never would return to the Church of Rome, and in this Disposition he died, January 27. 1547. being 56 Years old, having reigned 37 Years and 9 Months.

[(p) It is Exeter in the Original, which was certainly a Mistake, committed thro' heedlessness.]

[(q) In truth much worse, for her Incontinency was plainly proved, and has never been denied.]

C H A P. XXVII.

The Death of Clement VII. The Election of Paul III. A General Council appointed to meet at Mantua, then at Vicenza, and at last prorogued. A Draught of a Reformation of the Abuses of the Court of Rome, composed by Order of Paul III.

The Death of Pope Clement VII. and Election of Paul III. A General Council appointed, &c.
 POPE Clement VII. died at Rome, Septem. 25. 1534. Aged 56 Years. His Papacy, which lasted near 11 Years, being full of Troubles, and his Death was so far from causing Grief, that the Italians much rejoiced at it, because they hoped that their Miseries would die with him, and besides they hated him for his Covetousness and Cruelty. The Cardinals entered into the Conclave October 12. and chose the next Day Alexander Farnese Dean of the

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 Sacred College, who took the Name of Paul III. because he was born in the Papacy of Paul II. in 1468. This Pope did not seem so averse from the calling of a Council as his Predecessor had been, but on the contrary he was the first that proposed it in a General Congregation of Cardinals, held October 16. He there declared, that the holding of a General Council ought not to be put off any longer, and that without it it was impossible for the Christian Princes to

live in good Understanding with one another, or to root out Heresies. He appointed Commissioners to consult about the Time, Place, Form, and other Preparatives for a Council, ordering them to bring in their Opinions at the first Consistory which should be held after his Coronation. He exhorted the Cardinals to begin a Reformation among themselves. At the first Consistory, which was held November 13. he appointed six Cardinals and three Bishops to make a Reformation in the Court of Rome. He recalled

Vergerius the Nuncio out of Germany, to learn from him the State of the Protestants, and what Methods were properest to remedy the Troubles of Germany. *Vergerius* having assured him that the sole Means to settle Things and bring in the Protestants would be to call a Council, the Pope sent him back into Germany as his Nuncio, with a Commission to take Measures with the Catholick and Protestant Princes about the holding of a Council. He charged him to prevent a National Council's being held in Germany, and to propound the City of Mantua to both Catholick and Protestant Princes for the place of the meeting of the Council. *Vergerius* executed his Commission exactly, and the Catholick Princes agreed to the place, if the Emperor did not dislike it; but the Protestants who were met at *Smalkald* in 1535, being 15 Princes, and the Deputies of 30 Cities, answered, that they had desired a free Council to be held in Germany, and would not consent to the City of Mantua, nor trust to the Pope's promises either for their own Safety or the Liberty of the Council: That the Form and Manner of holding it ought to be first settled, for to leave it to the Pope was to make him Master of the Council: That a Council is not the Pope's Tribunal only, but respects all Orders in the Church, not excluding even the Laity: That the Pope being a Party it was but reasonable that the Princes should determine the Form and Manner of holding the Council: That if the Pope would be President, and hinder such things as have been determined by former Councils to be again debated, it would be to prejudge the thing in question. The Kings of France and England had Ambassadors at this Assembly at *Smalkald*. The former made an Excuse to the Protestants for the Severity that had been used against those Subjects of his Master's who were of their Opinion, and offered his Assistance to compose their Differences, by a Conference between their Divines and the French. Lastly, he prayed them not to consent to a place for the sitting of the Council but in concert with him. The King of England absolutely refused the proposal of the sitting of the Council at Mantua, and every where else where the Pope should preside. He assured them that he agreed with them as to what concerned the Pope's Authority, but that there were several Articles in the Confession of *Augsburg* which he could not approve of.

Mantua propounded for the Place of its sitting.

The Papists consent to it, but the Protestants refuse.

A Council appointed at Mantua.

In the beginning of the Year 1536 *Vergerius* returned to Rome, and gave the Pope an Account of the Disposition of the Protestants, and then went to Naples to acquaint the Emperor with it, who departed immediately to Rome, and arrived there April 5. This Prince had long Discourses with the Pope about the Affairs of Germany and Italy, and they agreed together that his Holiness should appoint a General Council at Mantua. To this End a Bull was drawn up and publish'd in the Consistory, June 2. In it the Pope declares, that from the beginning of his Papacy he had desired nothing more than to free the Church from the Errors and Heresies that were crept into it, and to restore its ancient Discipline, and finding no better Means to do it than by calling a General Council, as he had done upon the like Occasions; he had written several times to the Emperor, and other Kings about it, and by virtue of that absolute Power which God had given him, by laying on him the care of his Church, he called a General Council of all Christendom on May 27. 1537. to meet at Mantua, commanded all Bishops

and Prelates to be present at the time appointed upon the Obligation of the Oath which they had taken to the Holy See, and under the Penalties inflicted by the Holy Canons; he prayed the Emperor, King of France, and all other Kings and Princes, to be present in Person, or at least to send their Ambassadors, and to oblige the Bishops of their Countries to come and remain there till it should be ended, and to determine what should be necessary for the Reformation of the Church, Extirpation of Heresies, and carrying on a War against the Infidels. He also published another Bull for the Reformation of the Church of Rome, and appointed a Congregation to labour in it. Then he nominated Nuncio's to carry and notify the Bull for the calling of a Council to all Christian Princes. *Petrus Vorstius*, Bishop of *Acqs* in the *Milanese*, was ordered to give Notice of it to the Princes of Germany, and went to the Assembly of the Protestants at *Smalkald* in Feb. 1537. with *Matthias Heldus*, Vice-Chancellor to the Emperor, who was sent to them to exhort them to go to the Council. *Heldus* remonstrated to them that the Emperor had at last brought it about that a Council should be called as he promised them, and since they were the first that desired it they could not honourably refuse to be present; that the City of Mantua, which was pitched upon for the place of its meeting, was near Germany, and subject to a Prince who was a Feudatary to the Empire; that he could assure them that they need not fear any thing from the Pope; that as to the Form of proceeding, 'twas not reasonable that they should give Rules to other Nations, or think that their Divines were more learned or judicious than all others.

The Protestants gave the Imperial Ambassador the same Answers that they had given *Vergerius*, the Pope's Nuncio before, the last Year, adding only, that they durst not trust the Duke of Mantua, whose Brother was a Cardinal, nor accept of any Council out of Germany; that the Pope had declared himself a Party in the Bull of Indiction, saying, that he summoned the Council to root out the Lutheran Heresy; that after this they could no longer acknowledge him for their Judge, nor the Bishops, who had taken an Oath of Obedience to him; that, in one word, they would have a free Council, independent upon the Pope, which should meet in some City of Germany. The Nuncio had delivered to the Elector of Saxony, President of the Assembly, the Bull for the calling of the Council, but that Prince gave him it again without opening it, and neither *Heldus* nor he could ingage the Protestants to yield that the Council should be held at Mantua. The Kings of France and Scotland also would not undertake to send their Ambassadors or Bishops to Mantua. The King of England protested against the calling of a Council by his Manifesto. Lastly, the Duke of Mantua having received a Brevé from the Pope, by which he gave him Notice that the Council was to meet in his City, complained that he had made choice of it without acquainting him with it, and told the Pope that he was not of Ability enough to maintain a sufficient Number of Troops to defend the Council; that if his Holiness would have the Council to sit in his City, he must allow him Money to pay a large Garrison. The Pope would not hearken to this Proposition, either because he would not be at so great an Expence, or because he feared that it would raise an Objection that the Council was not free. The Duke of Mantua not being willing to grant him his City but upon those Conditions, broke the Design of holding the Council there, and obliged the Pope to prorogue it to the Beginning of November by his Bull of May 20. without appointing the Place where it should be held. The War which was then between the Emperor and the King of France made Men almost despair of the Council's meeting so soon, but the Truce which was made in Flanders giving some Hopes that a Peace might follow between those two Crowns, the Pope sent out another

The Death of Pope Clement VII. and Election of Paul III. A General Council appointed.

The Protestants are against the meeting of it there.

The Council prorogued.

Vicenza the Place for the Meeting of the Council.

The Death of Pope Clement VII. and Election of Paul III. a General Council appointed, &c.
 another Bull October the eighth in which he appointed the City of *Vicenza* for the place for the Council to meet in, which he prorogued to May 1. 1538. and nominated for his Legates at the Council *Laurentius Campegius*, *Jacobus Simoneta*, and *Hieronimus Aleander*. In the mean time the Pope desiring to begin a Reformation at the Court of *Rome*, ordered some Cardinals and Bishops to draw up a Memorial of the chief Abuses that ought to be reformed. The Members of this Committee were the Cardinals *Contarini*, *Sadolet*, *Caraffa*, and *Pool*, and *Fredericus Fregosius*, Archbishop of *Salerno*, *Jerome Aleander*, Archbishop of *Brundisium*, *John Matthew Gibert*, Bishop of *Verona*, with *George Cortez*, Abbot of *St. George of Venice*, and *Thomas Bavina*, Master of the Sacred Palace, who were all afterwards Cardinals, except the Bishop of *Verona*; these Persons drew up a Writing with Freedom, intitled, *An Admonition for the Reformation of the Church, drawn up by certain Cardinals, and other Prelates chosen by our Holy Father Pope Paul III. composed by his Order, and presented to his Holiness in 1538.* They begin with a Thanksgiving to God, who had inspired the Pope with the Design of restoring the Discipline of the Church, which is almost quite lost, and that to effect it his Holiness had ordered them to set down the Abuses, or rather great Diseases, with which the Church of God had been troubled a long time, and which increasing every day had brought it into that miserable condition in which we now see it. They say that the Original of all these Evils proceeded from hence, that some of the Pope's Predecessors having tender Ears gathered together a Multitude of Teachers according to their own Desires, not to teach them what they ought to do, but to find out by their Application and Addresses Ways to justify whatsoever they had a mind to do. That this was the Cause (not to mention that Flattery always attends Greatness, as the Shadow doth the Body, and that Truth is always at much pains to come to the Ears of Princes) that there have been several Doctors who have taught that the Pope is Master of all Benefices, from whence it follows that as Owner, having a Right to sell what belongs to him, the Pope can't be guilty of Simony. So also that the Pope's Will, whatsoever it is, ought to be the Rule of his Actions, and consequently, whatsoever he pleases to do, is look'd upon as lawful, 'Tis from this Original, say they, most holy Father, that this great Number of Abuses and grievous Maladies have entred, as from another *Trojan Horse*, into the Church of God to destroy it, and have brought it into such a Condition as we see it, almost past all Hopes of Cure, and the Report of it is spread even among the Infidels, who deride the Gospel of Jesus Christ upon that Account. Then they commend the Pope for beginning to apply a Remedy to the Source of this Evil, and for declaring that, according to the Doctrine of the Apostle, he will not be a Master, but a Steward, and a faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, having resolved never to desire what is not lawful, nor to assume a Power to himself of doing what he ought not. Then they propose to themselves to obey the Order given them by the Pope to observe the Abuses which ought to be reform'd in the Government of the Universal Church, and more particularly those that are found in the Church of *Rome*. They lay this down at first as a Foundation, that all Men ought, as far as possible, to observe the Laws exactly; that no Dispensations may be granted, unless it be in urgent and necessary Cases, because there is nothing more destructive to any State than the Non-observation of Laws; that it is not allow'd to the Vicar of Jesus Christ to make any Advantage of the Power of the Keys, which Jesus Christ hath entrusted to him. That the Pope ought to take care that the Bishops, Priests, and Curates, be fit Persons to be employ'd in the Ministry. Then they come to give a particular Account of the Abuses which they

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 have observed. The first concerns the Ordination of the Clergy, and principally of the Priests, who have not been chosen with sufficient Care and Caution. They take notice that Men of no Learning, mean Birth, and wicked Lives, have been admitted to the Priesthood; that infinite Scandals proceed from thence, such as a Contempt of the Clergy, and a mean, or no Esteem, for the Worship of God; that to prevent this the Pope should appoint two or three Bishops, Men of Learning and Piety, who should take care of the Ordination of the Clergy; that he should enjoin the Bishops in making use of Excommunication to do the same thing in their Dioceses; that no Clerk should be permitted to be ordained by any other person than his own Bishop, or by his Allowance. Lastly, to appoint that every Bishop should have in his Church one Doctor, for the Instruction of the young Clergy. The second Abuse respects the Presentations to Benefices, especially Bishopricks, and Cures of Souls, in which more Regard was had to provide for the persons, to whom they were given, than to the Flock of Jesus Christ and the Church; they advise that special care should be taken to give Benefices to Men of Virtue and Learning, able to perform the Functions to which they are obliged, and in a capacity of residing; and so for the purpose that a Benefice in *Spain* or *England* ought not to be given to an *Italian*: That in Resignations the same Rule ought to be observed, and not to be left wholly to the Will of the Resigner, and to that end it would be convenient to appoint some Men of probity to inspect these Resignations: The third Abuse concerns Pensions, either excessive or ill apply'd. The fourth is about Exchanges of Benefices, which are made by bargaining, and with a prospect only of gaining a larger Revenue. The fifth is about conditional Resignations, and Coadjutorships, by which a Man gives his Benefice to another without being deprived of it. The sixth consists in Dispensations which were usually granted of that Law which forbids the Sons of Priests to succeed to the Benefices of their Fathers. The 7th. is concerning *Gratia Expectativa's*, and Reservations of Benefices, which tempt Men to wish for the Deaths of others, and hinder the most worthy from being provided for in a Vacancy. They declare that it is their Opinion that they ought all to be quite taken away. The 8th. is about Dispensations granted for the holding incompatible Benefices, and chiefly Bishopricks. The 9th. complains of giving several Bishopricks to Cardinals, altho' the Office of a Cardinal and a Bishop are inconsistent, 'For (say they) the Office of a Cardinal is to assist your Holiness in the Government of the Church, and that of a Bishop is to feed his Flock, which he can't do if he abides not by their Folds; besides, this practice is of very ill Example, for how can the Holy See reform and correct the Abuses of others, if it suffers them in its principal Members? Must we believe that they have more privilege to break a Law because they are Cardinals? No certainly, but much less, because their Life ought to be a Law to others. Farther, this practice is prejudicial to the Deliberations which are taken at *Rome* about the Affairs of the Church, for the Cardinals intrigue for Bishopricks with Kings and Princes, and consequently depend on them so much ever after, that they can't speak their Thoughts with Liberty, and that when they might and should, their Interest binds them to the contrary.' The 10th. Abuse, which is one of the greatest, concerns the Non-residence of Pastors, and chiefly of Bishops, this was so common at that time that they cry'd that all the Pastors almost had left their Flocks, and left them to be govern'd by Hirelings; that nothing moves the Compassion of a Christian who passeth thro' the World more than to see the Churches thus forsaken. To prevent this they thought that great Punishments were to be inflicted upon Bishops and Pastors who are absent from their Cures, not only by excommunicating them, but also depriving them

them of their Revenues. The 11th. concerns the Cardinals, who withdraw themselves from the Court of Rome, and perform none of the Functions which belong to their Dignity. They own that it is convenient that some of them should be in all the Kingdoms of Christendom, to keep them in their Obedience to the Holy See, yet they think it necessary that there should be a great number also at the Court of Rome. The 12th. Abuse, which scandalizes all Christians, consists in the Obstacles which the Bishops find in punishing of Sinners. First, by Exemptions. Secondly, by the Certificates from the Penitentiary, or the Datary. The 13th. concerns monastick Orders, among which there are several so deform'd that they cause a Scandal to the Laity. They are of Opinion that conventual Orders ought to be quite abolish'd by forbidding them to receive any Novices. They add, that the Superiors ought to be careful to chuse such Preachers and Confessors amongst the Religious as are fit to perform those Offices, and present them to the Bishops, without whose approbation they could not be admitted to perform those Offices. The 14th. belongs to Legates and Nuncio's, that they should receive no Money for Expeditions, but should do all things gratis. The 15th. takes notice of the Disorders committed in the Nunneries govern'd by the Conventuals. To avoid them they advise the Pope to deprive them of their Government, and give it to the Ordinaries. The 16th. Abuse which they reprove is, that several Professors of Philosophy teach Impieties, and maintain wicked Positions in the Church, as also when they treat of Divinity-Questions before the People, they do it in a way little tending to Edification. To prevent this they think that he ought to enjoin the Bishops to advise the Professors of Colleges to teach nothing but what is agreeable to Religion, and to discover the Weakness of our natural Reason in things that belong to Divinity; to hinder any Disputations in publick upon such Questions, or even upon Subjects of Divinity, and to be contented to do it in private; to be careful of the Impressions of Books, and to leave it to the care of the Ordinaries of the Place. The 17th. Abuse is the permitting of Monks, who quit their Orders after they have made their solemn Vows, to wear their Habit no longer, and to possess Benefices. The 18th. is, that the begging Friars of the Order of the Holy Ghost, St. Ambony, and others of the same sort, who deceive the simple, and ingage them in infinite Superstitions, are suffered, who they advise should be utterly abolished. The 19th. consists in Dispensations granted to persons admitted into Holy Orders to marry. They are of Opinion that such Dispensations ought to be granted to no Man, unless it be for the preservation of a Nation, or for some other publick Cause of great consequence. The 20th. is against the Dispensations which are given to near Relations and Kindred to marry. 'Tis their Judgment that they ought not to be granted in the second Degree, unless upon some publick Account, and that of great consequence, and in the other Degrees for some decent Reason, unless the two parties have had much Familiarity together, in which case they ought to be fined in a moderate Sum, to be spent on pious Uses. The 21st. is concerning the Absolution of persons guilty of Simony, which are too easily given, whereas they ought to be deprived of their Benefices. They say, that tho' the Pope may dispense with the punishment, yet he ought not to do it, that he may put a stop to so common and dangerous an Evil. The 22^d. is the easy granting Licence to make use of portable Altars. They say, that it makes the Ceremonies of the Church contemptible, and lessens the Respect Men ought to have for the principal of all the Sacraments. They wish that Indulgences were not granted above once a Year to any Church. The 24th. consists in the Commutations of Vows, which are too easily granted, and that not for a thing of equal Value, and the Alteration of the Last Wills and Testaments of the deceased. After they have made

these Observations upon the general Abuses, they add some which particularly belong to the Church of Rome, which being the Mother and Mistress of all other Churches, ought to be more careful that the Worship of God and holy Living flourish therein. They say, that Strangers are extremely offended, when going into the Church of St. Peter, they find very slovenly and unlearned Priests clothed in such Ornaments and Habits, as one would not use in more filthy places, and yet they celebrate Mass in them: For which Reason they are of Opinion that Order should be given to the Arch-priest and Penitentiary, to remove this Scandal, and that the same care be taken in other Churches. The second Abuse which they observe in Rome is, that Concubines go about the City like Ladies, attended by Cardinals, Gentlemen, and Clerks, and dwell in considerable Houses. The third is, that in Rome there are several private persons who live in Hatred and Enmity one with another, whom the Bishop of Rome ought to reconcile, and order his Cardinals to endeavour it. The fourth Advice concerning the Abuses of the City of Rome is, that there ought to be more care taken of the Hospitals, the Fatherless, and Widows. They conclude this Memorial by saying, that they hope that they shall see the Church purged from these Abuses, these Distempers cured, the Sheepfold of Jesus Christ return to their Pastors, and the Anger of God appeased.

This Writing being presented to the Pope, he caused it to be examin'd, and propounded the Business to a full Consistory. The Opinions of the Cardinals being divided about the Execution of this Design for the Reformation of these Abuses, it was concluded that no Bull should be publish'd about it, that they might not prejudice the Judgment of the Council, whose business it was to labour after a Reformation. The Pope satisfied himself to follow their Advice, who exhorted him to remove these Abuses by degrees and insensibly. We find that in 1540. he appointed Censors for the Courts of the apostolick Chamber, the Rotæ, the Chancery, and the Penitentiary, and made a special Law to oblige the Bishops to reside. He resolv'd that this Memorial should be kept secret, but some body having sent a Copy of it into Germany, the Protestants caused it immediately to be printed in Latin, with Sturmius's Notes, and in the German with Luther's. Cochleus answer'd the first of those, who wrote with the most Moderation, commended the Design of Paul III. and declared that the Protestants were not far from Peace, if they would allow them a General Council. Cochleus also civilly exhorted him and the other Protestants to second the Pope's good Intentions, and to labour for Concord and Union, by submitting themselves wholly to the next Council.

The Pope's Legates went to Vicenza, at the time appointed for the opening of the Council, but none of the Bishops being come, and the Pope, who was going to an Interview with the Emperor and King of France, which was to be at Nice, having receiv'd the News at Placenza, publish'd a Bull, April 25. 1538. by which he put off the Council to a Day which he should after appoint. Then he went to Nice, and conferr'd with those two Princes, who would not see each other. Not being able to make a Treaty of Peace between them, he procured the Truce to be prolong'd for nine Years. He exhorted them both to send their Ambassadors to the Council, and ordered the Bishops who attended them to be there, but they both excused themselves because of the present State of Affairs, which would not allow them to think of a Council; and as for the Bishops that attended them, they could not do it till they had conferr'd with their Brethren, and consulted with them about the Wants of their Churches. The Pope's Legates having waited in vain above two Months at Vicenza, return'd home after the Pope had prorogued the time for the meeting of the Council till Easter-day the next Year.

C H A P. XXVIII.

The Diets of Nuremberg, Spires, and Ratisbon. A Conference between the Catholicks and Protestants. Proposals of an Union. The Articles on which they agreed, and those on which they differed, both rejected by the Nuncio. The calling of the Council of Trent.

The Diets of Nuremberg, Spires, and Ratisbon. A Conference between the Catholicks and Protestants, &c.

A Conference about Religion ordered by the Diet.

Put off to another time at the Pope's Request.

THE Emperor being desirous, if it were possible, to reunite the *Lutherans* by a friendly Accommodation, engaged the Pope to appoint Cardinal *Aleander* for his Legate in Germany, that he might come to a Treaty with them. But *Aleander* not being inclin'd to Peace, and the Emperor seeing the necessity which there was for the benefit of Germany, of uniting the Protestants, whatever it cost, sent *John Vesalius*, Archbishop of *Lunden*, to the Synod held at *Franckfort*, in April 1539. to come to an Accommodation with them. Here it was decreed, that the Peace made with the Protestants at *Nuremberg* should be in force 15 Months longer; that in the mean time there should be no prosecution of any person, who held the Confession of *Augsburg*; and that, to come to a full and perfect Union, there should be a Conference at *Nuremberg* between the Divines of both sides about Matters of Religion, to which the Emperor, the King of the Romans, and the other Princes, should send their Deputies; and that whatsoever should be agreed upon in that Assembly should be publish'd and communicated to all the States of the Empire; that the Pope's Legate should not be summon'd to this Conference, but that the Emperor and King of the Romans should nominate certain Princes, who should promote the agreement of both parties, and his Imperial Majesty should confirm what should be decreed in that Assembly. This Agreement much disturb'd the Nuncio *Aleander*, who wrote to the Pope, that it was very prejudicial to his Authority, and that it ought to be prevented. The Pope was of his mind, and sent immediately *Johannes Riccius de Monte Pulciano* to the Emperor into *Spain*, to desire him to withhold his consent to the Decrees of that Diet. The Emperor excused the Behaviour of the Archbishop of *Lunden*, and assured the Nuncio that he would not put in execution the Decrees of the Diet so far as concern'd the Conference at *Nuremberg*. In truth, being importuned by the Protestant Princes, he had put off the Business to another time, under pretence that he could not attend to it at that time, because of the Death of the Empress, which just then happened, and some Tumults at the City of *Gant*, and other parts of the Low Countries, which obliged him to pass thro' *France* into *Flanders*. The Pope sent his Nephew Cardinal *Alexander Farnese* to condole the Death of the Empress, and to treat with him at the same time about the Affairs of the Church, and to conclude a Peace between his Imperial Majesty and the King of *France*. He sent with him in this Legation as his Counsel *Marcellus Cervinus*, Bishop of *Nicastra*, whom he soon after made Cardinal, and whom he had particularly ordered to propose the calling of a General Council, and to hinder the Conference intended in Germany. But the Emperor having resolved with his Brother *Ferdinand* to hold a Diet in Germany, and after that a Conference, told the Cardinal Legate of it; and *Marcellus Cervinus* with all his Address not being able to avoid that Blow, the Legate took his leave of the Emperor to return to *Rome*. As he pass'd thro' *Paris* he obtained a very severe Edict against the Hereticks of

the King. *Cervinus*, who was nominated Cardinal, had Orders to return to the Emperor in the Quality of Legate.

Prince *George* of *Saxony*, Sovereign of *Misnia* and *Thuringia*, who had always firmly adhered to the Catholick Church, and had been a great Enemy to *Luther*, died this Year, April 24. (a) leaving by his Will his Brother *Henry*, and his two Sons, *Maurice* and *Augustus* Heirs of his Dominions, upon condition, that they should not change the Religion which was settled there; and in case they did, then he gave them to the Emperor, or King *Ferdinand*, till either his Brother, or his Children, or some other of his Family should execute those Conditions. He desired that this his Will might be confirmed by the Nobility, and People of his Dominions; but they would not do it, till they knew the Mind of Prince *Henry*; and had sent their Deputies to him to settle that Clause in the Will, but he would not agree to it; and Prince *George* dying before the Deputies returned, *Henry* took possession of his Dominions without submitting to that Clause in his Will. He settled *Lutheranism* there, and caused *Luther* to come and preach at *Leipsick*, expelled the Canons and Priests, and every where abolished all the Rites and Ceremonies of the Catholick Church.

The Diet which was appointed at *Spire* May 23. was removed to *Hagenau*, because of the Plague. The Legate would not be present. The Archbishop of *Triers*, the Elector *Palatine*, Duke *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, (b) and *William* Bishop of *Strasburg* were appointed Mediators. The principal Heads of their Doctrine were desired of the Protestant Divines, who came thither in great Numbers. They answer'd, that they had presented the Confession of their Faith, with their Apology, to the Diet of *Augsburg*, and they still continued in the same Sentiments: That they did not know what their Adversaries could say against it; nevertheless, if they come to a Conference, they would contribute on their part to a Peace. The Mediators remonstrated, that some of the controverted Doctrines had been debated at *Augsburg*, and they had come to an Agreement in some points, but that there still remained others, which were in Dispute; and that they ought to go on upon the same Foundation. But they could not then conclude the Business, because the Electors of *Saxony* and *Landgrave* of *Hesse* were absent; wherefore *Ferdinand* put off the Conference to October 28. to meet at *Worms*, if the Emperor thought it convenient; and thither both Papists and Protestants might send their Deputies. This was the conclusion of the Diet, July 28. The Emperor approved of it, and appointed for his Commissioner at the Conference *Nicholas Granvelle*, who was then his chief Minister. He promised at the same time to hold a Diet speedily at *Ratisbon*; where he would be in Person, that he might entirely conclude, if it were possible, all Matters about Religion. *Granvelle* went to *Worms* in November; with the Bishop of *Arras* his Son, and some other Spanish Divines. Tho' the Pope did not approve of this Conference, yet his Nuncio *Campegius* Bishop of *Faltri* did not keep from it. *Granvelle* opened the

The Diets of Nuremberg, Spires, and Ratisbon. A Conference between the Catholicks and Protestants, &c.

[(a) April 17. Seeckendorff.]

[(b) And the Bishop of Trent; Seeckendorff.]

The Diet of Nuremberg, Spire, and Ratisbon. A Conference between the Catholics and Protestants, &c. Assembly, with a Discourse to exhort all that were present to labour after a sincere Reconciliation. The Nuncio also, *December 8.* made a Speech to the Synod, magnifying the Pope's care to allay the Troubles of *Germany*, and to unite all Christians in the same Faith: That, for that end, he had appointed a General Council at *Vicenza*, but that no body would come to it, so that he was forced to prorogue it: That the Emperor having call'd that Assembly, for the same purpose, that Matters might be prepared either to be propounded to the Diet of *Ratisbon*, or decided by a General Council, the Pope had sent him to help forward so good a Design, and to assure them, that he would do any thing which the Glory of God, and a due Zeal for Religion would allow him. *Paulus Vergerius* Bishop of *Justinople*, was also present at this Conference, in the Name of the King of *France*. A considerable time was spent in fixing upon the Number of Interlocutors, and the manner of giving their Votes. At last, after many Disputes on *Jan. 13. 1541.* the Papists chose *Ecckius*, and the Protestants *Melanchthon* to confer about the points in Controversie, and agreed, that they should begin to discourse about Original Sin. They entred upon it; but after the Conference had held three Days, *Granvelle* received a Letter from the Emperor, which ordered that the Conference should be broken off, and all things referred to the Diet of *Ratisbon*, where the Protestants were ordered to meet.

This Diet was opened in *March*, and the Emperor was present in Person, and the Pope sent to it Cardinal *Gasper Contarenius*, a Man of eminent Wisdom and profound Learning. All the Princes of the Empire were present, either in Person, or by their Deputies. In the first Session held *April 5.* a Speech was made, in the Emperor's Name, to tell the Synod that the Controversies in Religion having caused great Divisions in the Empire, which had given the *Turks* an Opportunity of breaking into the Heart of *Germany*, he had always applied himself to search after the Means to allay them: That as he thought the best way to do it, was to call a General Council, so he had done all he could to bring it about; but Wars, and continual Business having hitherto hinder'd the Execution of his Design, he had called that Diet, and pray'd the Pope to send his Legate to consult with them about such Methods, as were best to allay those Contests about Religion, and establish an Agreement: That his Opinion was, that the best way to effect these things was, to chuse a small number of learned and pious Men, Lovers of Peace, to confer together about the things in Controversie, and report to the Diet the Means that they should find out to agree these Differences in Religion, that the thing being taken into consideration, and communicated to the Legate, a Decree may be made about it, upon condition nevertheless that nothing should be altered that was ordained in the Diet of *Augsburg*. These Proposals being consented to, both by the Papists and Protestants, the Emperor caused the Nomination of those who should undertake the Conference, to be left to him; and he chose, for the Catholics, *Julius Pflugius*, *John Eckius*, and *John Gropper*, and for the Protestants, *Philip Melanchthon*, *Martin Bucer*, and *John Pistorius*; and calling them to him, he commanded them to lay aside all Passion, and to respect the Glory of God only in that Conference. He appointed *Fredrick Prince Palatine*, the Elector's Brother, to be President, and *Granvelle*, with some other persons, to be Witnesses of what was done. The Conference began *April 27.* The Prince *Palatine* having opened it with a Speech, *Granvelle* delivered a Book to the Collocutors, which he said was presented to the Emperor, by persons of Learning and Piety, and which he thought very fit to help forward the Peace: That the Emperor would have them read, and examine it, that they might approve of what is well, correct what is amiss, and agree about what was in Dispute. 'Tis thought that

this Writing was drawn up by *Gropper*. Before it was given to the Assembly, it was privately communicated to the Legate, and Nuncio *Morone*, who had made some Amendments in it, and shewed it to the *Italian Divines*, who approved of it so, that it was taken for granted, that the Popish Divines would receive it without any difficulty. It contained 22 Articles, in which were comprized the whole Substance of Religion.

The first was about the Creation of Man. The second was about Free Will. It is said there, that Man before his Fall was absolutely free to do good by the Assistance of God's Holy Spirit, or to do evil; but he lost this Liberty by the Fall, and now retains only a Freedom, which Divines call, *a coactione*, that is to say, not to be forced, and to do good or evil voluntarily; that his true Liberty since the coming of Jesus Christ, is to be delivered from the Dominion of Sin, and instated in Glory; his Freedom shall be a Deliverance from Error and Concupiscence; that being become truly free by the Redemption of Jesus Christ, this Freedom ought frequently to be extolled in Sermons, that the People may understand what Jesus Christ hath merited for them; and that they may, by his Grace, abstain from Sin, obey God, keep his Commandments, know their inability to do good, and their proneness to evil, which is the cause that no Man can live here without Sin. Lastly, that they should know that their Salvation depends entirely upon Jesus Christ, and that they ought to live with fear and trembling. The third Article asserts, that the cause of all Sin is the evil Will of the Devil and Man, which proceeds not from God, but from the Devil and Man.

The fourth is about Original Sin, which is defined to be a want or defect of Original Justice in the Person in whom it ought to be. By Original Justice, is understood Grace and the Spirit of God: Concupiscence is a corruption, and an inclination to evil, which *St. Paul* calls *the Law of the Members, the Law of Sin and Death*; and so Original Sin consists both in the defect of Original Justice, and in Concupiscence, which being joined to that defect cannot but produce actual Sins in the unregenerate. This Sin is derived to all the Posterity of *Adam*, and all his Children are born subject to Damnation. The Light of Nature, which remains in them, is not effectual enough to produce true Justice in them. Original Sin is pardoned by the meritorious Sufferings of Jesus Christ, which are applied to us by Baptism, which confers the Grace of God, and subdues Concupiscence, by stirring up in us pious Motions by the Spirit of God; so that tho' after Baptism the Matter of Sin, that is to say, Concupiscence (which is a grievous Distemper and a Root of all Bitterness) remains, yet the Form, which is the Guilt, is taken away, and the Remnants of Sin are not imputed to us, when Concupiscence doth not produce its evil Fruits. Nevertheless it may be called Sin, according to *St. Augustine*, not only because it inclines to Sin, but because it rebels against the Law of the Spirit; and as soon as it produceth any vicious Action to which the Mind consents, it precipitates us into Sin, which is the reason that the best Christians commit Sins enough, for which they may daily say the Petition in the Lord's Prayer, *Forgive us our Trespases*. Upon this account the people ought to be exhorted in Sermons, first to acknowledge the Benefit of the Grace of Jesus Christ, by which that Evil is not imputed to us by God. Secondly, to acknowledge their own Weakness, that they may cast themselves entirely upon Jesus Christ, who is their only Deliverer. Thirdly, to continue in Repentance and Prayer; and lastly, to consider that they have continually in themselves an Enemy to oppose, that they may beg God's Spirit with the more Fervency, and crucify and mortify the Flesh, with the Desires of it: That we ought to magnify the Grace conferred by Baptism, and teach, that it is greater than our Weaknesses.

The fifth about Justification, establishes these three Principles as, 1. That it is certain that since the

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the Fall of *Adam* all Men are born Enemies of God, and Children of Wrath by Sin. 2. That they cannot be reconciled to God, nor redeemed from the Bondage of Sin, but by Jesus Christ our only Mediator. 3. That persons of riper Years cannot obtain these Graces, unless they are prevented by the Motions of the Holy Spirit, which inclines their Mind and Will to desert Sin: That after this first Motion their Mind is raised up to God, by the Faith which Man hath in the Promises made to him, that his Sins are freely forgiven him, and that God will adopt those for his Children who believe in Jesus Christ. From these principles it follows, that Sinners are justified by a living and effectual Faith, which is a Motion of the Holy Spirit by which repenting of their Lives past, they are raised to God, and made real Partakers of the Mercy which Jesus Christ hath promised, being satisfied that their Sins are forgiven, and that they are reconciled by the Merits of Jesus Christ, which no Man attains, but at the same time Love is spread abroad in his heart, and he begins to fulfill the Law. So that justifying Faith worketh by Love, though it justifies us not, but as it leads us to Mercy and Righteousness, which is imputed to us thro' Jesus Christ and his Merits, and not by any perfection of Righteousness which is inherent in us, as communicated to us by Jesus Christ. So that we are not just, or accepted by God, upon the Account of our own Works or Righteousness, but we are reputed just upon the Account of the Merits of Jesus Christ only. Yet this not to hinder us from exhorting the People to increase this Faith and this Charity, by outward and inward Works: So that tho' the People be taught that Faith alone justifieth, yet Repentance, the Fear of God, and of his Judgments, the practice of good Works, &c. ought to be preached to them.

The sixth Article is about the Church; it is there defined to be a Congregation of Men of all times and places, called to the Communion of one Faith, and of the same Sacraments according to the Catholick, Orthodox and Apostolical Doctrine. They who have a true Faith working by Love, make up the Church of the Saints and Elect, who are known to God only, who also foresees who they are that shall be converted, and become of the number of the Predestinate. But Sinners, or Reprobates, are also in the Church, as to the outward profession, as well as Believers, because they are mixed corporeally with the Living Members. The Church of the Saints is that large Society of Men, good and bad, from which whosoever is separated, is separated from Jesus Christ, and has no Hopes of Salvation. This Church hath four Marks, by which it may be known, sound Doctrine, right Administration of the Sacrament; the Bonds of Charity and Peace; and lastly, Universality and Catholicity. Tho' this Society doth not always flourish with the same number of good Men, yet it can't be denied but that it is a true Church, so long as Unity of Doctrine, at least in all things necessary to Salvation, is preserved.

The seventh Article is about Repentance. In it this is laid for a Foundation, that Remission of Sins is only to be had in the Catholick Church, first by Baptism, and then by Repentance, which consists in two things, 1. Mortification, and 2. Vivification. Mortification is made, when the Law of the Spirit, being revived in us, stirs up such Contrition and Sorrow, as makes us confess our Sins, and fills us with Motions of Indignation, Fear, Satisfaction, and Revenge; to which Faith succeeds, which makes us depend on Christ, as our just Advocate with his Father, who is a Propitiation for our Sins. By this Faith we are renewed in our Minds and so Vivification follows Mortification. We are assured of this Remission of Sins by the Testimony of God's Spirit, joined with the Sacrament of Penance, whose strength consists in Absolution.

The eighth Article is about the Church's Authority, in the Sense and Meaning of the Holy Scrip-

ture. To settle this Authority, it is observed, 1. That God at first made use of his Vocal unwritten Word to instruct his Church. 2. That God afterward caused his Word to be written, to prevent as well the Forgetfulness and Error which Human Frailty is subject to, as the Deceits of the Devil, who uses all his Artifices to overturn the Word of God. 3. That God foreseeing that there would arise Men who would foist in false Books into the Scriptures, hath given his Church Authority to distinguish Canonical Scriptures from those that are not, and to interpret it by the Help of the Holy Spirit which governs it. 4. That this Authority is not to be placed in any private Person, but in the whole Church, and in the unanimous consent of good Men, of which Synods and unsuspected Ecclesiastical Writers are lawful Witnesses, when they unanimously teach that a Doctrine is derived from the Apostles, and that it has always been taught in the Church, if besides it be conformable to the Holy Scripture. 5. That among those things which are received by universal consent, some are necessary and others not, which may be changed as times require. 6. That in those things wherein Authors disagree, every one has liberty to follow what Opinion he pleaseth. 7. That there is a great deal of difference between the Authority of an unanimous and perpetual consent of the Universal Church, and general Councils, and that of particular Churches and provincial Councils. 8. That particular Churches have nevertheless Right to explain the Holy Scriptures, but not contrary to a general consent; and in case of any contrariety between them, the lesser in number and repute ought to give place to the greater, and all to the Universal Church, which consists in Episcopal, Provincial, National, and General Councils.

The ninth is about the Sacraments. It is there said, that they are Instituted by Divine Authority to be Marks, by which the Members of the Church are united, and certain and effectual Signs of the Will and Grace of God towards us; and consequently, they are not ordained to signify only, but also to sanctify us, and to give us an Assurance that we have received Grace to stir up Faith and mutual Love in us. This Definition of the Sacrament was approved, that a Sacrament is a Visible Sign of an Invisible Grace; and it is declared that 'tis a Sign, which affecting the outward Senses, admonisheth and instructeth us, that we may believe that God works that inwardly in us by his Power, which we see done outwardly by the sensible Elements. Lastly, 'tis said, that the Sacrament consists of two things, the Visible Element, which is the Sign, and the Word or Command of God, which, being joined to the Element, makes the Sacrament compleat.

The tenth Article is about the Sacrament of Order, appointed at first for the preaching of the Gospel, for fear, if every one should assume that Authority, the Doctrine of Christ should be corrupted. Secondly, to make us certain that the Administration of the Word of God and Sacraments ought not to be respected with regard to the person of the Ministers, but to the Authority which they have received of Jesus Christ. Thirdly, to teach us that we ought not to deny Obedience to our Ministers, upon the account of their ill Lives, so long as they teach the Doctrine of Jesus Christ, administer the Sacraments, and are tolerated in the Church. The Words of this Sacrament are those, by which Jesus Christ has assured us of the Authority of his Ministers, and the Efficacy of their Ministry; and the Element is the Imposition of Hands, by which is signified, that those who are chosen for this Ministry are confirmed by it, and that they received Power to preach the Word of God, consecrate the Eucharist, administer the Sacraments, make Constitutions for the Edification of the Church, and punish the Refractory and Wicked. The Virtue of this Sacrament includes the Power of Ordination, which respects the Word of God, the Administration of the Sacraments, Government

of the Church, and ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, which consists in the Power of excommunicating, and absolving. There are in the Church greater and lesser Orders, Priests, Deacons, &c. whose Offices are lawful, and ought to be re-established, according to the Usage of the primitive Church. Of the Sacraments which they administer, there are some chief, as Baptism, Order, the Eucharist, and Absolution, without which the Church can't subsist; and others, which are Symbols established for the Support, of humane Weakness, but are not so necessary as the first, tho' useful and wholesome.

The 11th. Article is about Baptism, and contains these following Points, that it is a Sacrament appointed by Christ, the Element of which is Water, and the Vertue of which consists in purging from Sin, and regenerating the Soul; and that it is necessary not only for persons grown up, but for Infants, that they may be sav'd.

The 12th. Article is about Confirmation, which says, that it is a Sacrament grounded upon the Word of Jesus Christ, altho' it be not necessary for Salvation. That laying on of Hands is the Element, and its Vertue is to confirm the Faithful in the Word and Grace of Jesus Christ, and that it is convenient to be administered to Infants, as soon as they are instructed in the Principles of Religion.

The 13th. Article is about the Lord's Supper, and is delivered in these Terms; the Sacrament of the Eucharist is grounded upon the almighty Word of Jesus Christ, by vertue of which this Sacrament is effectual, and by which means it happens, that after the Consecration, the true Body and Blood of our Lord are really and substantially present and given to the Faithful, under the Elements of Bread and Wine, which are changed and transubstantiated into the Body and Blood of our Lord. The Elements are Bread and Wine; and when the Word is added to them, the Sacrament is compleat, being composed of the visible Elements, and the invisible Flesh and Blood of Jesus Christ, which we receive truly and really in that Sacrament. The Vertue of this Sacrament is to unite us not only spiritually, but corporally with Jesus Christ, by his enlivening Flesh, and so to become Bone of his Bone, and Flesh of his Flesh, being assured that we have received by Jesus Christ, in this Sacrament, Remission of our Sins, and power to resist the Motions of Concupiscence, with Pledges and Assurances of the Remission of our Sins, Life eternal, and Communion with Jesus Christ, which is promised and given to us.

The 14th. Article is about the Sacrament of Penance and Absolution. The Words of this Sacrament are in the Gospel of St. *Matthew* Chapter 18. *Whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth, &c.* and in St. *John* Chap. 20. *Whosoever Sins ye remit they are remitted unto them, &c.* and the Element is the outward Rite, by which Absolution is given and received, according to the Word of Jesus Christ; and because in this Sacrament the Priests perform the Function of spiritual Physicians, Men must confess at least their mortal Sins, and 'tis reasonable that all Christians should, at least once a Year submit themselves so to be treated by their Pastors. The Vertue of this Sacrament is to assure such Penitents as have confess'd their Sins, that they are absolv'd and reconcil'd to the Church, and deliver'd from the Bonds of their Sins, because Jesus Christ confirms that in Heaven which the Minister doth upon Earth. As to Satisfaction it says, that the Satisfaction which propitiates for the Fault, and delivers from eternal punishment of Sin, is to be attributed to Jesus Christ only; but the canonical Satisfaction, which may be called castigatory, being imposed by Pastors, and compleated by Faith, cuts up the Roots of Sin, cures the Reminders, takes away or mitigates the temporal Punishment, and in short, serves for an Example.

The 15th. Article is about the Sacrament of Marriage, and tells us, that it is appropriated to Christians, that it is grounded upon the Words of Christ,

when the inseparable Union of the Male and Female is commanded, and the outward Conjunction of them is the Element, and the Vertue consists in acknowledging that Man and Wife are joined together by the Authority of God, and have received a Grace which makes their Union lawful.

The 16th. is about the Sacrament of Unction of the Sick, which is grounded upon a Practice of the Church, recommended by St. *James* the Apostle. The Oil is the Element, and the Vertue is the Assurance of the Sick, that being restored by Faith, and the Prayer of the Church, he is look'd upon by God as a living Member of this Church, and that he ought to hope to triumph over his Enemies, and attain the eternal Salvation, which is promised him, whether he dies of that Sickness or recovers his Health again.

The 17th. Article is about that Charity, which unites the Members of the Church.

The 18th. is about the Hierarchy. It lays down as a Principle, that there is in the Church but one Episcopacy, of which all Bishops are Partakers: That Jesus Christ imparted his Power chiefly to St. *Peter*, but not to him only; that all Bishops are the Apostles Successors; that nevertheless there is an Order and Subordination among these Bishops; that Archbishops are above Bishops, and Primate or Patriarchs above Metropolitans, that among these Patriarchs, that of *Rome* is first; not that he is above the rest as to the Dignity of his Priesthood, but for the Extent of his Care, and the Prerogative of his Jurisdiction, to preserve the Unity of the Church, that his Ministers have a power to appoint such Ceremonies and Rites as they judge convenient, to make Rules of Discipline, and to cause them to be observed; provided nevertheless, that these Rites and Ceremonies are neither ordain'd nor practis'd with any design to trust in them, but merely as a means to stir up Piety and preserve it, and that all things may be done in the Church with Edification, Decency and Order. So that Christian Liberty consists in being persuaded that our Righteousness is not confined to these outward Actions; and that as they are commanded for the confirmation and support of the Faith, and Charity of the Weak, so they ought to give place to Charity, and may be omitted if there be need, provided it be done without scandal and contempt.

The 19th. Article contains several Doctrines received and maintain'd by the consent of the Church: As the Honour that is given to the Saints by celebrating their Memories; Prayers made to God, in which some Favours are desir'd upon the account of the Merits and Prayers of the Saints; the Prayer which is made to them out of the Sacrament, yet always putting our whole Trust in Jesus Christ, and instructing the people well in that Doctrine; the Veneration which is paid their Relicks, provided that Superstition be avoided; the Use of Images to help the Memory to remember things, and to stir up Thoughts of Adoration and Love for Jesus Christ, but that the Image be not honoured, but the thing represented by the Image; that the Mass is a Sacrifice, but an unbloody and spiritual one, in which Jesus Christ, who was once sacrificed upon the Cross for the Sins of the World, is sacrificed and offered to his Father, in the Name of the Church, by a representative Sacrifice; the Church her self offering her self there, as the mystical Body of Jesus Christ, which contains all the Righteous, as well Quick as Dead, for whom she hath always offered this Sacrifice; so that there is no reason to doubt, that the Souls of the latter are relieved by this Sacrifice and Prayers, provided that they have deserved in their Life-time, that these Prayers may be profitable to them after their Death. It rejects the Error of those who believe that the Mass may be profitable to those who bring no Devotion to it, and who hear or say it without Faith or Piety.

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In the 20th. Article, some Points are treated of, which concern the Administration of Sacraments, and chiefly private Masses. Some would have had no Masses said, unless the Assistants did communicate by actually receiving the Body of Christ; others think that it may be celebrated, if there be some that communicate spiritually with the Priest. 'Tis thought convenient to leave both these to their liberty, to use it according to their own Consciences, neither obliging the one to say Mass without Communicants, nor condemning those that follow that Practice. 'Tis also believed convenient to leave people at liberty to communicate under both Kinds or not, provided they do not condemn those that shall receive under one Kind only. It is not doubted, but a way may be found out that the People may hear the Prayer of the Mass, and Service of the Church, without lessening the Dignity of the Sacraments.

The 21st. concerns the Ecclesiastical Discipline of the Clergy; and it is much wish'd, that the ancient way of Elections and Ordinations of Ministers were restored; that Bishops and Priests would apply themselves to their Duties and Functions, and live a blameless Life. Some of the ancient Rules concerning the Continence of Priests are set down; and 'tis added, that if the latter Canons which obliged Priests to live unmarried be retained, the ancient Censures against Priests that keep Concubines, ought to be revived. The Parish-Priests are advised to preach in a profitable and edifying manner; and 'tis required that pains be taken to reform the Monks, instruct the Clergy and correct the publick Prayers and Ceremonies.

The last Article is about the Discipline, which the People ought to observe. In it the Ministers of the Church are enjoined to be careful that all Christians do their Duty in their several Orders and Degrees. In it is desir'd, that the ancient canonical Discipline be restored, and Penance be inflicted publicly. Lastly, as to Fasting, Abstinence from Meats and Feasts, 'tis said that it is easy enough to agree about this Article, if Persons of Learning and Piety be set on work to reduce these things to such a Moderation, as shall not be chargeable to any Man.

These Articles having been examin'd by the Protestants, there were some of them that they made no scruple about, others that they could not perfectly agree to, and others they made some Observations upon, desiring that there might be some Amendments, Explications, or Additions made to them. The Articles which they could not agree to, were the 9th. about the Power of the Church; the 13th. about the Eucharist; part of the 14th. about Penance, particularly what relates to Confession and Satisfaction; the 18th. about the Hierarchy; what is said in the 19th. about the Saints, and the Sacrifice of the Mass; and in the 20th. about private Masses and the Communion under both Kinds; and what is observed in the 21st. about Celibacy. Upon the first which concerns the Church, they acknowledge that it belongs to it to discern and interpret the Holy Scripture; but they will not have this Right to belong to the visible Church, nor that a General Council can judge infallibly. About the Article of the Lord's-Supper, they declare, that they reject Transubstantiation, and do fully believe that the Bread and Wine are given with the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. Upon the Article of Penance, they deny that Confession is of divine Right, and that 'tis necessary, and that Satisfaction is a compensation for the Punishments which are deserved for Sin. Yet they do not deny, but that Works of Penance may be imposed, either as Remedies or Examples. Concerning the Hierarchy, they say nothing positively contrary to the 18th. Article, but they do not express themselves clearly about the Pope's Supremacy. They utterly reject the Worship and Invocation of Saints. They deny that the Mass is a Price for our Sins, that it can merit Remission, and that it is a Sacrifice in that sense, which

own that 'tis a Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving, can be applied to the Quick and Dead; but they for those that receive the Sacrament with Faith. They will not allow it to be offered for the Dead, pretending that it is contrary to the Institution of the Sacrament, and that its Merit cannot be applied to any but such as receive it. They do not utterly refuse to submit to the Accommodation propounded about private Masses, provided that they did but agree about the Doctrine; but they wish that the Practice of receiving under both Kinds may be restored. They accept however of the Expedient proposed in that Article. Lastly, they define that the Law about the Celibacy of Priests may be utterly abolished. The Observations which they made upon the other Articles, are of lesser consequence, and did not hinder but that they might have agreed in the main. They also propounded several Articles for the Reformation of the Clergy, about the Use and Disposal of the Church-Revenues, and the Restoration of Discipline.

The Emperor, June 8. caused all that had passed at the Conference to be reported to the Diet, as that they had agreed upon several Articles, and that there remained some few under debate, about which the Protestants had given their Opinion in Writing. He required the Assembly to consult about this Matter, and about such means as were to be used for a Reformation both of Church and State. It was also ordered by the Diet, that all should be imparted to the Pope's Legate, and briefly the Articles agreed on; that he should examine whether they contain'd nothing contrary to the Doctrine of the Holy Fathers, and the Usages of the Church; that if there were any thing obscure, it might be explain'd, and that the Emperor would take care to bring the Protestants to a compliance upon the other Articles, or refer them to a general or national Council. The Legate having conferred about them, gave his Opinion in Writing, in these Words. 'Since the Protestants differ about some Articles, which have been commonly received in the Catholick Church, in which we do not despair, but that in time they may agree with us: We think that nothing ought to be determined about the rest, but that it is convenient that the whole be remitted to the Pope, and the Holy Apostolick See, which may determine these things according to the catholick Truth in a General Council, which shall shortly be called, or in such other way as he pleases, and shall ordain what he shall judge convenient for the Church in general, and for the German Nation in particular.

However that he might not seem to do nothing, he held a Synod of the Bishops, who were at the Diet in this place, and made a Speech to them about the Reformation of the Clergy, of which he gave them the Result in Writing the next day, and presented it also to his Imperial Majesty. In it he exhorts them to be cautious that they give no Offence, and avoid all Appearances of Luxury, Covetousness and Ambition; and to keep their domestick Servants to their duty, because the People judge of the Manners and Conversation of their Bishop, by the Order he keeps in his House; to reside in the most populous Towns of their Dioceses, and to place in the rest faithful persons to watch over their Flocks; to visit their Dioceses; to take care that Divine Service be said exactly in their Churches; to give their Benefices to Men of Worth and Parts; to expend their Revenues in relieving the Poor; to chuse pious and learned Preachers, who may instruct others by their Examples, as well as Words; who are not of a wrangling Disposition, and avoid to speak of their Adversaries with sharpness; to provide that the Youth be well instructed by building Schools and Colleges. These are the chief Heads of the Reformation, which the Legate propounded to the Bishops of Germany, according to the Order which he said he had received of the Pope, and to discharge his duty in his Legatine Office.

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The Answer which he gave to the Articles provoked the Protestants, and much displeased the Emperor and catholic Princes, who hoped for an Union. Nevertheless it being ambiguous, they took it in that sense, that he did not oppose the Articles which they had agreed on, and that he desired that they should be observed till the holding of the Council. The Legate to undeceive them, published a second Paper, in which he declared, that he did not allow by his first Paper that any of the Articles should be received, tolerated, or observed, till the next Council; but his Intention was, that all the Articles should be generally reserved to the Judgment of the Pope and the apostolical See in a Council, or otherwise, to which he had remitted, and would remit that Business entirely.

Notwithstanding this Declaration of the Legate, the Matter was proposed to the Diet, and it was there deliberated, whether the Articles on which both Parties were agreed, should not be received at least till a general Council was celebrated; and if there were no Hopes of one, or if it were put off too long, whether in that case a general Diet of the Empire might not be call'd to treat of Matters of Religion. The Electors were of opinion, that it was convenient to accept the Articles agreed on, till a general or national Council should meet, or at least till the next Diet, and in the mean time to endeavour an Agreement in the other Articles. The other catholic Princes thought that they ought not to determine any thing about those Articles, but wait for a general Council, which the Pope offered; and if that did not meet soon, a national Council, should be held, or a new Diet call'd; that in the meantime the Decree of the Diet of *Augsburg* should be exactly observ'd, and the Articles on which they had not agreed, should not be receiv'd. The Legate, who lik'd the Proposal of a national Council as little as he did the accepting of the Articles, put out a third Paper to protest against that Demand; to which the Princes of the Empire opposed another Protestation, that they would do what they thought convenient to put an end to the Differences in Religion, if the Pope did not take speedy Order about it. The Protestant Princes approved of the Articles which were admitted, according to the Limitations which they had made, resolv'd to consider whether there was no way to agree upon the other Articles, and pray'd the Emperor to revoke, or at least, suspend the Decree of the Diet of *Augsburg*, which they look'd upon as an Obstacle to Peace. They told him, that tho' they earnestly wished for a free Council to be held in *Germany*, by which all Controversies in Religion might be determined by the Word of God; yet they could not consent to a Council where the Pope and his Creatures, who were their professed Enemies, should have power to hear and judge in Matters of Religion, adhering in this Matter to the Protestation, which they had made against the Council appointed to meet at *Mantua*; but they consented, that in case such a Council as they desired could not be had, all Matters concerning Religion and a Reformation, should be handled in a Diet of the Empire where these things should be regulated.

Their Opinions being thus divided, the Emperor concluded, that the Determination of all Matters should be put off to a general Council, or for want of that to a national Council, or a Diet of the Empire. He proposed to go into *Italy* to require a Council of the Pope, and if he could obtain neither a general nor national One, he would call a Diet of the Empire within 18 Months, to which he would cause the Pope to send his Legate to end all Differences in Religion. He ordered the Protestants also at the same time to teach nothing new about the Articles agreed on, and the Bishops to reform their Churches, and observe their Rules, prescribed by the Legate, for their behaviour. He forbid them to pull down the Monasteries, seize upon the Revenues of the Churches, or sollicite any Man to change

his Religion. Besides this he commanded, that the Decree of the Diet of *Augsburg* should still continue, but suspended all Prosecutions in the Imperial Chamber about Matters of Religion till the time appointed. This Decree of the Diet was read and passed July 28. The Protestants not being at all satisfied, the Emperor gave them a particular Writing, in which he tells them, that he did not intend to impose any Law upon them to which they had not consented: That he would not indeed have them pull down the Monasteries, but he did not hinder them from reforming the Monks: That all Clergymen, of whatsoever Religion they were, were allowed to enjoy their Revenues: That tho' the Protestants might not sollicite the Catholics that were not their Subjects to change their Religion, yet they might receive those who of their own accord came over to them to embrace their Religion. Last of all, that he would suspend all Judgment given, and all Processes laid against them in the Imperial Chamber, upon the account of Religion. Upon these Assurances which were given in Writing to the Protestant Princes, they promised the Emperor to send him Aids against the *Turks*, who this Year were become Masters of *Buda*.

When the Diet was risen the Emperor went into *Italy*, and having an Interview with the Pope at *Lucca*, he propounded to him the holding of a Council, and the Reformation of the Clergy. The Pope told him, that he was much inclin'd to call a Council, but the *Venetians*, who had lately made a Peace with *Solyman*, would not for fear of offending him, allow him the City of *Vicenza* to hold it in, and therefore there must be a new Treaty to fix the Place where it should meet. The Emperor being imbarqued for his Expedition against *Algiers*, in which he had bad Success, as all the World knows, left *Granville* in *Italy* with Orders to sollicite the holding of a Council. The Nuncio's which the Pope had residing with the King of *France* and *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*, treated with those Princes about it. The first propounded to the King of *France*, the City of *Cambray*, which was not yet under the Dominions of the Emperor, and the other endeavoured all he could to dissuade King *Ferdinand* from insisting upon the Council's meeting in some City of *Germany*.

In the beginning of the Year 1542. the Emperor called a Diet at *Spire*, to consult there about the holding of a Council for the Reformation of the Clergy in *Germany*, and the Aids to be granted for the War. The Pope sent *John Morone* Bishop of *Modena* to it, and charged him to endeavour the Reformation of the Clergy of *Germany*, according to the Model laid down at the Diet of *Ratisbon* by *Contarenius*, but so that all the while he should seem to follow the Intentions of the Clergy themselves, to promise a moderate Assistance in the War against the *Turk*, and concerning a Council, to tell them that the Pope would have been there in person, but his Age and Health not allowing him to undertake a long Journey, he could not pitch upon any City far distant from *Italy*; that it was to be fear'd, that if it were held in *Germany*, they could not treat peaceably and quietly about Matters of Religion in a Country full of Troubles and Divisions, and where Mens Minds were inflam'd about it; and that it was more convenient to meet in some City of *Italy*, as *Mantua*, *Ferrara*, *Bologna*, or *Placentia*. The Diet was opened February 9th. *Ferdinand* was President in the Emperor's Absence; the King of *France* sent his Embassadors to it, of whom the chief was *Francis Oliver* Chancellor of *France*, who made a long Speech to shew, that before they undertook a War against the *Turk*, all the Princes of *Germany* ought to be united together, and that they could not expect any foreign Aids, so long as they were at odds amongst themselves. *Morone* laid the Pope's Intentions before the Diet, and said that if they did not like any of the Cities propounded, he would willingly consent that the

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 the Council should be held at *Cambray* or *Trent*, Cities which bordered upon the Confines of *Germany*. He added, that his Holiness design'd to open the Council on *Whitsunday*; but that time being too short, he would put it off to *August 13th.* and pray'd them all to promote the execution of his purpose unanimously. *Ferdinand* and the catholick Princes thank'd the Pope, and said, since they could not obtain that the Council should be held in some City of *Germany*, as *Cologne* or *Ratisbon*, they would accept of *Trent*. The Protestants on the contrary declar'd, that they neither approv'd of a Council of the Pope's calling, nor the place of its meeting, nor would consent that it should be mentioned in the Decree of the Diet. Nevertheless upon the Catholics Answer, the Pope published his Bull of calling a Council at *Trent*, *May 22d.* to meet on *November 1st.* following, in which he ordered all Bishops to be at it, and pray'd the Emperor, the most Christian King, and the other Kings and Princes to be present, or at least to send their Ambassadors and Bishops. The Emperor and King of *France* were then at War. The first of them was very angry, that the Pope had equall'd the King of *France* with him,

naming him alone of all the Christian Kings with the Emperor. He wrote a sharp Letter to the Pope about it, speaking against him and the King of *France*, and the King of *France* sent an Apology to him by way of Reply, as angry as his: Nevertheless the Pope as a common Father sent two Legates, Cardinal *Sadolet* to *Francis I.* and Cardinal *De Viseu* to *Charles* to exhort them to Peace, and some time after sent the Cardinals *Paulus Parisius*, *John Morone*, and *Reginald Pool* to *Trent*, to preside in the Council, and to open it if it met there. The Emperor sent *James Mendoza*, *Nicholas Granville*, and his Son the Bishop of *Arras*, in quality of his Ambassadors, with some *Neapolitan* Bishops, but 'twas to no purpose, for since there came but very few Bishops, and the War continued on every side, the Legates thought it not convenient to open the Council, although the Emperor's Ambassadors solicited them to do it; and when they had stay'd a while at *Trent*, seeing that there was no likelyhood, that there would come such Numbers of Bishops as would be sufficient to compose a general Council, they departed, and the Assembly was put off to another time by the Pope's Bull, dated *July 6th. 1543.*

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C H A P. XXIX.

An Interview between the Pope and Emperor. The Diet of Spire. The Articles of the Divines of Paris and Louvain. The Legates sent to Trent. The Diet of Worms. The Death of Luther, and his last Writings.

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 THE Emperor being landed at *Genoa*, *May 26.* of the same Year, to pass from thence into *Germany*, the Pope went to meet him *June 21.* at the Castle of *Busset*, situated upon the *Tar*, between *Parma* and *Placentia*, where they held a Conference for three days, in which they concluded nothing either about the general Concerns of *Europe*, or their own private Affairs.

The Troubles of Germany.
 During this time, *Germany* was in Troubles by civil Wars among the Princes. The Elector of *Saxony* was engaged with Prince *Maurice*, who succeeded his Father *Henry*, and the Princes of the League of *Smalkald*, with the Duke of *Brunswick*. The Emperor complain'd of the Duke of *Cleves*, and would have taken away the Principality of *Guelldres* from him: In the midst of this intestine Dissention, the Empire had two very potent Enemies upon its back, the *Turk* on the one side, and the King of *France* on the other: To find a Remedy for these Evils, *Ferdinand* held a Diet at *Nuremberg*, in the beginning of the Year 1543. and desired Aids against the *Turk*, the King of *France*, and the Duke of *Cleves*. The Protestants here complained, that notwithstanding the Emperor's Promise given them at *Ratisbon*, the Imperial Chamber gave them still much trouble, and declared that unless they had Justice done them, they would afford no Assistances against the *Turk*. *Ferdinand* answer'd them, that there was a Council appointed to meet at *Trent*, which would settle all things, and that in the mean time he would take care to reform the Imperial Chamber, but there was a necessity, that what had been taken from the Duke of *Brunswick* should be restored. The Protestants reply, that they would not acknowledge the Council, and that unless they were satisfied, they should not change their Resolutions: Nevertheless *Ferdinand* obtain'd a Decree to order that the Places bordering upon the *Turks* should be fortified; that all the Princes should contribute their Aids against the *Turk*, and that the Imperial Chamber should proceed against

those that would not contribute their share. The Protestants opposed this Decree.

A little time after the sitting of this Diet, *Herman* Archbishop of *Cologne* declared for the Protestants, and sending for *Bucer* propounded a Reformation of Religion in an Assembly held at *Bonne*. *Bucer*, *Me-lanchthon*, and *Pistorius* were ordered to draw up such Articles of Doctrine, as he would have received. The Archbishop sent this Draught to the Chapter at *Cologne*, presented it to a second Assembly held *June 22. 1543.* and recommended it to all present to read it, and to seek out some means of settling all things in a reasonable manner. The Clergy desired some time to examine this Book, and that in the mean time *Bucer* and the other Protestant Doctors should be driven away; the Archbishop granted them time for the Examination of the Book, but refused to send back *Bucer* and his Colleagues; nevertheless offering to send them away if they were convicted of false Doctrine or ill Lives. *Gropper* composed a Treatise against *Bucer's* Book. The Chancellor, Canons and Divines of *Cologne* stood firm against their Archbishop, and maintained the Popish Religion in that Electorate. At the same time the City of *Hildesheim* went over to the Protestants, and changed the Rites and Doctrine of the Catholick Church.

The Emperor coming to *Spire* about the end of *July*, gave Audience to the Protestant Deputies, who offered to contribute to the Necessities of the Empire, if he would assure them of Peace, reform the Imperial Chamber, and make their Contributions equal with the rest. They desired also at the same time, that he would appoint certain persons to judge the Affair of the Duke of *Brunswick*, and that they would shew, that 'twas he that was in the wrong. The Emperor answered, that their Peace was sufficiently secured to them by the former Decrees; that he could not alter the Judges of the Imperial Chamber till he had heard them; that in *October* he would inform himself of their Management, and if he found

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Herman Archbishop of Cologne joins with the Protestants.

The Emperor gives Audience to the Deputies of the Protestant Princes.

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they had prevaricated they should be punished; that he could not lessen their Contributions, but by the consent of all the Members of the Empire; that they ought to consider the present Occasions, and that they ought to afford Supplies, as others do, against the *Turks*. The Emperor left them when he had given them this Answer, and marched against the Duke of *Cleves*, whom he reduced in a little time to surrender the Dutchy of *Gueldres* to him, and to renounce his Alliances with the Kings of *France* and *Denmark*.

The Diet of Spires.

The next Year the Emperor called a Diet at *Spires*, and was present at it himself with *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*, the seven Electors and most of the Princes of the Empire: It was opened, *Feb. 20.* and continued till *June 10.* The Emperor required extraordinary Assurances against the King of *France* and the *Turk*, and obtained them; here the Elector of *Saxony* acknowledged *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*, and the Emperor consented, that the Dutchy of *Cleves* after the present Duke, if he died without Issue-male, should belong to the Elector of *Saxony's* Children, which he should have by the Marriage of the Duke's Sister. Matters of Religion were put off till *December*, and in the mean time, the Emperor promised to order certain persons of Learning and Piety, to draw up a Scheme of Reformation, and he exhorted the Princes to do the same, that in the next Assembly they might with one consent settle all things about Religion, which might be observed, till it was otherwise ordered by a General, or a National Council to be held in *Germany*, or a General Diet of the Empire; that in the mean while the Princes should live peaceably one with another, and there should be no Disturbances about Religion; that the Churches of the Catholics, and Protestants should enjoy their Revenues, which should be employed in the Maintenance of Ministers, erecting of Schools, and relief of the Poor; that the Judges of the Imperial Chamber should sit out their time, and then there should be Catholics and Protestants indifferently chosen; that all Processes commenced about religious Matters should be suspended; that the *Anabaptists* nevertheless should be punished according to the Laws made against them; and that the Lands of the Duke of *Brunswick*, which the Protestants had seized, should be put into the Emperor's hands till the difference could be ended.

The Pope's Letter to the Emperor, about the Decree of the Diet.

The Pope was very much displeased with the Emperor's Conduct, and the Decree of this Diet, which was held without his Knowledge, and in which such Resolutions were taken about Matters of Religion, as the Court of *Rome* did not approve of: Besides he was discontented that the Emperor had made a Peace with the King of *England* an Enemy to the Holy See, and because he would not agree to the Investiture of his Grandson to the Dutchy of *Milan*, upon the conditions which he had propounded. Being therefore discontented with the Emperor, he wrote a Breve to him dated *August 24.* in which he most vehemently complains, that his Imperial Majesty had appointed a Diet at *Spires* about Matters of Religion, and made a Decree in that Assembly, which was prejudicial to the Authority of the Holy See. 1. Because it was agreed without his Knowledge, that a General or National Council, or an Imperial Diet should be held, to treat about matters of Religion. 2. Because the Laity and even Hereticks had undertaken to give their Judgment in religious Matters, and to make Regulations about the Revenues, and other Affairs of the Church. 3. That the Protestants had gained favourable conditions there, contrary to the Edicts that had been made before against them. Then he lays before the Emperor the Example of such Princes and Lay-men, as God had punished severely for usurping the Rights of the Church, and being wanting in their respect to the Holy See. He tells him that 'twas not his Fault, that the General Council had not yet sat: That he had called one, as often as he had any hopes of its meeting;

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that the War having hitherto prevented it, it belonged to the Emperor to open a way for its celebration, either by a Peace, or a Truce; that, last of all, he exhorted him to hearken to his paternal Advice, and to take care for the future, that nothing that related to the Church or Religion should be treated of in the Imperial Diets, but to remit the Cognizance of these Matters and what concerned the Revenues of the Church to the Ecclesiastical Courts; to revoke what had been granted to those who were Rebels against the Holy See; assuring him, that if his Imperial Majesty did not do as he hoped, he should be obliged to do his Duty, and treat him with Severity, how averse soever he might be to such Rigour.

The Place between the Emperor and the King of France.

The War between the Emperor and King of *France* did not last long. The Treaty of Peace made at *Crespi*, *Sep. 14. 1544.* put an end to it. These two Princes agreed to defend the old Religion, and to join together to obtain that a Council might be called. Their Ambassadors at the Court of *Rome* were ordered to sollicite the Pope to it, who was easily moved to take off the Suspension of the Council, and to summon it anew to *Trent*, *March 15th. 1545.* The Bull was dispatched, and published *Nov. the 19th. 1544.*

The Articles of the Divines of Louvain.

Whilst the Emperor and King of *France* waited for the meeting of the Council, they were desirous to have the Judgment of the two most famous Universities of *Europe* for Divinity, about Questions in Controversie, *Louvain* and *Paris*. The Divines of *Louvain* drew up 32 Articles against the Innovators. 1. That we ought to believe that there are seven Sacraments in the Church, by which God invisibly works our Salvation, whether they are administered by good or bad Ministers. 2. That Baptism is necessary for Salvation, even in Infants, and that it ought not to be repeated. 3. That the Sacrament of Penance, which is necessary for the Salvation of all such as have fallen into Sin after Baptism, contains Contrition, Confession and Satisfaction. 4. That Contrition is a Grief for our Sins, because they are Offences against God, joined with a firm Resolution not to fall into them again, and to satisfy for ones own Sins: And not, as some define it, a Terror of Conscience raised by the Apprehension of the Eternal Punishment due to Sin, for such a Fear is only a Preparation to true Contrition. 5. That he that will confess his Sins, must be careful to call to mind all his mortal Sins, discover them to the Priest, and to receive an Absolution of them from the Priest rightly ordained, who according to the Custom of the Church is the Minister of it. 6. That Satisfaction is a Freedom from the Punishment due to Sin after the Pardon of the Guilt, and that it is an Error to believe, that all the Punishments due to Sin are released when the Guilt is pardoned. 7. That we ought to believe verily, that Man hath a Free-will by which he can do Good or Evil by the Grace of God; and when he hath sinned, repent of his Fault by the help of God, and obtain Forgiveness. 8. That Faith is necessary for the Justification of Adults, but that this Faith consists in believing that Jesus Christ the Son of God is made by his Father a Propitiation for our Sins; That without this Faith none can attain Righteousness by his Works and by his Repentance; as on the other side none can obtain it by Faith alone without Repentance, and a Resolution to observe the Commandments of God. 9. That the Faith, by which we certainly believe that our Sins are forgiven, is not built upon the Holy Scripture, altho' we ought to wait with certain Hope, that we should obtain in this Life Remission of our Sins by the Sacraments of Baptism and Penance, and in the other World eternal Life. 10. That as long as a Man is in this Life, he has no Certainty of his Righteousness, and of his Salvation; but that he ought always to live in Fear and Hope. 11. That good Works are necessary for the Salvation of adult Persons; and that, when they proceed from a Spirit

An Inter-view of the Pope and Emperor. The Diet of Spire, &c. Spirit of Faith and Charity, they are acceptable to God, who will bestow eternal Life upon them as their just Reward. 12. That Confirmation and extreme Unction are Sacraments appointed by Jesus Christ, but that they are not necessary for Salvation, as Baptism and Penance are; but however, that it is a mortal Sin to neglect them out of Contempt. 13. That the true Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, the very same Body which was born of the Virgin and suffered on the Cross, is really in the Sacrament of the Eucharist. 14. That the Bread and Wine do not remain in the Sacrament, but are changed into the Body and Blood of Christ, by the Almighty Power of the Word, tho' the Species of Bread and Wine remain; That the Eucharist ought to be adored, whether in the Mass, or out of it. 15. That the Communion under both kinds is not necessary for Salvation; that the Church hath had just Reasons to order, that the Laymen should not receive the Sacrament but under one kind, which contains the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. 16. That the Sacrifice of the Mass appointed by Jesus Christ, is useful both for the Quick and Dead. 17. That none but Priests, ordain'd according to the custom of the Church, have Power to consecrate the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. 18. That Marriage, lawfully contracted and consummated among Christians cannot be dissolved, tho' it happens to either of them who are so join'd together, that they commit Adultery, or become Barren, or Hereticks. 19. That it was never allowed to a Christian to marry again after a Divorce, so long as the Woman from whom he was parted was alive. 20. That Marriages contracted against the Canons, which have laid down the invincible Impediments, are null. 21. That we ought firmly to believe that there is upon Earth one onely true Catholick Visible Church, which being founded by the Apostles, hath preserved the true Faith to this Day, which is taught in the Chair of St. Peter, upon which the Church is built, so that it cannot err in any thing that concerns Faith and Religion. 22. That there is no Salvation to be hoped for out of this Church; that Hereticks, Schismatics, and excommunicated Persons are cut off from it; so that Excommunication is much to be feared, and the Power of excommunicating is not Human, but Divine. 23. That there is but one supreme Pastor of the Church, to whom all the Faithful ought to be subject, and to whose Judgment all Controversies in Religion ought to be referred. 24. That St. Peter, the true Vicar of Jesus Christ, had this supreme Power upon Earth first, and that the Popes his Successors have it after him, according to the institution of Jesus Christ. 25. That we must believe, as of Faith, not only such things as are expressly mentioned in Scripture, but such things as are receiv'd by Tradition from the Catholick Church, and which have been defined as matters of Faith, or belonging to manners, by St. Peter's Chair and General Councils lawfully assembled. 26. That the constitutions of the Church about Festivals, and Abstinence from Meats and other things, do oblige the conscience, even out of the case of Scandal. 27. That the Church does well in honouring and praying to Saints that they would pray for us, and that Jesus Christ grants several things thro' their Merits and Intercession, and works Miracles by them here upon Earth. 28. That it is an holy and religious Practice piously to visit the Places consecrated to them, and where their Relicks are. 29. That the use of Images is acceptable to God, and that 'tis lawful to kneel down before them to invoke those whom they represent. 30. That we ought firmly to believe that there is a Purgatory after this Life, in which the punishment which is due to Sin is atoned for, and that the Souls which are comforted and deliver'd by the Sacrifice of the Altar, by Fastings and Almsgiving, and other good Works, of the Living, as also by Indulgences. 31. That the Souls

of the Dead, which are entirely purified, reign immediately with Jesus Christ in Heaven, and the Souls of the Wicked, as soon as they depart the Body, are delivered to eternal Punishments. 32. That it is good to make Monastick and other Vows, and that being made they are obligatory before God; that they are not contrary to the Liberty of the Gospel, which hath freed us from the Slavery of Sin, and not from the Obligations which we lay upon our selves by Oaths, nor from the Obedience due to Governors both in Church and State. The Divines of *Louvain* order'd all their Bretheren to teach nothing contrary to the Doctrine contained in these Articles, and to defend them as occasion offered. This Answer bears Date Nov. 6. 1544.

The Divines of *Paris* had by the King's Order two Years before (*March* 10. 1542.) composed 25. Articles about the Points in Controversie, in which they had asserted, 1. That we ought to believe that Baptism is necessary for Salvation even in Infants. 2. That Man has a Free-will by which he can do Good or Evil, and raise himself up from his fall by the Help of God. 3. That Penance is necessary for adult Persons fallen into Mortal Sin, and that it consists in Contrition, a Sacramental Confession made to a Priest *viva Voce*, and Satisfaction. 4. That Man is not justified by Faith only, but also by good Works, which are so necessary, that without them no adult Person can attain eternal Life. 5. That every Christian is bound to believe firmly, that in the Consecration of the Eucharist, the Bread and Wine are changed into the true Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, and that there remain only the Forms under which the true Body of Jesus which was born of the Virgin, and suffered on the Cross, is really contained. 6. That the Sacrifice of the Mass is useful for the Quick and the Dead, according to the Institution of Jesus Christ. 7. That the Communion in both kinds is not necessary for the Laity, and that the Church, for just Reasons hath ordained that they should receive it only under one kind, *i. e.* the Bread. 8. That only Priests, ordained according to the custom of the Church, have received of Jesus Christ Power to consecrate his true Body, and to absolve from Sins *in foro Pœnitentiæ*. 9. That it is certain, that wicked Priests, tho' they are guilty of mortal Sins, can consecrate the true Body of Jesus Christ, if they have a real Intention to do it. 10. That Confirmation and Extreme Unction are Sacraments appointed by Jesus Christ, by which the Grace of the Holy Spirit is conferred. 11. That it is not to be doubted, but that the Saints both in Heaven and Earth work Miracles. 12. That it is a pious thing and agreeable to God, to pray to the Virgin *Mary* and the Saints which are in Heaven, that they would be our Advocates and Intercessors with God. 13. That we ought not only to imitate, but also to honour and pray to the Saints who are with Jesus Christ. 14. That those that visit the Places dedicated to them, do a Religious act. 15. That if any one make his Prayer, either out of the Church or in it, to the Virgin or to some Saint, rather than to God, he doth not sin. 16. That it is not to be doubted but that it is a good and holy Practice to kneel before a Crucifix or the Image of the Virgin, and the Saints, when we pray to Jesus Christ or the Saints. 17. That we ought to believe that there is a Purgatory, and that the Souls which are detained there, are comforted by Prayers, Fastings, Alms-Deeds, and other good Works, and are sooner freed from Punishment. 18. That every Christian is bound to believe firmly, that there is but one universal visible Church, which cannot err in matters of Faith or Manners, and to which all Christians are bound to submit in all things that relate to these two Points. 19. That it belongs to it to decide and determine the Controversies and Doubts, which may arise concerning the Holy Scripture. 20. That it is certain that we ought to deliver many

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The Articles of the Divines of Paris.

things which are not expressly and particularly mentioned in Holy Scripture, but received by the Tradition of the Church. 21. That the power of excommunicating was granted immediately by divine Right to the Church, and that upon that account, the Censures of the Church ought to be dreaded. 22. That 'tis certain that a general Council represents the universal Church, and cannot err in Matters of Faith and Manners. 23. That 'tis not less certain, that there is a chief Bishop in the Church Militant, whom all Christians are bound to obey, and that he hath power to grant Indulgences. 24. That the Constitutions of the Church about Fasting, Abstinence from Meats, and several other Points, oblige *in foro Conscientie*, even when there would be no Scandal. 25. That Vows also oblige in Conscience, even the monastical Vows of Chastity, Poverty, and perpetual Obedience. After that, the Faculty forbade all Doctors and Batchelors to teach any thing contrary to these Articles, and order'd 'em to subscribe them. They advised Preachers to beg the Assistance of the Holy Spirit, by the Intercession of the Virgin according to the Custom; not to say *Christ*, but *Jesus Christ*, and not to name the Saints, without adding the Word *Saint* to the proper Name. The Pope approved of these Articles, and the King published them, and commanded that all should be punish'd who should teach any thing contrary to them. When the Council was ready to be called, his Majesty, who was at *Fountainbleau*, sent for the Doctors of Divinity of the Faculty of *Paris* to *Melun*, and order'd them to consider upon the Doctrines of Faith which were necessary to be determined. As to what concern'd the Faith in the foregoing Articles, they held to it without adding, or changing any thing; but as for what concerned Discipline, they were not all of the same Opinion, for some would have the Decrees of the Council of *Constance* and *Basil* confirmed, and the *Pragmatick Sanction* restored; others thought it not convenient to meddle with that Point, for fear of offending the King by a Demand contrary to the *Concordate* which his Majesty had made with *Leo X*.

Legates sent to Trent to open the Council.

The Council put off.

The Pope, February 6. 1545. appointed his Legates to assist in his Name at the Council, *Johannes Maria de Monte* Cardinal Bishop of *Præneste*, *Marcellus Cervinus* Cardinal-priest of *St. Croffe*, and *Reginald Pool* Cardinal-deacon of *St. Mary in Cosmedin*. He also sent to *Trent* the Bishop of *Cava* as his Internuncio, Cardinal *Farnese* his Nephew, as his Legate with the Emperor, and *Fabius Miguanelius* his Nuncio with *Ferdinand*. The two first Legates being arrived at *Trent*, in the beginning of *March*, found no Bishops there but the Bishop of *Cava*; but a few days after, *Thomas Campegius* Bishop of *Feltri*, and *Cornelius Mussus* Bishop of *Bitonto* came. *James Mendoza* the Imperial Ambassador at *Venice*, came to *Trent* with a large Commission, dated at *Brussels* February 20. He required the Legates forthwith to open the Council, and to begin to treat of a Reformation of Manners, assuring them, that the Emperor had ordered the Bishops of *Spain* to hasten the Council. Nevertheless the Legates, not seeing things as yet tending that way, put it off till they had received Orders from *Rome* concerning the time when they should open it. On the 8th. of *April* the Ambassadors of the King of the *Romans* came to *Trent*, and were received in a solemn Meeting, to which they presented a Letter from the King their Master, and assured the Assembly of his Respect to the Holy See, and the Desire he had to favour the Council, in all things. In these circumstances the Pope resolved to order his Legates to open the Council. The Viceroy of *Naples* seemed to hinder it, by forbidding the Bishops of his Kingdom to go all in person to the Council, and ordering them to give Deputations to four Bishops to act in their Name. The Pope, on the other side, publish'd a Bull, ordering all Bishops to be at the Council in person, and forbade them to send their Deputies, and com-

manded his Legates to open the Council May 3. In the mean time Cardinal *Farnese*, who was going to *Worms*, passing thro' *Trent*, and having conferred with the Legates, thought it more convenient to delay the opening the Council, till he had taken such Measures with the Emperor, as to act concurrently with it.

While these things were doing at *Trent*, the Emperor call'd a Diet at *Worms*, which began *March* 24. The Emperor being then troubled with the Gout, could not be present at the opening of it; whereupon the King of the *Romans* told the Assembly, that his Imperial Majesty had made a Peace with *France*, that he might bestow his pains in appeasing the Troubles about Religion, and go on with the War with the *Turks*; that he had obtain'd of the Pope to call a Council at *Trent*, which should have begun before this; that he had sent his Ambassadors, but had not nevertheless neglected to do what was ordered by the Diet of *Spires*, and had given command to several persons of Learning and Piety, to draw up a Model of Reformation; but that this Affair requiring mature Deliberation, so that he had no leisure to do it at present, because of the War with the *Turk*, he thought it better to lay aside the Business of the Reformation for the present, and so much the rather, because the Council was begun, till they could see what might be expected from that Assembly for the Reformation of Manners; and that if he foresaw that no good could be hoped for from them, he would appoint an Assembly before this Diet rose, where proper Resolutions should be taken, and where what concerned Doctrine and Discipline should be regulated; and that in the mean time, they should turn their Thoughts upon things more necessary, that is to say, the War with the *Turks*, and give the Emperor considerable Aids, that he might either vigourously resist the *Turk*, or at least put a stop to his Progress.

The Protestants, to whom the Archbishop of *Cologne*, and the Elector *Palatine* had then joined themselves, answered, that this Diet being appointed principally about Matters of Religion, and things being prepared for an Accommodation by former Conferences, there were great Hopes of Success; that it was the Interest of *Germany*, that such a conclusion should be made as soon as possible; that nevertheless if they thought it could not be done at present, yet 'twas necessary to explain more clearly the Article which concern'd peace in Matters of Religion, tho' they did not fully agree on it till the next Council; that they did not acknowledge the Council of *Trent* for a lawful Council, and so they ought to make an absolute peace, which should not depend on a Papal Council, and regulate the Imperial Chamber, according to the method prescrib'd by the Edict of *Spires*; that if these two Articles were agreed on, they would soon consider upon the War with the *Turks*. *Ferdinand* reply'd, that he would satisfy them as to the Imperial Chamber; but there being no other precautions taken concerning the peace in the Diet of *Spires*, but only that Liberty in Religion should be continued till the next Council, which was already appointed, they ought not to insist upon any thing more as to that Article. The Protestants insisted and declared, that they had ever rejected a Council which should depend upon the Pope, and that they could not send any Aids against the *Turks*, unless they were assured that they should have no disturbance about their Religion. These Debates continuing till *May*, without any likelyhood of an Accommodation, the Emperor came to *Worms*, *May* 16. and Cardinal *Farnese* follow'd him the next day. The Count *de Grignan* was also sent by the King of *France*. The Legate solicited the Emperor to support the Council, and openly declare himself against the Protestants; but the Emperor standing much in need of their Assistance against the *Turk*, would not quarrel them; and answered the Legate, that his Holiness might order the Council to be opened if he thought

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The Diet of Worms.

The Protestants oppose the Council of Trent.

thought fit, but as to himself he would not meddle with it. The Count de Grignan told the Diet, that his Master approved of the meeting of the Council of Trent, and exhorted the Princes of Germany, and even the Protestants not to oppose it, but notwithstanding all that he could do, the Protestants would never consent. The Emperor therefore put an end to this Diet August 4. and appointed another at Ratisbon January 4. following, where all the Princes were to meet in person; and that all Differences in Religion might be ready for an Accommodation at the opening of the Diet, he ordered a Conference between four Doctors and two Arbitrators in the beginning of December. In the mean time he renewed and continued the Edicts for peace made by the former Diets, commanded that the Sums assessed the last Year should be raised for the War with the Turks, and put off the Reformation of the Imperial Chamber to the next Diet.

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We have already observed that Herman Archbishop of Cologne had declared for the Protestants, and resolved to introduce Lutheranism into his Electorate, and that the Clergy, the University, and the Magistrates of Cologne opposed it. The Archbishop not willing to desist from his Undertaking, they appealed to the Pope and Emperor, and because he went on without any regard to their Appeal, to establish his pretended Reformation in his Diocese, and to support the Lutheran Ministers, the Clergy of Cologne applied themselves to the Emperor, and presented their complaints to him, while he was at the Diet of Worms in June 1545. His Imperial Majesty took this Clergy into his protection, and granted them his Letters, by which he forbade all manner of persons to molest the Clergy, or Catholics of the Electorate of Cologne, and vex them either in their Persons or Goods, under the penalty of being subject to the Imperial Ban. He also at the same time summoned the Elector to appear before him within thirty days, either in Person or by his Proctor, to answer to the Accusations brought against him, forbidding him in the mean time to innovate or change any thing, and ordering him, to restore those things which he had changed to the condition they were lately in. The same thing also he enjoined the Inhabitants of the Towns of his Electorate. The Pope also cited July the 18th. the Archbishop, Dean, and five Canons of Cologne, who adhered to him, to appear at Rome within sixty days.

In January following, the Protestants being assembled at Franckfort to consult about their common Affairs, the Deputies of the Elector of Cologne brought his complaints to that Assembly against the Clergy of Cologne, and the Summons sent him by the Emperor and the Pope. At the same time the Elector Palatine being also gone over to the Protestants and embracing their Doctrines, established the new pretended Reformation in his Dominions, by abolishing the Mass, and allowing the Priests to marry. The number of the Protestant Princes being thus increased, they all join'd together to defend the Archbishop of Cologne, and to oppose the Emperor's Designs of reducing him by Force of Arms.

Altho' the Affairs of Germany inclin'd thus towards a War, the Emperor did not forbear to hold the Conference which he had appointed by the Decree of the last Diet at Worms; and to that end he sent 4 Divines to Ratisbon, viz. Peter Malvenda a Spanish Dominican Friar, Everhardus Billicus a Carmelite, John Hofmesterus an Augustine Friar, and John Cochlaus to be Disputants, with three other Divines to be Hear-

ers. The Protestants sent thither Bucer, Brentius, George Major, and Erhardus Schnepfius to be Disputants, and some Auditors. Ambrosius Pelargus was sent as Supernumerary by the Catholics; and John Pistorius with two others by the Protestants. Two Presidents of the Conference appointed by the Emperor were, Maurice Bishop of Eichstat, and Frederick Count of Furstemburg. The Conference began January 27th. 1546. The Presidents told the Assembly, that his Imperial Majesty's Intention was, to have the Articles of the Confession of Augsburg debated, except the three first, concerning the Trinity, Incarnation, and Original Sin, because the two first had no difficulty, and the third had been sufficiently discussed. The Protestants demanded that there might be Notaries allowed to write down what should be said on both sides. The Presidents were unwilling to grant it, because it would lengthen the Conference, and all that was said would be made publick: But at last it was agreed, that two persons should write down what was said by both sides, and their Writings should be put in a Box, that no Man might see them, and so things might remain secret. February the 5th. Malvenda opened the Conference with a Discourse about Justification. Bucer answered him the next day, and shewed, that they were agreed upon that Point at Ratisbon. Billicus then discoursed upon the same Article, and Bucer reply'd February the 13th. On the 15th. of the same Month, an Order came from the Emperor to admit Pflugius Bishop of Naumburg for a third President, to keep all things secret that passed at that Conference, to cause the Disputants to subscribe the Articles on which they agreed, and write down briefly the Points which still were controverted. The Protestants were unwilling to accept these Conditions, and particularly that which oblig'd them to Secrecy, because they had Orders to give an account to their Princes, of what had pass'd at that Conference; whereupon it was thought necessary to write to the Emperor, but before an Answer could be had, the Elector of Saxony recall'd his Divines, and Bucer withdrew under pretence of going to the Landgrave, to let him know the Propositions that were made. The other Protestant Divines departed also soon after, notwithstanding the prohibition given them by the Presidents. This Action much displeased the Emperor, and destroyed all the Hopes of Advantage which he had conceived by this Conference.

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On the 18th. of February of the same Year, Luther died at Isleben, whither he went to make the Counts of Mansfield Friends, who had been at odds. He had a little before (in 1542. and 1543.) taken away the custom of elevating the Host at the Mass at Wittemberg, and put out a Book in 1545. full of Reflections on the Pope, and some Theses about the Hierarchy with impertinent Figures. As soon as the Articles of the Divines of Louvain appeared, he published 75 Propositions in Latin and High-Dutch, full of bitter Reproaches and poor Jest, which shew, that he retained his passionate and furious Spirit to his last Moment, which had always been the chief part of his Character (a). He also revived the Quarrel with the Sacramentarians, being angry with them because the Ministers of Zurich had published a Translation of the Bible in the German Language different from his, which Version of theirs was begun by Leo Juda, and finished after his Death; and because Rodolphus Gualterus had put out Zuinglius's Works with an Apology for his Doctrine. Luther wrote to the Bookseller who had sent him Leo Juda's Trans-

Luthers Death and last Writings.

Protestants join to defend the Elector of Cologne.

The Conference of Ratisbon.

[(a)] Whosoever will take the pains to read over Luther's Works, or that admirable Extract of them which is to be found in Seckendorff's History of Lutheranism, will see that Rage and Fury was not the principal part of this great and holy Man's Character. Upon occasion he could be meek, and patient. His Zeal was only for the Honour of God: When he thought that concerned, he spared no Man, nor no Thing. If he was passionate, he had cause given him; he was as our Mr. Chillingworth expresses it, continually baited at by a

World of Furies, and then it is no wonder, if he sometimes went beyond what a by-Stander will call the Bounds of Moderation. Besides the Times then required one of his Temper: He had Foundations to destroy, and strong and well laid ones too; he had Rubbish to remove, which a gentle Temper could not have stirred. So that there is reason to believe, that Martin Luther was particularly set up by Providence, to do that, which no Man without Martin Luther's Temper could have effected.]

lation, 'That he should never send him any thing for the future, which came from the Ministers of Zurich; that he never would have any thing more to do with them, nor read their Books; that they were damn'd Wretches, who led others to Hell; that he would not share with their Blasphemies, nor their Condemnation; that he had resolved to oppose them as long as he lived, both by his Writings and Prayers.' In the year following, he published an Explication upon *Genesis*, in which he compares *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, and the other *Sacramentarians*, to *Arius*, *Muncer*, and the *Anabaptists*, and treats them as Idolaters and Fanaticks, laughing at the Objection which they made, that the Body of Jesus Christ being in Heaven, could not be in the Lord's Supper; and jesting upon them for spending their time in arguing about the Distance of Heaven and Earth, like natural Philosophers and Mathematicians, instead of believing as Christians, that in receiving the Bread and Wine they really ate and drank the Body and Blood of Christ. *Luther* also put out the same Year a Book, intitled, *A short Confession of Faith*, in which he says at the Beginning, that he was no more concern'd whether the *Sacramentarians* and *Zuinglians* praised or blamed him, than if the *Jews*, the *Turks*, the *Pope*, or all the Devils praised, or blamed him: That being near his Death, he should carry this Glory to the Judgment-Seat of Jesus Christ, that he had always condemned and avoided *Carlostadt*, *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Schwenkfeldius*, and in general all the *Sacramentarians* and their Followers, as well at *Zurich*, as elsewhere; that he hoped that after the Conference at *Marpurg*, *Zuinglius*, who had there retracted several of his Errors, would also change his Opinion about the Lord's Supper, but he died unfortunately in his Sin. He accuses him not only of being an Enemy of the Sacrament, but also a Pagan. He prays all those that have heard of the Conference of *Marpurg*, to believe that he did not agree with the *Zuinglians* in any one Article. He calls the *Sacramentarians* mad Men, Blasphemers, Lyars, curs'd and damn'd Wretches, for whom it was not lawful to pray; and declares, that he will have no society with them, unless they will confess that the Bread in the Eucharist is the true natural Body of Jesus Christ; that the Wicked, yea *Judas* the Traytor did receive it by the Mouth, no less than the other true Christians. Lastly, he denounces an *Anathema* against those that will not subscribe this Confession of Faith. *Melanchthon* blamed these Invectives of *Luther* against the *Sacramentarians*, and all his days kept near their Opinion, not allowing of a real Presence, but in the very Use, which he reduced to a Moment. *Bucer* who had taken so much pains to effect an Union, was much troubled to see his Labour lost, and the Quarrel between the *Lutherans* and *Sacramentarians* to be hotter than ever. He wrote to *Luther* to pacifie him, telling him, that these Divisions would not advance the Reformation; and assuring him, that the Ministers of the Imperial Cities and *Switzerland* held to the Terms of the Act of Agreement. *Bucer* drew up at the same time a new Confession of Faith about the Eucharist, in which he asserts that we ought to acknowledge, that the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are given us in the Lord's Supper for our Nourishment and Drink;

and that the Eucharistick Bread and Wine are the Communion of his Body and Blood; so that we not only receive the Holy Spirit, or the Vertue of the Body of Jesus Christ, but Jesus Christ himself. But after this Explication he adds several other considerations, to let us know, that that Manducation is not real, and that it is only done by Faith. Nevertheless, he acknowledgeth that the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are really and truly given in the Lord's Supper, provided that it be celebrated according to Christ's Institution, and that we have a firm Faith in the Words in which it is given. He also owns, that Reprobates and Sinners receive the Body and Blood of Christ, if they have Faith at the time of receiving; but he maintains that they that have no Faith in the Words of Jesus Christ, receive nothing by the Mystery and outward Signs of the Sacrament, but what they perceive by their Senses. *Luther* was not satisfied with all these Disguises of *Bucer*, and declared that he would not hearken to these pretended Conciliations, nor receive any more of his Letters. He was also ready to quarrel with his Friend *Melanchthon*, because of the Softnings which he used in favour of the *Sacramentarians*. The Elector of *Saxony* and Landgrave of *Hesse* were forced to use their Authority, that a Division between these two Heads of their new Reformation should not break out, but all that they could effect of either side was, that each of them should enjoy their own Opinion, and should defend it as they thought convenient, without being obliged to ingage in either Party. The Ministers of *Zurich*, who were not so careful to keep Friends with *Luther*, put out an Apology in *Latin* and *High-Dutch* in 1545. against this short Confession, in which they defend both the Doctrine and Person of *Zuinglius*, without sparing *Luther* at all. The Minister of the Church of *Bremen* sending him word that such an Answer was come out, he reply'd, that he rejoiced that he had such Adversaries, and thought himself happy, that he should enjoy the Blessedness mentioned in the first *Psalme*, *Blessed is the Man that hath not walked in the Counsel of the Sacramentarians, nor stood in the Way of the Zuinglians, nor sat in the Seat of the Ministers of Zurich*. Lastly, in his Positions against the Divines of *Louvain*, he plainly declares, that the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are given and received really and truly in the Eucharist, which is a venerable and adorable Sacrament, as well to the unworthy, as to those that are worthy to receive it; and that he verily believes, that the *Zuinglians*, *Sacramentarians*, and all those that deny that the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are carnally received in the Sacrament, are Hereticks, and cut off from the Church of God. This is the last Judgment which *Luther* passed by his publick Writings upon the Doctrine of the *Sacramentarians*. There are since published some Discourses which he is said to have had with *Melanchthon*, in which he explains himself after a different manner about the Lord's Supper, and confesses he was mistaken about it, but did not think fit to retract, for fear he should make all his Doctrine suspected. This Fact, (*b*) if it be true, serves only to confirm that it was not Love of Truth, but Pride and Ambition, which set *Luther* to work, and carried him on in all his Progress.

[(*b*) It is ingenuously said, if it be true, for it is plain that *Du Pin* does not believe it.]

C H A P. XXX.

The Original and Authors of Heresie in France. The Punishment of the first Hereticks. The Life of John Calvin. The first War against the Vaudois.

KING Francis I. being desirous to make his Kingdom eminent for the *Belles Lettres* and Sciences, invited able Men from all Parts to teach them there. *Germany* at that time was better stored with such Men, than the other Kingdoms of *Europe*, but most of them were *Lutherans* or *Zuinglians*, and besides, there were able Men in *France*, who, cheated with the specious Name of Reformation, were carried to have an Inclination to that Party.

By these two Means *Lutheranism* and *Zuinglianism* crept into *France*. The Errors of the new Reformation were received first in the City of *Meaux*. *William Bricconnet*, Bishop of that See, entertained several learned Men, who were suspected to favour *Luther's* Opinions, and among others, *William Farel* of *Dauphiny*, *Jacobus Faber Stapulensis*, *Arnold* and *Gerard Roussel* of *Picardy*. It is very probable, that these Divines, and particularly *Farel*, who was afterwards one of the Leaders among the *Calvinists*, instructed some of the Citizens privately in the Doctrines of the new Reformation, and erected according to the *Calvinist* Historians, their first Church in *France* there, and chose for their Minister one *John*, (or *Peter le Clerc*) a *Wool-Comber*, who without any other Ordination, undertook to preach and administer the Sacraments to the Congregation of these new pretended Reformers, which in a little time increased to the number of three or four hundred Persons. Their multitude caused them soon to be discovered.

Le Clerc was apprehended, and being condemned to be whipped, and branded with *Flower-de-Luces*, he was banished the Kingdom for saying, the Pope was Antichrist. After the execution of this Sentence he fled to *Metz*, where continuing to teach his Doctrines, and attempting to pull down Images, he was burnt soon after. All this happened at *Meaux* in 1523, and immediately after the four Divines above mentioned were expell'd that City. Some would have proceeded against them, but King *Francis I.* wrote from *Madrid*, where he then was, to the Parliament to stop the prosecution, which they had begun against them. *Farel* left *France*, and fled into *Switzerland*, and taught a while at *Basil*, but being driven from thence, he went to *Mont-belliard* and other Places, not settling any where, till he came to *Geneva*, where he was the first Author of the Change of Religion which was made in that City. *Faber Stapulensis* retreated to *Nerac* a Town in the Dominions of the Queen of *Navarre*, and lived there all the rest of his days in the Communion of the Church. *Gerard Roussel* travelled into *Germany* to see *Luther*, and being returned into *France*, lived in the Service of the Queen of *Navarre*. His Brother *Arnold* leaving his new Opinions was after made Prebendary, and Penitentiary of the Church of *Paris*. The Bishop of *Meaux* to vindicate himself from the charge of Heresie which was laid to him, called a Synod immediately, and forbad all Persons reading, or having *Luther's* Books, and made several Canons about the Invocation of Saints, Prayers for the Dead, and the Feast, and Procession of the holy Sacrament. Afterwards he assisted at the Provincial Council of *Sens* held at *Paris* in 1528. by Cardinal *du Prat* where the Errors of the *Lutherans* and *Sacramentarians* were condemned.

Though there was no body yet in *France* that openly professed *Luther's* Doctrine, yet there is no doubt, but there were several that favoured the Opinions both of *Luther*, and *Zuinglius*. The Dutchess of *Estampes* who had a great influence upon King *Francis I.* favoured them secretly, and the Queen of *Navarre* publicly enough. She caused the Bishop of *Sens* the King's Confessor to translate into the French Tongue a Book of Prayers, to be sung in the public Service of God, out of which all the Prayers made to the Mother of God and other Saints were left out, and she her self composed a Book called, *The Mirror of a sinful Soul*, and several Prayers. She heard the *Lutherans* favourably, and was much pleased to discourse with them, she gave them her Protection, and allowed them to fly into her Dominions, and she spake kindly of them to her Brother King *Francis I.* and endeavoured to win his Favour to them. And last of all she turn'd the Mind of *Henry D' Albret* her Husband King of *Navarre*, towards this new Reformation.

By the favour of this Protection, many of the pretended Reformed flocked to *Bern*, and *Guienne*, where they held their Assemblies privately, chose them Ministers, and celebrated the Sacraments. The Cardinals of *Foix*, and *Grandmont* withdrew from the King of *Navarre's* Court, and gave an account of what passed there to King *Francis I.* who being incensed at it, wrote to his Sister to come to him: she went to him immediately, and carried with her *Gerard Roussel*, and two *Augustine* Monks, named *Conradus* and *Bertoldus*. The King reproved her for bringing such Novelties into God's Worship, as tended to the abolishing of the Mass; she answered, that she had no design either to make any alterations in Religion, or take away the Mass, but to reform several abuses, which had crept into the Ceremonies of the Church, and the Celebration of the Mass. The Propositions which *Gerard Roussel*, and his Bretheren then propounded were these: That the Priest should read the Mass with the usual Ceremonies, but first, that he should give the Sacrament at every Mass. Secondly, that there should be no Elevation of the Host. Thirdly, nor Adoration of it. Fourthly, that all should Communicate in both kinds. Fifthly, that there should be no Commemoration of the Virgin or the Saints in the Sacrament. Sixthly, That common Bread should be used in the Sacrament, and that the Priest should break it and distribute it to the People. Seventhly, that no Priest should be obliged to live unmarried; this is that which was called afterwards. *The Mass with the Seven points*. The King was so far from hearkening to these Proposals, that he was enraged at the boldness of these Divines, and caused them to be put into Prison. The Queen of *Navarre* soon obtained their Liberty, but it was upon the Condition, that the two *Augustine* Monks should resume their Habit. *Bertoldus* resumed it sincerely, but *Conradus* left it again soon after, and fled to *Farellus* into *Switzerland*. *Roussel* returned to *Nerac*, and was afterwards made Abbot of *Clerac*, and Bishop of *Oleron* by the Queen of *Navarre*. He never quite departed from the Church, and professed to condemn the Doctrine of *Luther*, *Zuinglius* and *Calvin*, though he did not approve of many practices

used in the Church. When he celebrated the Mass, he always gave the Sacrament to some of the People, and made an Exhortation to them in the vulgar Tongue, about the mystery of the Sacrament. He was the first, that gave the Communion in both Kinds, and 'twas his custom always to recite some of the Prayers in *French*. In other things he was of an unblameable Life and did his duty exactly, Preaching often, attending continually on the Service of God, and very Charitable to the Poor.

About the same time the Rector of St. *Eustachius* in *Paris*, named *Nicholas Cocke*, a famous Preacher, preaching before the King upon the Sacrament, delivered this Doctrine in his Sermon, that we ought not to have any regard to the Elements, or what is set before us upon the Altar, but to raise our Souls by Faith to Heaven, repeating these words of the Canon several times, *Sursum corda*. He had also a private discourse with the King about it, and maintained what he had asserted. The King remitted him to the Ecclesiastical Judges, who began to draw up an Information against him, and would have made a Decree against him, but his Majesty ordered, that he should not be molested, if he could prove his Doctrine by Holy Scripture. This led to a dispute, which might have been of ill consequence, and made a thing most certain be looked upon as dubious, had not the Cardinals of *Lorraine* and *Tournon* toward the Blow, taken care, that *Cocke* being convinced by private disputes with the Divines yielded, and delivered from the Pulpit the contrary Doctrine to what he before asserted. Another Parish Priest, one *Landry*, who had also before the King Preached against Purgatory, was forced to recant, and submit himself to the Judgment of the Church.

Lewis Berquin a *Flemish* Gentleman, Counsellor to the King, met not with such gentle usage. He took his name from an Estate which he had in his own Country, of a moderate Revenue. He was a Layman and young, and had lived a very regular Life. He was Bountiful to his Friends, Charitable to the Poor, and very exact in observing the Constitutions, and Customs of the Church, such as Fasts, and Festivals; he was very devout at Mass and Sermons, and in all things behaved himself as a good Catholic. Nevertheless he was accused for maintaining the Errors of *Luther*, because he had some contests with the Priests and Monks about them, and had spoken ill of those Orders, and had asserted in some Books that he had composed, that it was to no purpose to pray to the Virgin, instead of the Holy Spirit in their Sermons; that they ought not to term her the Fountain of all Grace, our Hope and our Life, because these Titles were allowed to none but Jesus Christ. His Books were condemned in 1523. by the Faculty of Divinity of *Paris*, and being himself Imprisoned, he was accused of Heresie. The Judges, seeing no just cause for his Condemnation dismissed him, and his Enemies gave out a Report, that he was freed by the King's Favour,

Some time after *Natalis Bedda*, and *Du Chesne*, having gathered several Propositions out of his Books, caused him again to be put into Prison, and three Monks (the Priors of the *Carthusians* and *Celestins*, and a third) were appointed his Judges, who pronounced him a Heretic, and ordered him to recant, and his Books to be burned. *Berquin* continued firm in his Opinion, but obtained of the Parliament that his cause should be heard again. The King being lately returned from *Madrid*, ordered the Parliament to delay Judgment in that cause, and sometime after *Berquin*, was set at Liberty. But being advised to accuse *Bedda* in his turn, and having preferred twelve Articles against him taken out of his Books his Enemies fell upon him afresh, and obtained that twelve Commissioners should be appointed to hear his Cause. *Budeus*, who was

one of his Judges, visited him in Prison, and endeavoured all he could to persuade him to recant his foolish Opinions, but not being able to prevail, the Judges gave Sentence that his Books should be burnt, and when he had abjured the Articles taken out of his Books, his Tongue should be bored through, and he should undergo a perpetual Imprisonment. When this Sentence was passed upon him, he appealed to the Pope and the King, but his Judges meeting again, condemned him to be burnt the next day, and he was Executed in the *Greve*, April 22. 1529. He endured this Punishment with much courage, and died about Forty years of Age.

The number of the pretended Reformed increasing daily in *France*, they had the boldness to divulge many Libels, and to set up Papers in 1534. against the Holy Sacrament and the Sacrifice of the Mass, full of reflections upon the Bishops and Clergy. The King being provoked by these Insolencies, ordered that all Persons found guilty of Heresie should be condemned to Death, and erected some Courts of Justice to try them. And to restore the Holy Sacrament to the Honour due to it he ordered, that there should be a general Procession at *Paris*, January 29. 1535. where he was himself present with Head and Feet bare, holding a Torch in his hand, followed by his Children, the Princes of the Blood, and all his Courtiers. The Procession being ended, he went to the Bishops Palace, where he made a discourse against the new Opinions, and exhorted all present to avoid them, and to accuse all such as they knew to be of those Opinions. The same day six *Lutherans* who were condemned by the Parliament were burned, and there was a very strict search made after others, and those who were obstinate were burnt in several places.

The Protestant Princes of *Germany* complained of this treatment, and prayed the King not to deal so severely with those who had no other crime, but that they were of their Religion. This Prince, who had need of their help, sent his Embassadors *William de Langey* to the Assembly at *Smalkald*, and justified the severity which he had used by alledging, that those whom he put to Death, were seditious Persons, who held a Doctrine much different from that of the Protestants of *Germany*. He made also at the same time, some Propositions for an accommodation about Religion, and desired that some *German* Divines might be sent to confer with the Divines of *France*; and particularly invited *Melanchthon*, as more moderate and more sensible than the rest, to come into *France*, but that Divine delaying his Journey thither, and satisfying himself with writing some Letters, and a Discourse to the King about the means of appeasing the Controversies in Religion, and the Cardinal *Tournon* having remonstrated to his Majesty, that he ought not to have any Commerce with Hereticks, the Project of this Conference was laid aside, and the King went on in punishing those who were convicted of Heresie,

Among the Innovators whom *France* produced at this time, *John Calvin* was the most considerable, and became the Leader of the Sect of the pretended reformed in *France*, who from his Name were afterwards called *Calvinists*. He was born at *Noyon* in *Picardy*, July 10. 1509. His Parents were *Gerard Calvin*, and *Jane le Franc* persons of a mean degree, and small Fortune. He was sent to *Paris*, where he was instructed in the grounds of Learning under *Mathurin Cordier* in the College of *la Marce*, and afterwards in *Montague* College under a *Spanish* Master. As his Father designed him for the Service of the Church, so he got a Chappel for him in the Cathedral of *Noyon*, of which he was possessed, May, 21. 1521. and afterwards in 1527. he was made Pastor of *Marteville*, which he changed in 1529. for *Pont l'Evêque* near *Noyon* and having possessed all these Benefits without being in Ecclesiastical Orders, he left the Church soon to study the

the Civil Law by the advice of *Peter Robert Olivatan*, who had a Design to bring him over to the Doctrine of the Innovators; so that after he had finished his Humanity-studies at *Paris*, he was sent to *Orleans* to study the Law under the tuition of *Petrus Stella*; and afterwards to *Bourges* to perfect himself in that Study under *Andrew Alciat*. He set himself to learn the Greek Tongue at *Bourges*, by the advice and assistance of *Melchior Wolmar*, who was Professor of that Language there. This Professor was a *Lutheran* secretly, and instilled his Opinions into *Calvin*, who from that time began to make Divinity his principal Study. The Death of his Father called him to *Noyon*, but he stayed there but a little while, and then went and settled his Abode at *Paris*. He there wrote a Commentary upon *Seneca's* Treatise of Clemency, which he dedicated to *Claudius Hangeſtus* Abbot of *S. Eligius*, at *Noyon*, which is nothing but an Explication of *Seneca's* Sense, and Confirmation of it with some Examples and Quotations, in the stile of a Commentator. He soon made himself known to those who secretly embraced the new Errors in Religion, and was looked upon from that time in their Congregations, as one of the ablest and best qualified Men to teach and defend their Doctrines. The Rector of the University, who was then *Nicholas Cope* the Son of *William Cope* of *Basil*, the King's Physician, having a Speech to make, *November 1. 1532.* *Calvin* composed it, and inserted into it such Assertions concerning Religion, as the Divines of *Paris* thought contrary to the Faith and Christian Piety. The Parliament having notice of it, summoned the Rector before them, who was going with his Beadles to the Palace, but being admonished by the way that he should take care of himself, he returned home with all haste, and fled out of the Kingdom to the City of *Basil*. The Judges being informed, that *Calvin* had an hand in that Discourse, sent the Lieutenant Criminal *John Morinus*, to the College of *Forteret* where *Calvin* lived to apprehend him, but he could not find *Calvin*, and so only seized his Papers, among which there were Letters found, which discovered several of those that held Correspondence with him. When this Tempest was a little allayed by the Interest of the Queen of *Navarre*, *Calvin* returned to *Xantoigne*, where he was friendly entertained by *Lewis du Tillet*, Prebendary of *Angoulesme*, and Pastor of *Claye*, his Friend, at whose request he composed a Book Entitled: *Christian admonitions, to be read as Homilies by the Ministers, for the Instruction of the People in the Heads of Religion.* *Calvin* made a Journey to *Nerac* on purpose to see *Faber Stapulensis*, and return'd again to *Paris*, in 1534, just at the time when *Gerard Roussel*, and *Conradus* were banished from that City, and orders were given to find out the Innovators. This Persecution made him resolve to leave *France*, and so after he had published a Treatise at *Orleans* concerning the *Psychopannychia*, that is to say, against those that believe that the Soul sleeps till the Day of Judgment, he fled to *Basil*, where he contracted a great Intimacy with *Gryneus* and *Capito* and betook himself to learn the *Hebrew* Tongue. 'Tis thought that *Lewis du Tillet* went along with him this Journey, and that his brother *John du Tillet* followed him into *Germany* to bring him again into *France*. About this time *Calvin* published his *Institutions*, which he dedicated to *Francis* the First, as an apology for the pretended Reformed, who were accused in *France* for being *Enthusiasts*, and *Anabaptists*. The Preface is dated from *Basil*, *Agust 1. 1536.* and the first Edition of the work, was Printed there in 1535. After he had published this Book, *Calvin* made a Voyage into *Italy* to wait upon the Princes of *Ferrara*, the Daughter of *Lewis XII.* who was a favourer of the new Reformation. He was very welcome to that Lady, but the Duke of *Ferrara* would not suffer him to continue long with her, and so he returned into *France* to settle his affairs there, with a design to go to *Strasburg* or *Basil*. The War forcing him to pass through *Geneva*, he was

detained there by *Farrellus* and *Viretus*, who had begun to settle the Protestant Religion in that City, and obtained of the Council and Magistrates of *Geneva*, that he should be chosen Preacher and Professor of Divinity there. This happened about the end of the Year 1536. In the next Year he made a Confession of Faith, and a Catechism which he caused to be taught in *Geneva*. He opposed the *Anabaptists* with success in a public Conference, and confuted *Peter Caroli*, who had accused him and his Bretheren of holding particular Opinions about the Trinity. He wrote also two Letters into *France*, to confirm those of his Party in their Errors, and to oblige them to separate entirely from the Church; one of them directed to *Nicholas Charminus*, is an Exhortation to avoid Idolatry, and the other to *Gerard Roussel* lately made Bishop of *Oleron*, is against the Popish Priesthood. The City of *Geneva* was then divided into several Factions, which made the chief Families Enemies to one another. *Calvin* and his Bretheren, after they had used all ways to reconcile them, declared that they would not celebrate the Sacrament so long as those Divisions remained. They also agreed, that they would not submit any longer to the Constitutions that the Synod of the Canton of *Bern* had made, that leavened Bread should not be used in the Supper, that they should have baptismal Fonts in their Churches, and should keep no Day Holy but *Sunday*. Upon this, the Syndics of the City calling the People together made an order that *Calvin*, *Farrellus* and *Conradus* should depart the City within two Days, because they would not celebrate the Sacrament. *Calvin* fled to *Strasburgh* where he gathered a *French* Church, of whom he was made chief Minister, and besides that was chosen Professor of Divinity. While *Calvin* was absent from *Geneva*, Cardinal *Sadolet* wrote an eloquent Letter to the Inhabitants of that City to exhort them to return into the Bosom of the Church; *Calvin* tho' at a distance, put out an answer to that Letter in 1539. two Years after he assisted at the Diets, called by the Emperor at *Worms* and *Ratisbonne*, and at his return he was sent for to *Geneva*, and came thither against *September 13. 1541.* and then made a Canon or Regulation of Discipline to be observed in that City, and from that time he governed the pretended Reformed of *France*, who almost all held the Doctrine of *Calvin*, and had private Meetings, where Ministers sent from *Geneva* presided, who preached and administered the Sacraments among them.

The Doctrine of *Calvin* concerning the Sacraments is not at the bottom different from that of the *Zuinglians*, altho' he useth very positive Words to express the Presence of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; for he affirms, that in the Eucharist we are not only Partakers of the Spirit of Jesus Christ, but also of his Flesh which is distributed to us; that he nourisheth us there with the proper Substance of his Body and Blood; that it is not to be doubted, but that we receive his very Body, and that this Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ our Lord is given under the Symbols of Bread and Wine to all that celebrate his Supper, according to its lawful Institution, so that we truly receive what is signified by the Symbols; that the Body which is received, is not a symbolical Body, as it was not a symbolical Spirit, which appeared in the Baptism of our Lord, but the Holy Spirit it self was really and substantially under the Symbol or outward Form of a Dove; that Jesus Christ is united to us in this Sacrament, not by Fancy and Imagination, nor by Thought, or a bare Apprehension of the Mind, but really and indeed by a true and substantial Union; that the manner of our receiving Christ's Body, is very different from the other Manners of receiving him by Faith; that this Mystery is incomprehensible and contains in it a Miracle, which exceeds the Bounds and the Capacity of the Mind of Man, and which is the Work of Almighty God, much above the Course of Nature; that there is a divine and supernatural

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Change in it, which surpasses our sensible Knowledge; that the Flesh and Blood of Jesus Christ are truly given to the Unworthy, as well as to the Faithful and Elect, tho' they are not received with Benefit, unless it be by the Faithful only. These sort of Expressions and several others, which are to be met withal in *Calvin's Institutions*, and in his other Writings, might make us believe, that he does not deny the real and substantial Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist, but at the same time he clearly rejects in other Places, not only Transubstantiation, but also this real Presence, by asserting, that the Body of Jesus Christ is no where really and substantially present but in Heaven; and that it is united to us only by Faith, after a spiritual Manner, by the incomprehensible Working of the Holy Spirit, which joins Things together which are separated by distance of Place. These Words, *This is my Body*, ought to be understood after a figurative Manner, according to his Notion, and the Sign is there put for the Thing signified, as when 'tis said, *The Rock is Christ, the Lamb is the Passover, and Circumcision is the Covenant*. The Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are united to us only by Vertue and Efficacy, and his Flesh remaining in Heaven infuseth into us Life from his Substance. Lastly, tho' the Substance of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are communicated to us by the Sacrament of the Eucharist, yet they are not really and substantially present there; and tho' the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are there presented, and offered to all Christians, yet they are not received but only by the truly Faithful, and not by the Unworthy.

In other Points of Doctrine *Calvin* differs not much from *Luther*. He holds the same Principles, as to imputative Justice, and the Certainty of our Justification, which he extends even to an Assurance of eternal Salvation. He also added an Impossibility of falling finally from Grace, and the Salvation of the Children of Believers, who die before they have been baptized. He also condemns more severely than the *Lutherans* do, the Invocation of Saints, the Worship and Use of Images, Vows, Celibacy of Priests, Fasting, Holy-days, and the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Adoration of the Eucharist, Indulgences, the Sacraments, except the Eucharist and Baptism, and in general, all the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, which the *Lutherans* had not quite taken away.

The *Zuinglians* at this time joined themselves with the *Vaudois*, who had withdrawn themselves, as we have said, near two hundred Years before into the Valleys of *Savoy*, *Provence*, and *Piedmont*. These Hereticks, who were Enemies to the Pope, Bishops, and to all the Clergy in general, as also to the Ceremonies and Laws of the Church, Worship of Images, Saints and Relicks, Indulgences, Purgatory, &c. and agreeing in many other Opinions with the *Sacramentarians*, had no sooner heard that there was sprung up a Sect of Christians in *Germany*, who pretty well agreed in Doctrines with themselves, but they thought it convenient to join with them, that

they might be in a better condition to defend themselves against their Enemies; and on the other side, the *Sacramentarians* were ravished; to find a Sect more ancient than themselves, to agree with them in the same Sentiments, that they might not seem the first Authors of their Doctrine. But because they did not fully agree in all things, neither in Doctrine nor Discipline, the *Vaudois* sent *Petrus Massonus* and *G. Morellus* to *Oecolampadius* and *Bucer*, that they might unite them in those Points about which they differed at present. These last admonished them, 1. To leave the Errors which they now were in, that a Christian might not lawfully swear, nor use the Office of a Magistrate: That the Ministers of the Church might not have a Property in any thing: That wicked Ministers have no Power to administer Sacraments. 2. They taught them that they ought to allow of but two Sacraments, to cast off auricular Confession, and to deny Free-will. 3. About Discipline, that they ought to keep holy the Lord's Day by ceasing from all servile Works, by holding particular Assemblies for Prayers, and the Celebration of the Lord's Supper, and no longer allowing any Persons who desire to be owned as Members of their Church, to be present at Mass, or to join any manner of ways in Papal Superstitions, or acknowledge the Priests of the *Romish* Church for their Pastors, or make use of their Ministry. In 1536. the *Vaudois* consulted the Ministers of *Geneva* again about Religion, and after they had received the Instructions of *Farelus*, they concluded their Union with them, but upon condition that they should retain their old Ministers.

The same Year the Parliament of *Provence* (of which *Anthony Chassaneus* was chief President) published an Edict against the *Vaudois*, who were very numerous in his Jurisdiction, and especially at *Cabriers* and *Merindol*. The Execution of this Edict was delay'd for several Years by the King's Order, with the Advice of *William du Bellay Langey*, Governor of *Piedmont*. Nevertheless new Complaints being brought daily to the King against them, they sent his Majesty in 1544, a Confession of their Faith, exactly agreeing with the Doctrine of the *Zuinglian* Churches, supposing thereby to save themselves from Persecution; but it proved just contrary, for the next Year *Johannes Minerus Oppædens*, who succeeded *Chassaneus* in the Place of first President of the Parliament of *Provence*, obtained Letters of the King, by the Recommendation of Cardinal *du Tournon*, by which it was ordered that the Edict of Parliament, made against the *Vaudois* should be put in execution. *Minerus*, who governed in the Absence of Count *de Grignan* Governor of *Provence*, having raised some Troops, and joining them with the Troops which the Vice-Legate of *Avignon* had furnished him with, led them against the *Vaudois*, took, sack'd, and burnt their Cities, killed or burnt them cruelly, without any respect of Age or Sex, and utterly destroyed them, excepting such as hid themselves so close in the Mountains, that they could not be catch'd, or such as fled to *Geneva* or *Switzerland*.

C H A P. XXXI.

The History of the Bohemian Brethren, and Establishment of Lutheranism in the Kingdoms of the North.

Bohemia and *Moravia* were, as we have observed in the former Century, divided into three Societies of Christians. The first was composed of Catholics, who were subject to the Pope, and followed the Doctrine and Rites of the Church of *Rome* in every thing. The second were those who

were called *Calixtines* (a), who administered the Sacraments in both Kinds, and read the Epistle and Gospel in the Mass in the vulgar Tongue, and made no farther Alterations in the Doctrine or Ceremonies of the Church. The third were those whom they called the *Fratres Bohemi*, or *The Brethren of*

[(a) So called from *Calix a Cup*; because they administered the Eucharist in both Kinds.]

The History of the Bohemian Brethren, &c. Bohemia, who were also by some called *Waldenses*, who were probably derived from the ancient *Taborites*; for tho' *Pogiohracius* and *Rockfana* utterly ruined the *Taborites*, yet there were several Persons which held their Principles, who survived them, and formed a new Sect. These had for their Leader a Shoemaker, one *Peter Kelesiski*, who drew up for them a Body of Doctrine, which they called *Kelesiski's Forms*. At last they chose them a Pastor, one *Matthias Conwaldus*, and in the Year 1467. (b) they made a publick Separation from the *Calixtines*, and chose new Ministers. They treated the Pope, Cardinals, and Bishops as *Antichrist*, and the Church of *Rome*, as the Whore spoken of in the *Revelations*. They rejected the Sacraments of the Church of *Rome*, as Abominations. They were governed by mere Laymen, whom they chose for their Ministers. They held the Holy Scripture for the only Rule of Faith, and their Ministers observed none of the Ceremonies of the Church in the Celebration of the Mass, nor made use of any other Prayer but the Lord's Prayer. They consecrated leavened Bread, without any priestly Vestments or other Ceremonies. They allowed no Adoration in the Communion but of Jesus Christ. They rebaptized all such Persons, as joined themselves with their Congregation, altho' they had been before baptiz'd in the Church. They abominated the Worship of Saints and Images, Prayers for the Dead, the Law of Celibacy, Vows, Fasts, and the Ceremonies of the Church, and kept none of the Festivals but *Christmass*, *Easter* and *Whitsuntide*.

The Bohemians first Confession of Faith. This Sect spread it self much in *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, and was become very numerous in the beginning of the sixteenth Century, about which time being accused both by the Catholicks and *Calixtines* to King *Ladislaus* [the second] they drew up a Confession of their Faith, which they presented to him in 1504, to vindicate themselves from the Errors which had been laid to their charge. In it they first declare, that they held firmly the three Creeds, the Apostles, *Nicene*, and *Athanasian*. They deliver their Opinion of the Incarnation and Holy Trinity in orthodox Terms. They account the Church to be of two sorts; the first is the Congregation of all the Elect from the beginning to the end of the World; the second is made up of Ministers, who have received their Mission from God, and of the People, who submit themselves to be governed by them. They own, that this Church is composed of Good and Bad. They add, that it is enclosed with the Church of wicked Men, which prevails for the present, because such as are unworthy of Ecclesiastical Dignities tyrannize over it: That as they are ready to obey such Pastors as teach the Truth, so they take themselves not to be obliged to submit themselves to evil Ministers, who are Enemies to God's Church and the Truth, and for that reason it is, that they patiently endure Persecution. They assert, that the Ministry of the Church consists in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and preaching of sound Doctrine. They say, that the Sacraments which they hold to be seven, are of use in the Church of Christ, because they do prove to God's People, that his Promises are fulfilled, and they serve to hold up an Union among the Members of God's Church. They define Baptism to be a Sign of the inward Purity of the Soul procured by Faith. They acknowledge, that both Adults and Infants ought to be baptized. They appoint that such as have been regenerated by Baptism, be confirmed in the Faith and Hope of a Christian by the Prayers and laying on of Hands of the Bishop, or Priest. They affirm concerning the Eucharist, that when a Priest well qualified pronounceth in the Congregation of the Faithful, these Words, *This is my Body, This is my Blood*, the Bread becomes the Body, and the Wine the Blood of Jesus Christ, and that they ought to add nothing to the Words of Jesus

Christ, and for that reason they have taken away all other Prayers, believing and doing only that which Jesus Christ hath ordered them to believe and do. About the Sacrament of Order, they hold, that the Ordination of Priests is derived from Jesus Christ, who is the supreme Bishop, and that they are his Ministers to teach the Gospel, to judge in his stead, to offer Sacrifices and Prayers, to assure Men of the fulfilling of God's Promises, and to excommunicate Offenders: That the Ministers of Jesus Christ ought to imitate him, and execute their Office in an unblameable manner, to be free from Covetousness and Simony, and to live a more virtuous Life than other Christians. They account three things necessary in the Ordination of a Priest. 1. The proof of his Faith, and good Life. 2. Prayers and Fasting. 3. The Collation of Power by Words which express it, confirmed by the laying on of Hands. They make the Sacrament of Marriage to consist in this, that the inseparable Union of Man and Wife, are a Figure of the Union between Christ and his Church. They confess that a Sinner, that acknowledgeth his Faults, ought to confess his Sins to a judicious Priest, who doing the Office of a Judge in the Name of God and his Church, shall represent to him the grievousness of them, and give him wholesome advice for his Correction, that he ought to submit humbly, when he is either bound, or loosed by the Keys of the Church. Lastly, they allow of the custom of Extreme Unction to the Sick, and acknowledge it to be a Sacrament, in that it signifies, that God grants Pardon of Sin to the Sick. They hold two Communions of Saints, the one profitable, and saving among the living Members of God's Church, and the other damning, namely that of Sinners, who communicate only outwardly in the Sacraments, and Ministry of the Church, without having any share in its spiritual Benefits. Lastly, they confess, that he that communicates with Jesus Christ by a lively Faith, receives Remission of Sins by him; that he that receives the Sacraments of the Church, obtains also Remission of his Sins, by the same Faith, and with the same Certainty; and if he holds fast that Faith to the end of his Life, he shall receive eternal Glory at the Day of Judgment in a happy Resurrection. After they have set down this Confession of their Faith, and declared that it is grounded upon the Holy Scripture, they say, that they have composed another Writing, in which they deliver the Reasons of their Separation from the Church of *Rome*, which they were forced to leave, not only upon the account of the Errors, and Superstitions of that Church, but also that they might enjoy a free Use of the Sacraments established by Jesus Christ. They beseech King *Ladislaus* to receive their Confession of Faith favourably, and assure him, that if it be made to appear, that they are in an Error, they are ready to leave it and embrace the Truth, and so they ought not to be accused for Hereticks, because they are not obstinate, but labour every day more and more to amend themselves; that they neither seek Honours nor Riches, and are so far from seeking the Lives of others, that they pray for their Prosecutors, live in Peace, and are subject to their Governors, ready to part with their Goods and Lives, rather than forsake the Truth. They implore the King to suffer them to live quietly in his Dominions, and in case he will not grant them that Favour, to set at liberty such of their Brethren as are imprisoned, and permit them to leave his Dominions.

King *Ladislaus* not regarding their Petitions, published an Edict against the Sect of the *Bohemian Brethren*, by which he forbade them to hold any Meetings either privately or publickly, to teach their Doctrine either by Word or Writing, and commanded them to appear before the Civil and Ecclesiastical Judges at *Prague*, upon the Feast of St. *John*

An Edict against the Bohemian Brethren.

(b) The Bohemian Brethren, in their Preface to their Confession of Faith, in 1573, say, that their Seccession from the

Calixtines was in 1457.]

the Evangelist, to abjure their Errors, and join themselves either with the Catholics or *Calixtines*. This Edict being published, the *Bohemian Brethren* sent a second Remonstrance to the King, in which they declare, that they separated from the Church of Rome, for the Wickedness of its Bishops, who wanted all manner of Piety and Humanity, and had lost the Power of the Keys, and forsaken the Truth, all religious Worship, and the orthodox Faith, and had used them as Hereticks, Schismatics, sacrilegious Persons, and Enemies of Peace, whereupon they declare, as in the Presence of God, that they had never asserted any thing heretical, or blasphemous against God, the orthodox Faith, the Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood, the Virgin, or the Saints, but had always preserved the orthodox Faith, as their Confession lately addressed to his Majesty would manifest. They repeated their Doctrine about the Eucharist, that when a Priest lawfully ordained pronounceth the Words of Jesus Christ, the Bread becomes the true natural Body of Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin, which was to be given for Mankind, and the Wine, the natural Blood of his Body which was to be shed for us, but sacramentally, so that the Bread is made a spiritual Body, and the Wine spiritual Blood; that they maintain'd, that this Sacrament according to the Institution and Commandment of Jesus Christ, and the Example of the primitive Church, ought to be given and received under both Kinds; that Jesus Christ not having commanded the Adoration of the sacramental Presence of his Body and Blood, but only to adore him at the Right-hand of his Father, they obeyed his Commandment in not worshipping the Eucharist. They own that the Virgin Mary is full of Grace; that she was always a Virgin, and being without any pollution of Body or Mind, was sanctified, and made fit for the Word to take Flesh of her, but they affirm, that they cannot join in the superstitious Opinions and Practices, which have been introduc'd, without any Foundation in the Holy Scripture. About the Saints, they declare, that they cannot acknowledge any to be such, but those, who, having received Grace by the Merits of Jesus Christ, have continued in Faith, Hope, and Charity unto the End, and always lived virtuous Lives; that they cannot doubt of the Holiness of those, to whom the Holy Scripture gives Testimony, but as for others, they had but an uncertain Opinion of their Salvation, tho' they hop'd well of them: Having thus explained their Opinions, they implore his Majesty not to suffer their Enemies to persecute them, remonstrating to him; that Jesus Christ did not require, that Men should be brought to Religion by Violence or Force, since he settled his Religion with absolute Freedom, and they assure him, that they are ready to embrace the Truth, as soon as they are convinc'd of it. Lastly, that if his Majesty will not moderate the Severity of his Edicts, they have no other means left but to betake themselves to the supream Saviour and Defender of all Men, and to possess their Souls in Patience.

Ladislav answer'd them, by a Letter directed to *Martha Bozchowitz*, in which he says, that he would not remit one tittle of the Severity of his Edict, and with it he sent her an Answer to the two Petitions of the *Bohemian Brethren*, composed by Dr. *Augustine*, which being publish'd, was confuted by the *Bohemian Brethren*, in a large Treatise printed 1508. In this Work they deny Transubstantiation, affirming, that the Bread and Wine, without changing their Nature, are the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, and repeat what they had said against the Adoration of the Sacrament. They explain themselves about the chief Bishop, of whom they had spoken in their Confession of Faith, from whom all other Priests receive their Ordination, and say, that they did not mean the Pope, but Jesus Christ who is called by Saint Peter, the Shepherd, and Bishop of our Souls, and who is the only Head of his Body the Church. They add, that the Pope, and

his Council ought to be contented to be Servants of Jesus Christ, imitating his Life, his Poverty, Humility, Patience and Innocency, leading others by their Doctrine and Example, into the way that brings to Heaven, and feeding the People by the Word of God, and the Administration of the Sacraments, as St. Peter, St. Paul, and the other Apostles did. Upon this they make a comparison between the Life of the Apostles, and that of the Pope and Bishops to make these last odious. They peremptorily reject the Worship and Invocation of the Virgin and Saints, and affirm, that we ought to pray to God only. They gave their Opinion of Purgatory by asserting two Kinds of it, the one in this World, and the other in the World to come. They say, that the first is certain, and grounded upon the Holy Scripture, but the other is uncertain, because the Scripture makes no mention of it; that the primitive Church knew nothing of it, and that the Ancients say nothing of it, and that it was found out by some modern Doctors, and particularly by *Thomas Aquinas*. They approve rather of the Opinion of some of the Ancients, who thought that the Elect should be purified at the Day of Judgment by Fire, and that till the Resurrection, their Souls shall not enter into the possession of their Happiness. About human Constitutions they declare, that they will observe such, as they believe not to be contrary to Justice, and some of those, which they believe unjust, if they may observe them without Injustice, as Holidays, Fasts, and other indifferent Customs, but they reject such as they believe overturn Faith and Justice, and are contrary to the Commandments of God, and the Honour due to him, and which are the cause of Idolatry, false Hope, and Superstition. Then they resume the Article of the Sacrament, and after that they discoursed long upon it, they conclude, that Jesus Christ is not in the Sacrament by his natural Body, and that he remains not in it actually, and corporeally, but is there spiritually by his Power, Grace and Truth, and bring several Examples to prove this Presence, which quite exclude the real and corporal Presence, positively rejecting Transubstantiation. They concluded this Paper with two Quotations, one out of St. Bernard, and the other out of *Petrarch*, against the Manners of the Court of Rome.

These *Bohemians* sought in vain to support themselves by the Greek Church, and other Churches in the World, for they could find no Company of Christians of their Judgment, unless perhaps a few scattered and hidden *Waldenses*. But *Luther* no sooner declared himself against the Church of Rome, but they endeavoured to join with him and his Followers. He shewed at first great Aversion to that Sect, but the *Bohemians* sending Deputies to him in 1523. with a full account of their Doctrine, he allowed of it in all points, except the Article of the Sacrament, which he desired them to explain, yet he acknowledged them to be a Society of Christians, whose Doctrine came nearest to the purity of the Gospel. In 1532. they drew up an Apology, which *Luther* approved, and having in 1535. published their Confession of Faith reformed, he made a Preface to it full of Commendations, and wrote a Letter to them, in which he assures them, that he is better satisfied in their Doctrine than he was, and that he believes, that their Brethren were better inform'd of his Opinions, than they were at their first Interview; that being agreed about the chief Articles of the Christian Doctrine, they ought to be united by the Bonds of Christian Charity, and not let a small Difference about some Ceremonies divide them, that he was so far from disliking the Severity of Discipline used in their Churches, that he could rather have wish'd, that it could be observ'd in the Churches of his Country.

The *Bohemians* in this Confession of Faith clear themselves from the charge of *Anabaptism*, but own that in former times, they had a custom to baptize those anew, that had been baptized by the *Roman* Priests, but they say, that they have now left off that

The History of the Bohemian Brethren, &c.

The Remonstrance of the Bohemian Brethren to King Ladislav.

The History of the Bohemian Brethren, &c.

The Bohemian Brethren and Lutherans united.

that practice, and make this excuse for their former custom, that the Church of *Rome* treated them after the same manner by rebaptizing all those whom they had baptized. In this Confession of Faith they allow of but two Sacraments, speak of Justification by Faith only, express themselves more fully about the Virtue and Efficacy of Baptism, than they had done in their former Confession; and disapprove of their custom in rebaptizing those, who had been baptized in the Church of *Rome*. About the Lord's Supper they only affirm, that the Bread is the true Body, and the Wine the true Blood of Jesus Christ, that nothing ought to be added to Christ's words, nor any other Sense imposed upon them than what they naturally have. They condemn those who deny, that the Lord's Supper is the true Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. They permit nothing else to be done in the Administration of the Sacrament, than what Jesus Christ himself commanded and did. They hold that the Communion under both kinds is of Divine right. They allow none to receive this Sacrament, but such as come to it with Purity, Reverence, and Faith, and after they have examined themselves according to the Advice of the Apostle, they celebrate the Sacrament thus. They preach a Sermon before the Communion, in which they speak of the Death of Jesus Christ, the Graces which he hath Merited for us, the Salvation offered to all the World by his Blood, and the Benefits which he works in the Faithful by their reliance upon his Death; then the Congregation join in the publick Prayers, and the Ministers recite the Words of the Institution, exhorting the People to believe, that the Body of Jesus Christ is present, and they give it to all the Assitants who are Kneeling, and receive it with Thanksgiving. They allow the Ministers of the Church a Power to shut Sinners out of the Kingdom of God, and to absolve the Penitent, not by their own Authority but as Stewards of the Mysteries of Christ by his word and Sacraments, admitting them to the Holy Communion, or keeping them from it; they refuse to worship Saints, or Images. They approve of Fasting, which they make to consist not in abstaining from certain Meats, but in the manner of Eating, with Sobriety and Temperance and mortifying of the Body. They teach that no Man ought to be forc'd to live a single life, but they confess, that those who have embraced a single life, that they may attend more diligently to the service of the Church, ought not to marry, unless they can no other way subdue the desires of the Flesh, and in that case they order such Persons to discover their condition to the Heads of the Church, and to follow their Direction. This was the Confession of Faith which the Brethren of *Bohemia* and *Moravia* published in 1535, upon which a Union was concluded with the *Lutherans* and afterwards with the *Zuinglians*, whose opinions they afterwards followed.

In the northern Kingdoms there happened also strange Revolutions, as well in civil Government as in Religion, in the beginning of this Century: These Kingdoms embraced Christianity in the ninth Century. The Clergy was grown rich and powerful, and the Bishops had a large share in the Government. *Canutson*, who caused himself to be chosen King of *Sweden* and *Norway* in 1445. contrary to the Treaty of *Calmar* by which the Kingdom of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*, were united and made subject to one Prince, desiring to govern without any dependance on the Bishops, ordered that a Search should be made into the rights, which the Clergy had usurped, and forbidding that any foundations of Churches or Monasteries should be laid for the future, was treated as an Heretic, and *John Benedicti de Salslat*, Archbishop of *Upsal*, made a private League with *Christiern I.* King of *Denmark*, to restore the Union of *Calmar*. *Christiern* therefore lending a great Army into *Sweden*, the Archbishop excommunicated King *Canutson* in a solemn Mass which he celebrated, and having put off his Episcopal Vestments, he took his Cuirasse and Spear, and swore he would never lay them down to put on his Habits, till he had driven *Canutson* out of the Kingdom. The other Bishops followed his Example, and joined with a Party of the *Danes* as he had done. *Canutson* was vanquish'd, and forced to fly out of the Kingdom; and the Archbishop of *Upsal*, entred into *Stockholm* in 1457. caused *Christiern I.* to be proclaimed King, but this Prince unmindful of so great a Service, seized upon the Archbishop of *Upsal*, and having imprisoned him in a Castle of *Denmark*, *Canutson* recover'd his Throne and kept it, till the Archbishop of *Upsal*, being set at liberty, began the War against him, and joining Battle with him upon the Lake of *Meler*, gained so compleat a Victory, that *Canutson* was forced to yield himself up to his Enemy, who obliged him to renounce his Kingdom, and sent him Prisoner into a Castle of *Finland*. The Archbishop after this success, had the Chief part in the Government as long as he lived; but he died in 1468. *Canutson* was restored, but with small Power. The Successors of this King, *Steno* and *Suanto Stura*, enjoyed only the Title of Administrators. In the mean time the Kings of *Denmark* endeavoured all they could to extinguish that Office, and made *Sweden* subject to them by renewing the Treaty of *Calmar*. The Bishops favoured their design, and *Jacobus Ulphonis* Archbishop of *Upsal*, after the Death of *Suanto Stura* the Administrator, did all he could to bring *Sweden* under the Government of *Denmark*; but failing in his design, he left his Archbishoprick to the Son of *Eric Trolle*, a Senator and an Enemy to *Steno Stura*, who was chosen Administrator. This new Archbishop engaged in the Interests of *Christiern II.* King of *Denmark*, and quarrelled immediately with the Administrator. His Suffragan Bishops followed his Example, and some of the forwardest of them proposed to pray the King of *Denmark* to break the League. The Administrator summoned the Archbishop before the States assembled at *Tellie*, to take the Oath of allegiance, which he was obliged to do because of his Place; but the Archbishop instead of obeying, shut himself up in his Castle at *Steque*.

About the same time *Leo X.* had sent *Angelus Arcemboldi* in the Quality of his Legate into the northern Kingdoms to publish Indulgences, to be granted to all such as would contribute to the building of *St. Peter's Church* at *Rome*. This Bishop strained his Power to the highest in *Denmark*, and raised there vast Sums which he improved all manner of ways. Then going into *Sweden*, he procured leave of the Administrator to publish his Bulls of Indulgences, and having farmed out the Profits, he gathered immense Sums. He also endeavoured to reconcile the Administrator to the Archbishop of *Upsal*, but the Administrator telling him the Reasons that he had not to trust the Archbishop because he held correspondence with the King of *Denmark*, *Arcemboldi* could not effect his designs. The King of *Denmark* beginning some Acts of Hostility, the Administrator proceeded against the Archbishop, as the Chief Conspirator. He was summoned before the State, who declared him a Rebel, and prayed the Administrator to secure his Person. The Administrator thereupon immediately marched against him with some Troops, besieged the Archbishop in the Fortress of *Steque*, obliged him to capitulate, and sent him to *Stockholm*, where the Senate tryed him, and ordered him to resign his Archbishoprick, to retreat into a Monastery, and to do Penance for his Faults, and they Demolished the Fortress of *Steque*. The Archbishop resigned in a full Senate, but then fled privately to *Rome*, to complain of the Injury done him. Upon his Complaints, *Arcemboldi* was commanded to return into *Sweden*, and threaten the Administrator with Excommunication, if he did not restore the Archbishop; but it being refused, *Leo X.* laid the whole Kingdom of *Sweden* under an Interdict, and excommunicated the

The History of the Bohemian Brethren, &c.

The History of the Bohemian Brethren, &c.

The Second Confession of the Bohemian Brethren.

the Administrator, and Senate. The Archbishop of *Lunden* in *Denmark*, and the Bishop of *Odensee* in *Fionia* (c) were employed to execute this Bull, and *Christiern II.* was desired to defend it. The Administrator on the other side, seized all such Summs in *Sweden*, as were due to *Arcemboldi*, arising from the distribution of Indulgences. *Christiern* being authorized by the Pope's Bull, invaded *Sweden* with a powerful Army, put all to Fire and Sword, and gave Battle to the Administrator, who having his Leg broken by a Cannon shot, died a few days after. The Archbishop of *Upsal* was restored, and having called the States together, caused them to acknowledge *Christiern* for their King. This King being become Master of all *Sweden*, went to *Stockholm* to be crowned there *November* the 1st. 1520. All the great Men were invited to that Solemnity, and when they least thought of any such thing, *Christiern* apprehended them all by the Advice of the Archbishop of *Upsal*, who demanded Justice against the dead Administrator, and all the Senators who obliged him to relinquish his Honour. The King remitted the whole business to *Theodore* Archbishop of *Lunden*, and to the Bishop of *Odensee*, one of his Suffragans, who were employed to execute the Bull of Excommunication against the Administrator and the Senate. These Bishops began to proceed against the accused; but because a formal Tryal would have been too long, the King without more ado, brought them forth upon a Scaffold, and causing the Pope's Bull to be read to them, he ordered them all to be put to death. The Bishop of *Scara* and *Stregnez*, all the Senate, and ninety four Lords had their Heads cut off, *November* the 8th, and the City of *Stockholm* was left to the fury of the *Danish* Soldiers, who barbarously murdered the greatest part of the Citizens; but this cruelty was not long unrevengeed, for *Gustavus Ericson* who was descended of the ancient Kings of *Sweden*, and had escaped into the Mountains of *Dalecarlia*, encouraged that Province to rise, gathered some Troops, made a great progress in a little time, defeated the Archbishop of *Upsal*, and being received into *Stockholm*, was chosen King of *Sweden* by the States in 1521. (d) On the other side, *Christiern* was deprived of his Kingdom, and forced to fly by the *Danes*, who chose *Frederick* of *Oldenburgh* Duke of *Holstein* in his stead, and obliged him to fly to the *Low Countries*. Ten Years after he trying to recover his Throne by the help of the *Hollanders*, was taken and imprisoned, and so continued to his Death which happened *January* the 25th. 1559. *Lutheranism* was brought into *Sweden* under *Gustavus*. Some *German* Soldiers in his Troops laid the first foundation of that Doctrine in that Kingdom. Then *Gustavus* to lessen the authority of the Clergy, and enrich himself with their spoils, following the Counsel of his Chancellor *Anderson*, who favoured the Doctrine of *Luther*, suffered it to settle there. *Olaus Petri* who was educated in *Wittenberg*, and was one of *Luther's* followers, and some other *Lutheran* Preachers having the King's Protection underhand dispersed that Doctrine in *Sweden*. Pope *Adrian VI.* to stop its Progress in that Kingdom, sent as his Legate thither a *Swede* of great merit named *John Magni*, who was then at *Rome*. This Legate arriving just at the time when *Gustavus* was chosen King, and *Gustavus Trolle* Archbishop of *Upsal* who was expelled the Kingdom, followed the King of *Denmark*, was chosen against his will by the King and Lords to fill the Archbishoprick of *Upsal*.

Sometime after, the King forbade the Clergy to make use of Excommunications against their Enemies, or Debtors, made void the Jurisdiction of the Officials, remitted all matters to the Secular Tribunals, forbade the Bishops to seize upon the Inheritances of Ecclesiasticks in their Dioceses, and revoked

several Exemptions which the Church enjoyed. The Bishops complained of these Declarations, and that *Olaus Petri* had translated the *New Testament* into the *Swedish* Tongue, from that which *Luther* had Printed in the *German*. The King answered that the Clergy having seized upon the Rights of the Crown during the Civil Wars, they ought not to take it ill if his Officers made strict enquiry after them. As for *Olaus*, he was ready to abandon him as also his other Subjects, if they were convicted of Heresie. *Olaus* immediately offered to prove the Clergy guilty of several Errors, before his Majesty and the Senate. The King agreed to the Proposition, and a Conference was appointed at *Upsal*. The Bishops refused to dispute with a Man, of whom by their Office they were Judges, and chose a Divine one *Gallus* to defend their Cause. These two Doctors disputed a long time about Purgatory, Indulgences, Communion under both kinds, Celibacy of Priests, and the temporal Power of the Clergy, but seeing they could not agree upon their Principles, their Dispute could not be carried very far. *Gallus* would make use not only of Scripture, but also of the Tradition of the Councils and Fathers. *Olaus* would admit of no other Authority, but Scripture. The Dispute at length falling upon the Translation of the *New Testament* made by *Olaus*, the King desired the Archbishop of *Upsal* to cause one to be made: This was the Result of the Conference. The Archbishop called an Assembly of his Suffragan Bishops at *Stockholm*, with the chief of the Secular Priests and Monks, and it was agreed, notwithstanding that the Bishop of *Linkoping* much opposed it, that there should be a Translation of the new Testament into the *Swedish* Language, opposed to *Olaus's*. The King also convoked the Senate at *Stockholm*, and desired of that Assembly to grant him two thirds of the Tythes for the maintenance of his Troops, and to make use of the Church Plate to pay the Debts of the State. The Senate approved of this proposition. The act was passed, and the King appointed Commissioners to put it in execution in the Provinces. This Conduct did much discontent the Clergy and Monks, who raised and carried on Seditions. *Gustavus*, when he had allayed these Commotions, forbade the Monks to stir out of their Cloisters more than twice a Year, and removed all Strangers from the Government of them, and put Natives in their room. Then he demanded of the Bishops the Fortresses that belonged to them, and obtained an Order in the general Assembly of the States, that they should put them into his hands; That they should dismiss their Troops; that they should sit no longer in the Senate, nor apply the Fines and Confiscations to their own advantage, that the Plate and useless Bells in the Church should be sold to discharge the Publick Debts; that the Nobility might redeem their Estates mortgaged by their Ancestors to the Clergy, paying the Money upon them; that two thirds of their Tythes should be seized for the support of the Troops in time of War, and for the maintenance of Hospitals and Schools in times of Peace. This Edict was signed by the Bishops themselves. The Archbishop of *Upsal*, whom the King could not engage, was sent by his Majesty a little before into *Poland*, from whence he went to *Rome*, to desire the aid of *Clement VII.* and to shew him in how great danger Religion was in *Sweden*.

Gustavus having published this Order, put himself at the Head of his Troops of Horse, and marched successively through the Provinces to put it in execution. *Olaus Petri* and several other *Lutheran* Teachers attended him, and preached before him in the greatest Churches. The greatest part of the Clergy professed *Lutheranism* publicly, were married, and introduced divine Service in the Vulgar

[(c) *Fenn.*]

[(d) *Assenius* says that *Gustavus Ericson* was chosen King

by the States, at a Convention at *Stregnez* in *June* 17. 1523. a little before *Stockholm* was surrendered to him.

Tongue. The Bishop of *Linkoping* fled into *Poland*, and the other Bishops absconded in their Houses, and so continued in silence. The greatest part of the Monks left their Convents, some to turn Libertines, others to avoid Persecution. The Bishop of *Scara*, and the Grand Marshal *Tureio Hanson*, fled with the more zealous Papists into *Dalecarlia*, where they gathered a Party, but were soon dispersed by the Army of *Gustavus*, who having now nothing to fear, did at length openly profess himself a *Lutheran*, and made *Olaus Petri* Minister of *Stockholm*, and *Laurence Petri* Archbishop of *Upsal*, who perform'd the Ceremony of *Gustavus's* Coronation, and married publicly one of that Prince's Relations. In the Year 1529. *Gustavus* called a general Assembly of all his Clergy, and there caused the Confession of *Augsburg* to be taken for the Rule of Faith (e), and all Obedience to the Pope to be solemnly renounced. In other things the *Swedes* of all other Protestants have made the least Alterations in the Ceremonies. They have Bishops (f), Priests, and Deacons married. Their Churches are very like ours, and their Liturgy differs not very much from that of the Ro-

man Church. They retain the Use of Confession, and several other Rites and Customs of the Church. The Alteration of Religion in *Denmark*, was also made by the Kings of that Country: *Christiern II.* professed the *Lutheran* Religion, when he was obliged to fly into the *Low-Countries*. But *Frederick* was the first who allowed *Luther's* Opinions to be preached openly in the Churches of *Denmark* in 1524. His Son *Christiern III.* taking upon him the Management of Ecclesiastical Affairs, settled the Reformation according to the Confession of *Augsburg*, and made all the Clergy Protestants in 1527. In the Year 1535. succeeding his Father, he sent for *John Bugenhagen*, a Scholar of *Luther's*, called usually *Pomeranus*, from *Wittenberg*, who fully settled *Lutheranism* in that Kingdom. *Frederick II.* continued still to uphold it, and when Pope *Pius IV.* desired him to receive his Nuncio's, who were sent into *Germany* to summon the Princes to the Council of *Trent*, his Answer was, that neither he nor his Father had ever acknowledged the Pope, and he for his part would hearken to no such Proposition.

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[(e) Our Author here follows Mr. *Vertat* too hastily. *Messenius* was *Vertat's* Author, who says, that the King called a Synod at *Oerebro* in 1529, in which most of the Articles of Popery were taken away, and Protestant Articles substituted in their Room. This is all that *Messenius* says. *Vertat* did not consider that this was done the Year before the *Lutheran* Confession was delivered into the Diet at *Augsburg*.]

[(f) Their Bishops have a regular Succession, which I believe no other *Lutheran* Church can shew. The first Protestant Bishops were canonically consecrated by the last Popish Bishops, who would not themselves comply with the Reformation. *Messenius* the great Ecclesiastical Historian of the North, who lived since the Reformation, owns this Fact without Scruple. His Witness is indisputable, because he himself was a rigid Papist, and long a Prisoner in the Castle of *Cajanebourg* in the North of *Finland*, for his Faith. His *Scandic Chronology* has however that Authority in *Sweden*, that it has been lately published by Mr. *Peringskiöld* at *Stockholm* with great Pomp. His Words are these, Anno MDXXVIII. Princeps *Gustavus*, sua inaugurationi, Presulum quorundam rarus consecrationem esse premissendam, Magnum *Scarensem*, Magnum *Stregnensem*, & Martinum *Abogensem*,

Stregnesia quinto Januarii, per *Arosiensem* procurat Antistitem *Petrum* sollemniter invitandos. Nec prius M. *Laurentius Andree*, illud cui negotium Rex commississet, *Petrum* huc permovere poterat, quam *Candidati Literis* spondissent, quod sibi confirmationem Romæ impetraturi essent, & *Petri* essent illic excusationem facturi citra licentiam Pontificiam consecratis. Chron. Scandianz lib. 5. p. 41.) Here were four Bishops called together to consecrate these Candidates: The Bishops of *Scara*, *Stregnez*, *Abo*, and *Westeras*. The Bishop of *Westeras* who drew in the rest, was himself drawn in by the Chancellor *Anderson*, and by the Promises of the Candidates that they would make his excuse at *Rome*. So *Messenius* tells the Story; and in his Epitaph of this *Peter Magnus* Bishop of *Westeras*, he makes his Excuse thus,

Per me sacratus non paucus Episcopus existat
Quorum nonnulli deseruere fidem.
Inde Lutheranis procrevit Clerus in Orbe
Succorum, mentem sauciat idque meam.

(*Messen Scandix illustratz. Tom. 9. p. 49.*)

C H A P. XXXII.

Of Provincial Councils held in France and Germany, before the Council of Trent, against the new Heresies.

Altho' provincial Councils were not ordinarily held in the beginning of this Century, as they had formerly been, yet the Growth of Heresie, and the Necessity of a Reformation in the Discipline of the Church, and the Manners of Chri-

tians, stirred up some powerful Archbishops to call Councils in their Provinces, to make Decisions in Matters of Doctrine, and to make some Regulations in Manners. An Extract of those that were held before the Council of *Trent* met, is as followeth.

Councils held in France & Germany before the Council of Trent.

The Council of Bourges, in the Year 1528.

THIS provincial Council was held in *March* 1528. upon the account of the Heresie of *Luther*. *Francis de Tournon*, Archbishop of *Bourges* presided in it, and all the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and Deputies of the Chapters of his Province were present at it. This Council laid an Imposition of Tenth upon the foot of the last for two Years, upon all Benefits exempt, or not exempt (those of *St. John of Jerusalem* not excepted) all Societies, and Colleges, to be paid, one Moiety every six Months, or sooner if it were necessary, to discharge the Ransom of *Francis* the Dauphin of *France*, and *Henry Duke of Orleans*, whom *Francis I.* their Father, had left as Hostages at *Madrid*, when he was released from Prison. In this Council the following Constitutions were also made concerning the Reformation of

Manners, and concerning the Discipline of the Church.

The 1st. declares, that *Luther's* Heresie having been condemned by the Holy See, ought to be condemned in general only by the Bishops, at such times and places, as they shall judge convenient, without mentioning the Errors particularly, unless they find, that some of those condemned Errors do spread themselves, and then they shall condemn those particular Errors.

The 2^d. is, that Parish-priests shall give an Information to their Bishops of such of their Parishioners, as they shall know do hold the Doctrines of *Luther*, and are his Followers, as also that deal in Fortune-telling and Magick, that they may be punished.

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The 3^d. forbids all persons to sell, print, or keep any Books in which the Heresie of *Luther*, or his Followers shall be diffused, under the punishment of Imprisonment for a Month, in case of contravention after the publication of the Decrees of this Council, or of some other penalty, and enjoins all persons, that have any such Books to deliver them to the Bishop, or his grand Vicars.

The 4th. orders, that no person shall buy or sell any Books of Divinity, translated into the *French* Tongue, within eight Years last past, unless they have been reviewed by the Ordinaries of the Places.

The 5th. commands, that no Preachers of Indulgences shall preach up, or publish any Indulgences, or other things without the allowance, and approbation of the Bishop under his Hand, and the Parish-priests that shall permit such Abuses, shall be punished as well as the Preachers; that no strange Preachers of what Order soever they be, shall be allowed to preach without the approbation of their Ordinary.

The 6th. enjoins Parish-priests to explain to their Congregations every Lord's-day in their Sermons, some part of the ten Commandments, the Gospel, or Epistle for the Day, or to give them some exhortation to Virtue, or reproof of their Faults, or they may read to them some part of *Gerson's* Book, translated into *French*, intituled, *Opus Tripartitum*, or, *A Book in three Parts*, and that they may spend more time in instructing the People, they shall shorten the ordinary Prayers, and others that are not necessary.

The 7th. appoints, that the Decrees of Synods shall be translated into *French*, and the synodical Prayers shall be so fram'd, that all the People may understand them, and that the Priests and Clerks shall be obliged to be at them.

The 8th. forbids both the Clergy and People to walk in the Church in the time of Divine Service or Sermon, or at the publishing of any Orders.

The 9th. commands, that according to the Council of *Constance*, a provincial Council shall be held every three Years, and that the Bishops shall visit every Year.

The 10th. says, that Blasphemers shall be sought out, and punished.

The 11th. appoints the Parish-priests to exhort the People to fall upon their Knees a while, when they shall hear the Bell ring for the Elevation of the Host.

The 12th. enjoins the Curates not to suffer certain ridiculous Ceremonies any longer to be used in the Administration of the Sacraments of Baptism and Marriage, and forbids Penitents to discover the Penances enjoined them by their Confessor; and Confessors to tell, what they have imposed, or what has been revealed in Confession.

The 13th. appoints, that the Decree of the Council of *Constance*, and the *Pragmatick Sanction* about the Residence of Prebendaries, and other Ministers of the Church shall be observed, as also what is there ordain'd about Divine Service, singing of Psalms, and the Pauses in singing,

The 14th. orders, that hereafter the Fines, or Perquisites of the Bishops Seals shall not be farmed.

The 15th. forbids Printers, or Booksellers to print any Books belonging to the Church without the allowance of the Bishop.

The 16th requires, that no Confraternities shall be erected without the permission of the Bishop, and that there shall be no Feasts, or Dancings upon the account of these Confraternities, nor any usurious Contracts.

[(a) A *Monitory* is a Citation out of an Ecclesiastical Court, to oblige those that have any Knowledge of Crimes, or other Facts, concerning which the Court desires to be informed, to come and declare what they know of the matter upon pain of Ecclesiastical Censures.]

The 17th. allows, that the Bishops may lessen the Number of Feasts, as they shall judge convenient.

The 18th. enjoins Schoolmasters not to read any such Books to their Scholars, as may make them averse to Divine Worship, and the Ceremonies of the Church.

The 19th. obliges Curates to visit all their Parishioners once a Year, and especially about *Easter*, nevertheless without any prejudice to the Exemptions of privileged persons.

The 20th. orders, that Ordinaries shall not grant Letters dimissory, till they have examined and found those to be capable that desire them; that such as are ordained without Letters dimissory, shall be suspended for as long a time as the Bishop pleaseth, and shall suffer bodily punishment, if they are found unfit; that they shall grant Letters dimissory to such only as have a Benefice or a patrimonial Title.

The 21st appoints, that Bishops shall not give leave to those, who have a Cure of Souls, to leave their Flock, and serve at other Benefices.

The 22^d. forbids Nuns to leave their Houses, and obliges such as are parted from them, to return.

The 23^d. obliges the Monks, who live out of their Monasteries, to return to them again, and live according to their Rules.

In this Assembly it was agreed, that they should present their most humble Remonstrances to the King about the Incroachments, which the Lay-judges made upon the Jurisdiction and Liberty of Ecclesiasticks, and they drew up the Canons following for the Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction.

The 1st. was, that no *Monitories* should (a) be granted, unless the concern was at least above 200 *Livres* for the Obtainant.

The 2^d. orders, that *Monitories* and *Excommunication* (b), issu'd out against such as are concern'd in any Action, shall not include their Wives, Children, and Servants of both Sexes.

The 3^d. says, that Ecclesiastical Practisers, Notaries, Clerks, Proctors, and others shall not exact their Salaries due to them upon the account of their Offices, by the way of Excommunication, but only by way of Interdict to exclude them the Church, till Judges shall order it otherwise, when they have found the Debtors contumacious.

The 4th. will not allow Letters of Excommunication to be granted upon the first Act of contumacy, but only an Interdict to forbid them the Church, unless the Ordinaries judge, that it ought otherwise to be ordered through the difference of Places, or Customs.

The 5th. orders, that to the end metropolitical Judges may do Justice, the Suffragan Bishops, or the Officials shall make the Information and Inquiries in *Latin* and *French*, or at least in a Tongue which is understood in the *Metropolis*.

There were also two other Regulations made in this Council, of which one orders Curates and all beneficed Persons, that have charge of Souls, to reside upon their Benefices, and that Dispensations for Non-residence shall not be granted, nor Vicars made without a consideration of the cause.

The 2^d. is, that to hinder all pollution and profanation, Church-yards shall be inclosed as soon as possible, and at the longest, within three Years after the publication of the Regulations of this Council, and if those who ought to take care to have it done, shall neglect it, they shall be punished by the Ordinary.

[(b) The *French* word here *Reaggraves*; which signifies the last Monition in Ecclesiastical Censures, during which a Candle is light: So that if the party that is admonished submits not before the Candle goes out, the Sentence of Excommunication is past, and all Pains and Penalties are declared to be incurred.

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The Coun-
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Province of
Sens, held
at Paris in
1528.

The Council of the Province of Sens, held at Paris in the Year 1528.

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THE same Year Cardinal *du Prat* Archbishop of Sens, held a Council of his Province at Paris, which began February 3. and ended October 9. following.

The Decrees of that Council are divided into two Parts, the first concerns Doctrine, and the second, Discipline and Manners.

The Preface which is set before this Council shews, that the Errors of *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, and the other new Hereticks agreed with those of *Manes*, *Aerius*, *Vigilantius*, *Peter Waldo*, *Marfilius Patavinus*, and *Wickliff*. 'Tis also observ'd in the Conclusion, that these Innovators do not agree among themselves; that some of them pull down Images, but others suffer'd them to stand; that some of them reject all human Constitutions as Poison, and others defend them as very necessary; that some of them teach the Doctrines of the *Anabaptists*, and others abhor their Practices; that they agree not about the Eucharist, but some believe, that it is only a Sign of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; but others declare, that they believe that it is the very Body and Blood of Christ; but here also they both depart from the Truth, because they hold that the Substance of the Bread and Wine remain: Some of them boast, that they have the Holy Spirit, which gives them such a Knowledge of the Scripture, that they need no Interpreter; but others of them are not of this Opinion. That these contradictions do sufficiently demonstrate how far they are from the Truth, which is always the same, and is never contrary to it self.

Before the Decrees of this Council concerning the Faith, is prefixed a synodical Epistle of Cardinal *du Prat*, in which he condemns in general, and anathematizes as Hereticks, all those, who believe or maintain with obstinacy, any Doctrine different from what is held in the Church of *Rome*, because the universal Church cannot err, being governed by the Holy Spirit. He likewise excommunicates the Defenders, and Favourers of Hereticks, and requires all persons to avoid such Men as are suspected of Heresie, after they have been once or twice admonish'd. He then sets down some Rules, which ought to be observ'd in proceeding against Hereticks, and the different punishments which ought to be inflicted upon them. They, who are condemned, as Hereticks, and who will not abjure their Heresie, shall be condemned in the Ecclesiastical Court to Penance, and perpetual Imprisonment, and after they are degraded of their Orders, if they are Clerks, delivered to the secular Arm: And because it would be hard to get such a sufficient number of Bishops together, as the Canons require for the degrading of Priests, he gives one Bishop alone power to do it by calling in the assistance of the Abbots, and other Prelates. As to such as relapse, he orders, that they shall be delivered to the secular Arm without any other form of Process; and he declares, that those are such who have abjured their Heresie before a Judge, even tho' they were not condemned, and fall into that or any other Heresy, or protect, or favour Hereticks. Yet he will not have the Sacraments of Penance, or the Eucharist deny'd to such as are sorry for their Faults. The Goods of Hereticks shall be confiscated, after Judgment pass'd by the Ecclesiastical Judges, that is to say, the Goods of Laymen to the publick Treasury, and those of the Clergy to the Use of the Church. The same Ordinance forbids all private Meetings of Hereticks, and the reading of *Luther's* Books. It enjoins Men under the penalties inflicted by the Canons, to discover Hereticks, and in the last place it says, that the secular Magistrate shall be obliged to assist the Ecclesiastical Judges, in executing the Sentences pronounc'd against Hereticks.

After this Letter follow the several Decrees of the Council, concerning Matters of Faith.

V O L. III.

The first is about the Unity and Infallibility of the Church. It is there declared, that it cannot fall into any Error about Faith or Manners; that there is no Salvation out of its Bosom, that it is one holy and infallible; that it can't fall from Charity; nor depart from the true Faith, and that he that doth not depend on its Authority, both in Doctrine and Manners, is worse than an Infidel.

The 2d. is against those that say, that this Church is invisible.

The 3d. affirms, that general Councils, which represent the universal Church, have power to determine all things, that concern the Purity of the Faith, Extirpation of Heresies, Reformation of the Church, and Integrity of Manners; that their Authority is holy and inviolable, and whosoever obstinately resists them, ought to be accounted an Enemy of the Faith.

The 4th. determines, that it belongs to the Church to distinguish canonical Books of Scripture from apocryphal, and the catholick Sense of Scripture from the heretical, and that those who do not follow the Canons of the Council of *Carthage*, of *Innocent* and *Gelasius*, and refuse the Sense which the Holy Fathers have put upon them, to follow their own private Sense, are to be look'd upon as Schismatics and Hereticks.

The 5th. establisheth the Necessity and Validity of Traditions, and tells us, that such things as are deriv'd to us that way, ought to be believ'd and observ'd, and that whosoever refuseth to accept any Truth for this Reason only, because 'tis not clearly deliver'd to us in Holy Scripture, ought to be esteem'd an Heretick and a Schismatick.

The 6th. concerns the Obedience due to the Constitutions and Customs of the Church, and condemns those that despise them.

In the 7th. they are pronounc'd accursed, who do not observe the *Lent-Fast*, and other Fasts, and times of Abstinencies commanded by the Decrees of the Church.

The 8th. numbers those among Hereticks, who teach that Priests, Deacons and Subdeacons are not obliged to live a single Life, and so leave them at liberty to marry.

The 9th. is against those, who count perpetual Vows unlawful, and especially monastical: They prove the obligation of them, and order those to be punish'd according to the Canons, who say, that it is lawful to break them.

The 10th. is about the Sacraments of the Church. It condemns such, as lessen their Number, or deny, that they have a power of conferring Grace, and particularly explains, what we ought to believe of each of the Sacraments: Namely, that Baptism cleanseth us from our Sins, by conferring Grace upon us, by its Vertue; that Ordination by which Men are made Ministers of Jesus Christ, doth also confer Grace; that the Eucharist is the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; that Confirmation was appointed by our Lord to confirm the Baptized in Grace, and that none but Bishops have power to confer it; that Penance is necessary for those who have fallen after Baptism, and that it ought to be attended with Sorrow and Contrition; that the Law of Confession was appointed by Jesus Christ; and having been approved by Tradition from the Apostles to our Days, it ought inviolably to be observed by all the Faithful: That Extreme Unction is an effectual Remedy for Sins; and that Marriage is a true Sacrament, by which the Persons joyned together receive a celestial Blessing. Lastly, that all those that acknowledge not these seven Sacraments are to be esteemed Hereticks.

The 11th. affirms, that Jesus Christ hath instituted the Sacrifice of the Altar, in which his Body and Blood are offered.

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The 12th. says, that Sinners, the Guilt of whose Sins is pardoned after Baptism, may still be liable to temporal punishment, and obliged to satisfy for them in another Life, and consequently, 'tis an holy and saving Custom to pray for the Dead.

The 13th. asserts, that the Saints hear our Prayers, and being affected with our Miseries intercede for us, and so we may honour them, keep their Festivals, and read their Passions in the Church.

The 14th. teacheth us, that the Worship of Images is not Idolatry, because Catholicks worship them not as God, and do not believe that there is any Divinity in them, but use them only to remember the Son of God, and to excite in Men the Love of him who is represented by them; that they do not bow before an Image as before God, but worship him, whose Passion and Resurrection the Image represents, and that Images stir up the Simple to imitate the Virtue and Piety of the Saints, who are represented by them; insomuch, that very often we see more in an Image at one Glance of an Eye, than we can find in Books in a long time.

The 15th. maintains Free-will, yet however so as not to exclude Grace in it; it is affirm'd on the contrary, that the Will is prevented by inward Grace to turn it self to God, and to prepare it self for Sanctification; yet so as that Grace is always ready, and may always be resisted; that it is true, that God leads us, but it is not by violence; that he hath predestinated us, chosen us and called us, but he glorifies only those, who depending upon Faith and Charity, have made their Calling and their Election sure by good Works.

The 16th. shews, that Men are not justified by Faith only, but by Charity, and that good Works not only are no Sins, but are also necessary for Salvation, and may be accounted meritorious.

After these Canons is set down a Catalogue of the Errors contrary to this Doctrine, taught by the new Hereticks.

The second part contains forty Canons, about the Discipline of the Church.

The first orders, that publick Prayers be made for the Peace of the Church and State.

The second forbids the Exaction of any Fees upon any Pretence whatsoever, for the Administration of Sacraments, or other Holy Things.

The third appoints the Bishop, not to admit any Person into Holy Orders, unless he have a Certificate of his Life and Manners from his Curate, attested by two Witnesses, and has been examined whether he be of Ability sufficient.

The fourth prohibits the Ordination of a Subdeacon to any other than such, as have a Title to a Benefice or to an Estate of the annual Rent of 20. Paris Livres at least, and that there may be no fraudulent Dealings, it is ordained, that a Person that obtains a Benefice by Cession shall swear, that there is no Bargain between him and the Person that resigns, so as to restore to him the Title, but that he intends to keep and enjoy it as long as he lives, and he is forbidden to transfer it to any other without the permission of the Bishop, till he has either another Benefice, or an Estate of the same Value.

The fifth commands, that Bishops shall not grant Letters Dimissory, till they are certified of the Age, Ability, Manners and Title of those, to whom they are given, and in case that the Person who desires them cannot conveniently come to his Bishop, his Examination shall be sent back to the Bishop, to whom the Letters Dimissory are directed with this Clause: *Super quo Conscientiam tuam oneramus*, upon Condition nevertheless, that such Letters shall be granted to those only who have a Benefice, or Patrimony of the value before mentioned.

The sixth orders, that they shall be suspended from Holy Orders, who have been ordained before the Age appointed by the Canons, or are found not sufficiently qualified, till they are arrived at the full Age, or are sufficiently instructed.

The seventh is about those, who are put into Holy Orders in the Court of Rome, and appoints that they should be examined by their Bishops, before they are allowed to officiate.

The eight commands, that the Bishops shall examine such, as have any Nominations, or Provisions for Benefices, and shall not give them Institution, unless they find them of sufficient Abilities.

The ninth engages Collators to bestow their Benefices upon Persons well qualified, and if they shall neglect to do it, after they have been reprov'd, the Council forbids, that they shall Collate.

By the tenth, it is ordained, that there shall be sufficient daily Allowances for such, as perform Divine Service in all Cathedral and Collegiate Churches.

The eleventh, enjoins Curates to reside in their Parishes, to explain every Sunday in the vulgar Tongue, the ten Commandments of God, and the Articles of our Faith, and if they have not Learning sufficient to Preach themselves, to read a Chapter out of the *Tripartite Work* of John Gerson.

The twelfth orders them to put their Parishioners in mind, that they should come to the Parochial Mass upon Sundays and Holy Days, and to attend to the Expositions, and inform the Officers in the Ecclesiastical Courts of those who are not there three Sundays together. In this Canon they are also advised, to exhort their Parishioners to confess their sins often, and to receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist, especially at Festivals, or in a time of Sickness, or when they are in Danger of Death, or are about to go a Voyage, and to be sure to communicate at least once a Year.

The thirteenth orders, that Mass shall not only be said in their Parish Churches upon Sundays and Festivals, but also upon the Days when they keep the Memory of their Foundations; they also forbid the building new Chappels, or the rebuilding those that are fallen down, till leave is obtained of the Bishop.

The fourteenth, forbids the Celebration of Mass in private Chappels, under a Pretence of the Pope's Permission, unless the Bishops have seen and approved of these Permissions. Those Chappels also which were usual in Inns are forbidden.

The fifteenth, appoints that no Mass shall be said in Chappels, but such as are endowed, and that they shall not be said on Sunday, till Mass in the Parish Church is ended; that Bishops shall not easily grant Licencies to build new Chappels, nor consecrate portable Altars without necessity.

The sixteenth, tells us, what respect is due to Churches; that no prophane Meetings, or Discourses are to be held in them; that no Disturbancies, or any thing offensive to God be permitted in the time of Divine Service; that Stage-players, and Fiddlers be not allowed to play upon their Instruments in them, and there be made no more Feasts, where Fools may show their Tricks,

The seventeenth orders, that the Church-Musick be fitted to raise Mens Devotion, and that care be taken, that no prophane nor lascivious Songs be plaid or sung to the Organ.

The eighteenth appoints, that in Collegiate, Cathedral, and Conventual Churches, divine Service be said in a devout Manner with gravity and attention; that every one rise up at the *Gloria Patri*, and bow their Heads at the Name of *Jesus*; that no Person say his private Devotion, while the Choire is singing.

The nineteenth exhorts beneficed Persons, and such as are in holy Orders, to read divine Service distinctly, and slowly, and deprives such of the daily Shares, who are found walking about the Church, and talking, while any of the Canonical hours are saying there.

The twentieth, forbids the absence of the Officers of Choire: And orders, that the absent be sharply reprov'd; that those that come not to Mattins,

or

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Councils held in France & Germany before the Council of Trent.
 or the other hours before the *Gloria Patri* of the first Psalm, and to the Mass before the end of the Epistle, shall be accounted absent and lose their Shares, and in those Churches where Distributions are not made every hour, that they shall lose them all together; that the Deans, Provost, and other Officers shall not be esteemed present, but when the Business of the Church is the Cause of their Absence.

The Council of the Province of Sens, held at Paris in 1528.
 The 21st. ordains, that as soon as any one is made a Prebendary of a Cathedral, or Collegiate Church, he shall have all the Profits of his Prebend during the vacancy, unless by any lawful and private Foundation the Revenue of it be set apart for a time for other Churches, or pious Uses, condemning the Custom which was followed in some Churches, of dividing the Revenues of the new Prebendaries among the old ones for a certain time; that the Bishops upon their return into their Dioceses, after the rising of the Council shall examine their Breviaries, Antiphonaries, Missals, Legends of Saints, and that they take out of them what they shall judge to be necessary.

The 22^d. enjoyns Abbots and Abbesses, Priors and Prioreesses to observe a regular Discipline in their Houses; and that they should take care, that the Monks and Nuns go not out of their Cloisters, without the Habit of their Orders, that they may not have an opportunity to fall away, and that the Bishops in the Course of their Visitations, enquire into the Condition of the Monasteries, and what needed Correction, and apply such Remedies as they shall judge proper; that the *Canons Regular*, shall not be seen in Publick, nor in their Monasteries without their Rotchet, unless they have a special privilege not to wear it; that they shall be obliged to shew it to the Bishop, who shall order them to wear such an Habit as may distinguish them from the Secular Clergy.

The 23^d. commands, that the Clergy shall shew a great deal of modesty in their Apparel, and to that end shall wear no Silk, neither within nor without their Houses; but the Sons of Princes, and Dukes only shall be allowed to wear it, but in such a Form as shall shew them to be Clergymen; that the Clergy shall not wear any open Gown, but gathered in the Neck, on the Shoulders and behind, and at the Wrists.

The 24th. cautions the Clergy, that they be careful that their long Garments be neither too large, nor too freight; that there be nothing in them that may look like pride; that they neither be folded nor plaited; that they should equally avoid an affected neatness, and a careless Slovenliness; that their Stockings should not be of divers Colours, nor their Shoes either too pointed, or too round, or too broad; and that according to the Council of *Lateran*, they could neither wear red nor green Cloth.

The 25th. enjoins the Clergy not to play at Tennis, or any other Game in Publick; that they should not play at Hazard, especially with Laymen, nor be present where such sorts of Sports are used; that they should not be present at Balls, nor sing any amorous Songs, nor be where they are sung, and that their Carriage should be always becoming.

The 26th. requires, that Priests who live unchastly, should be punished according to the Canons, and that those that follow; and involve themselves in secular Affairs, shall be subject to the Penalties inflicted by the Council of *Orleans*, and the 2^d. Council of the *Lateran*.

The 27th. appoints, that in the Government of Priories, where there is but one Religious Person, the Revenue not being sufficient to maintain a great number, that this Religious Person may not live alone, the Bishop of the Place, according to the Canon of the Council of *Vienna*, shall unite such Priories to

the nearest Monastery; and the same shall be observed in the Houses where there is but one Nun.

The 28th. provides, that Nunneries shall be obliged to receive as many Nuns into them, as their Revenue will maintain, and that nothing shall be required for their Entrance under a pretence of Custom, or any other colour whatsoever; but however if any young Woman desire to go into a Nunnery that is full, the Nunnery may require an Allowance, which shall not cease upon the Death of a Nun who is of the number, that some poor Maiden may be taken into her place: That Bishops shall take care that Monasteries be kept close.

The 29th. commands, that the Revenues of Lazaretto's, Infirmaries, Hospitals, and Alms-houses, shall not be employ'd contrary to the design of the Founder to other Uses: That wise Administrators shall be chosen for them, who shall keep a faithful Register of the condition of the Places and Revenue of the Houses, and shall every Year give an account of their Administrations.

The 30th. orders, that the Bishops shall forbid, under the pain of Excommunication, that Monopoly which is made in Confraternities, to be employ'd in Debauchery, especially upon Holydays; and that they should not allow any new Confraternities to be erected, without their allowance; nor that the Staff of the Confraternity be carried into, or out of the Church, where the Ceremony ends with feasting: That the Syndicks and Procureurs of the Confraternities, shall be obliged every six Months after the publication of these Decrees, to bring to the Bishop of the Place, or his Vicars General, the Statutes of their Confraternities, and give an account how the Revenues of their Confraternities have been employed, forbidding the Brethren to carry away the Chalice, Vessels, and Vestments of the Church: That they shall chuse every Year Church-Wardens in their Parishes, who at their Entrance upon their Office shall take an Oath to discharge it faithfully, and shall give an account at the leaving of it of what they have disbursed, and what they have receiv'd.

The 31st. ordains, that to the end Excommunications may not be slighted, they shall not be denounced, unless for weighty causes after admonitions given in form.

The 32^d. obliges Bishops to be diligent in visiting those Parishes twice a year, either by themselves or their Archdeacons, where they suspect that there are any Hereticks, and that they shall oblige the Inhabitants to discover who those Hereticks are, that they may be punish'd.

The 33^d. says, that since the Hereticks, that they might more easily disperse their Doctrines, have translated the Scriptures into *French*, and mingled with the Explication of the Fathers some marginal Notes of very dangerous consequence, it shall be forbidden to all Booksellers to sell, or print any Book, whether it be Holy Scripture, or any Treatise about Faith or Morality, without the Bishop's leave under pain of Excommunication; and because, for 20 years last past, the Hereticks have printed several small Books both in *Latin* and *French*, the Curates shall be careful four times a year to publish the Prohibition made by this Council in their Sermons, that none should read, or keep such Books under the punishment of Excommunication.

The 34th. orders, that since divers preaching and begging Friars, in their monastick Habits undertake to preach, and deluding the Curates, teach new, and often heretical Doctrines in the Pulpit, and that they may gain reputation with the People, speak evil of Dignities both in Church and State, and so intice the People to disobedience; to prevent so great a Mischiefe, the Curate shall not allow any such preaching or begging (a) Friar to preach, unless he have the Licence of the Bishop of the Diocese: That the Bishops shall chuse for Preachers learned and prudent

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The Council of the Province of Sens, held at Paris in 1528.

[(a) The Word is *Quêteur*, i. e. one that preaches up Indulgences.]

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Men to preach the Gospel to the People, and who shall not amuse them with Quotations out of profane Authors, Sentences out of Poets, Questions out of the Schoolmen, or Buffooneries.

The 35th. appoints, that such Preachers, as instead of preaching the Gospel, teaching the ten Commandments, raising in their Auditors an Horror of Vice, and a Love for Virtue, shall deliver pleasant Stories to make the People laugh, and incline them to disobedience, shall be prohibited to preach.

The 36th. says, that tho' the *Mendicant* Friars have a power to absolve by virtue of the Pope's Decrees, when they are chosen by their Guardians as well qualified, and presented to the Bishops and approved by them, yet their Power doth not reach farther than the Curates, which is to absolve in ordinary cases, unless they have obtain'd a special Power of the Bishops for reserved cases.

The 37th. ordains, that to the end that the Faithful may know to which of the approved Monks they may go to make their Confessions, the Guardians shall set up a Table in some place of the Monastery, containing the Names of such Monks as are appointed for Confessors.

The 38th. commands, that such Abbots as pretend to have a Right to administer the Sacrament of Con-

firmation, shall be oblig'd to shew their Grant, when the Bishops require it of them.

The 39th. enjoins, that Marriage being a Sacrament which ought to be received with Reverence, all persons shall forbear Laughter and merry Talk, while the Office is celebrating, and the Marriage Blessing is pronouncing; that the persons espoused, shall prepare themselves for this Sacrament by Fasting and Penance, and that none shall be married for the future till after Sun-rising, and not immediately after Midnight, as has been usual, which has been the occasion of many clandestine Marriages, from whence many very great Scandals have arisen; and therefore all such as contract, or favour them, are excommunicated *ipso facto*.

The 40th. provides, that to the end that there may be nothing which may hurt the Holiness of the House of God, the Bishops shall take care that there be no indecent Pictures, and which represent things contrary to the truth of Scripture; and because the People are apt immediately to carry Candles, and make Vows in the Place where they hear that there is any Miracle done, that the Peoples credulity and simplicity may not be abused, it is order'd, that no new Miracle be publish'd, nor any Chappel built upon that account, without the express Licence of the Bishop.

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held in
France &
Germany
before the
Council of
Trent.

The Coun-
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at Paris in
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The first Provincial Council of Cologne, in the Year 1536.

The first
Council of
Cologne
in 1536.

THIS provincial Council was called in the Year 1536. in the time of *Paul III.* and the Emperor *Charles V.* by *Herman de Meurs*, Archbishop of *Co. l. g. e.*, who afterwards imbracing the new Doctrine of *Luther*, sent for *Bucer* and *Melanchthon* to preach it in his Archbishoprick, and whose Engagement to this new Doctrine was so strong, that he rather chose to leave his Archbishoprick, than renounce it; and so he died in 1552. in the Heresie which he had embrac'd.

The Matters which were regulated and appointed by this Council, were reduced to 14 Classes or Parts. The 1st. is about Bishops, the 2d. about the Clergy in general, the 3d. about metropolitane, collegiate, and cathedral Churches, and the Prebendaries that officiate in them; the 4th. is concerning Rectors, Vicars, and other Ministers of God, the 5th. is about the Life and Manners of Curates, the 6th. of the Qualifications of Preachers, the 7th. is about the Administration of the Sacraments, the 8th. settles the Maintenance of Ministers, the 9th. delivers the Constitutions and Usages of the Church, the 10th. relates to the Life and Condition of Monks, the 11th. is about Hospitals, the 12th. concerns Schools, Printers and Booksellers, the 13th. settles the Jurisdiction of the Church in things controverted, and the 14th. about the Visitations of Archbishops, Archdeacons, and their Synods.

The 1st. Part, which sets down the Duties of a Bishop particularly, is divided into 36 Articles: The Council makes all episcopal Functions to consist particularly in two things, the Ordination and Institution of Ministers, and the Visitation of their Dioceses. In the first Article, Ordination is defin'd to be the Gate by which entrance is given into the Government of the Church, and consequently the Bishops are order'd not to permit all sorts of persons to enter into it easily, and to admit none but such as they have examin'd a considerable time, and have good proof of their Wisdom and Ability. The 2d. Article directs the Bishops not to ordain any persons who come to them, who have not a Title to a patrimonial Estate, or a Benefice. In the following Articles the Council exhorts Patrons not to have respect to Flesh and Blood, and the Chapters, and such as have a right to elect, to choose such persons only as they shall judge most worthy. The 16th, 17th, and following Articles are directed to the Suffragan Bishops

and Grand Vicars, as Sharers with the Bishops in their episcopal Functions, and admonisheth them to take care, that all whom they admit to Holy Orders have all the Qualifications necessary for faithful Ministers of God; to be diligent to get Information of their Lives and Manners, and the Motives which may make them enter into Holy Orders. On *Wednesday*, *Thursday*, and *Friday* in the *Ember-weeks*, when they ordain they shall examine them without any respect to the Title of Doctors, which they may bear, unless they have been made Doctors publicly, and in such a manner, as may leave no room to doubt of their capacity: The Monks also, who shall come for Ordination, shall be also examin'd.

In the 28th. Article 'tis order'd, that Letters of Ordination shall be granted *gratis* even for the Seal, and the Secretary shall receive no more than a *Blank* for his pains.

The 32d. and 33d. Articles contain an Advice to such as have several Benefices, especially with cure of Souls, not to satisfy themselves that they have gotten the Pope's Dispensation for them, but to examine themselves, and see whether they have one from God: Nevertheless, for fear they should injure their own Consciences, they are ordered to submit their Dispensations to the Bishops, that they may judge impartially whether their Pretences be just.

The conclusion of the Articles of the first Part says, that it is better that Bishops should have a small number of Clergymen, who discharge their Function well, than a great number of useless persons, who are really a great Burden to a Bishop.

The second Part of this Council, which concerns the Clergy, is divided into 32 Articles.

The first refers us to *St. Jerome*, and the other Fathers, to learn what ought to be the Life and Office of a Clergyman.

The 2d. explains the Sense of the Word *Clerk* in *St. Jerome's* Judgment, that is to say, one that belongs more especially to God, than other Christians do, who also belong to him; and the 3d. advises them to banish all covetousness from their Hearts.

In the 4th. the Office of a Minister is divided into two Parts, Prayer and Preaching; and, for that reason, 'tis appointed in the 5th, and 6th. Articles, that Clergymen should recite their Breviary with Attention and Devotion, both in publick and in private, and the Bishops are advised to reform, and cleanse it

The first
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it from several Stories of false and doubtful Saints, which are now read, instead of the Holy Scripture, which in former times was only read in the Church.

The 7th. blames the Zeal of some Clergymen, who upon the account of some Will or Foundation, bring in new Offices and new Ceremonies into the Church.

The 11th. condemns the special Subjects of certain Masses newly invented, because this Mystery ought not to be apply'd according to every Man's Fancy. It also condemns the *Profes* (b) which being ill compos'd are put into the Missals, without Judgment, and appoints that the Missals and Breviaries be amended.

The 12th. and 13th. prescribe the manner how the Words of the Mass should be recited.

In the 14th. it is forbidden to sing any Anthem at Mass, after the Elevation, either for Peace, or against the Plague, it being a time that every one ought to be profoundly silent, prostrate on the ground with his Soul elevated to Heaven, to give thanks to Jesus Christ for shedding his Blood so freely to wash us from our Sins.

In the 16th. the Custom lately brought in is condemned, of saying the Mass of the Holy Trinity, or Holy Spirit, upon such *Sundays* as have others compos'd for those Days by the Church.

The 17th. exhorts the People to be attentive to the Confession that is made in the beginning of the Mass, because the Absolution which the Priest gives, belongs to them, that so they may be well qualified to hear the Mass with profit.

The 22d. says, that Pride, Luxury, and Avarice, are ordinarily the causes of the disgrace and ill reputation of the Clergy; and for that reason, in the 23d. they are desired to consider, that they are called to their Office not to be ministr'd unto, but to minister.

In the 25th. it is said, that it were to be wish'd that Clergymen would not be present at Weddings.

In the 30th. Article, it is allow'd to the Clergy to imploy themselves in some honest Calling, that they may live without bringing contempt upon the Function; and by the 31st. they are forbidden to trade in buying and selling.

The III. Part, which concerns cathedral and collegiate Churches, contains 31 Articles. In the 1st. 'tis said, that a cathedral Church being the Seat of a Bishop, and the chief Church, should be more regular, and be a President to other Churches in the Diocess.

In the 2d. it is added, that collegiate Churches being next to Cathedrals, and having the same Dignities, the Deans of both should be careful that the Clergy demean themselves in them agreeable to their Functions.

The 3d. says, that it is sufficient that the Dignitaries and Officers of cathedral and collegiate Churches, do consider what the Names of their Places signify to oblige them to do their Duty.

In the 4th. 'tis wish'd that the Lives of the Canons did answer to the Name they bear, *i. e.* that they be in all things *Regular*, and would remember, that at their first Institution they liv'd in common, as the Situation of their Houses shew, being built round the Church, and that as they had but one single Habitation, they ought to have but one Mind and one Heart, according to the example of the primitive Christians.

In the 10th. it is order'd, that the Canons which shall be absent from any one of the Offices, either coming to Mass after the Epistle, or to the other Hours after the first Psalm, shall not receive the Distribution given at that Service.

The 14th. enjoins, that the *Chapters* about *Manners* shall be held with more care and exactness, than hitherto they have been, and that both Things sacred and profane be debated at them.

In the 15th. it is enjoin'd to the Deacons, who by custom have a right to judge about the Discipline of the Church, to do their duty at the request of the Dean, and if they neglect it, the Dean and Chapter shall be their Judges; but if the Dean and Chapter neglect to do Justice, or be blame-worthy themselves, the Ordinary then shall be Judge.

By the 17th. Article the Dean is appointed immediately as soon as he hears of any difference between any of the Canons, to make them Friends.

In the 18th. it is forbidden to put forward or delay Divine Service, upon the account of any Assemblies of the Chapter.

In the 19th. 'tis said, that the Statutes of cathedral and collegiate Churches shall be examin'd, to remove all Occasions of Disputes, and which may be contrary to the Purity of the Gospel, unless they find any made with a prospect of Advantage.

By the 21st. 'tis granted in favour to the Studies of the Prebendaries that are Students, that they shall have the full Profits of their Benefices, if they produce a Certificate of their Studies; and by the 22d. 'tis appointed, that such as are newly made Prebendaries, altho' their Predecessors never had possession, shall enjoy the Profits of their Benefices, so as that the ancient received Canons shall not pretend to any of the Profits.

By the 24th. 'tis order'd, that the Officials Court shall not be held any longer in the Church, but in some place adjoining to it.

In the 29th. it is said, that the collegiate Churches shall not go in Procession any more to the cathedral Church, but on the Days on which the Bishop himself celebrates Divine Service according to the ancient Usage, that they may receive the Communion, or Benediction of the Bishop.

In the 30th. 'tis appointed, that for the future, collegiate Churches shall not come any more to the cathedral Church, when the Vigils of the Bishops Anniversaries are sung, because of the confusion of Voices, which causes, that the singing raiseth neither any Devotion; nor Piety, but they shall each of them sing them in their own Church, and the next day shall come to the Cathedral to be present at Mass.

In the 31st. there is a complaint, that there remain'd nothing in the Churches of the four lesser Orders, but the Name, because none that receiv'd them did their duty but only Laymen discharg'd those Offices at present.

The IV. Part of the Council concerns Curates and their Vicars, and other Ministers of the Word of God, and contains 18 Articles.

In the 5th. 'tis appointed, that the corrupt Doctrines, which began to be spread abroad, might not increase, and get ground, that none should be allowed to preach without a License from the Ordinary.

And for the same reason, and in obedience to the holy Canons, it is forbidden by the 6th. Article to Curates, to be absent from their Parishes, and to put in Vicars without the special Allowance of the Bishop.

By the 7th. the Mendicant Friars in conformity to the Council of *Vienna* are prohibited to preach, till they have been presented to the Bishops, or their grand Vicars, and in the two following Articles, the 8th. and 9th. they are admonish'd to beware, that in their Sermons they do not speak ill of the Curates, Clergy, Bishops, or Magistrates, as they have usually done, to ingratiate themselves with the People, because if the Curates and Clergy are guilty of any fault, they have Superiors and Judges, who are to censure them and not they, and that their Invectives against them do rather offend, than edify the People.

In the 10th. it is observed as a gross abuse, that because of the Reputation and Authority that the

Councils held in France & Germany before the Council of Trent.

The first Council of Cologne in 1536.

Councils held in France & Germany before the Council of Trent.

The first Council of Cologne in 1536.

[(b) *Profes* are the rhythmical Hymns used in the Offices of the Church of Rome.]

Monks have gotten over the Peoples minds, the Curates have been obliged upon Oath to let the Monks preach in their Cures.

The 5th. part, which concerns the Life and Manners of Curates, contains eight Articles.

In the second, the Council advises the Curates to join a good Life with their Knowledge, because the

Voice of good Works is better understood, and persuades more effectually than that of Words, and in the third, the Council sets down these Words of St. Paul to Timothy, that it is easie for a Man to know, what he ought to believe, but he must have a pure and clear Conscience.

The 6th. part, which contains the Qualifications of Preachers, hath twenty seven Articles.

In the eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh, &c. the Council advises Preachers to speak in such a manner, as may suit the understanding of their Auditors; not to preach sometimes one Opinion, and sometimes another; not to mix impertinences and stories in their Sermons, to avoid whatsoever is profane, and that false Eloquence, that consists only in a jingle of Words, as also impious Jest, and such as excite Laughter; to speak nothing that may anger, or provoke the Ecclesiastical or Secular Powers; but on the contrary to exhort the People to honour them, and to pray to God for them; not to teach any thing as a Doctrine of Faith, which the Church hath not decided, to interpret the Gospel according to the Sense of the Fathers, to teach the People the Commandments of God, the chief Articles of Faith, the Use of Images, and the Signification of the ceremonies of the Mass.

In the 22d. and 23d. Articles, the Curates of less Abilities are commanded, after they have made the sign of the Cross and begged God's Assistance, to read the Epistle and Gospel, and to give a simple Explication of them to the People, choosing some Passages more particularly to engage them to live like Christians, and to the Love of God, and our Neighbour, and explain to them the Collect, which the Church appoints to be made that day to God, and to exhort them to pray in the same manner with the Spirit and Understanding, if they can't say the same Words. It exhorts them also not to spend their time in relating the Histories of the Saints, and Miracles, but to apply themselves more to the explaining of the Epistle and Gospel, and at the end of their Discourses to deliver a short Summary of what they have said, which may be useful to their Auditors, and inculcate the Truths, which they have preached to them the more in their Minds.

The 7th. part, which treats of the Sacraments, is divided into fifty two Articles, of which the seven first respect Baptism, and how the Curates ought to instruct their Parishioners about it, teaching them, what is the effect of that Sacrament, and what Uncction, Spittle, and other Ceremonies are used in the Administration of Baptism, and the Reasons why Godfathers are required, telling them that 'tis a very great Abuse to take those for Godfathers, who do not know, what they promised for others, and to appear at that Sacrament with Luxury, which ought then to be renounced.

From the eighth to the thirteenth Article, the Sacrament of Confirmation is handled, as being a Sacrament which confers Grace, and gives the Faithful that receive it, a Power to resist the Devil; and for this Reason, it was administered in former times to Infants, that by virtue of this Sacrament they might be preserved in an Age so weak and inclined to Evil; that nevertheless the Council of Orleans judged it convenient to administer this Sacrament to Persons who had more knowledge, and were a little more advanced in Years. In the eleventh, the Feasts, which were usually made at Christnings, and after Confirmation are forbidden.

From the thirteenth to the thirtieth, it speaks of the Eucharist; first it is said, that the People ought to be taught, that they ought most certainly to be-

lieve, that in the Sacrament of the Eucharist the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are really present, under the appearance as well of Bread as of Wine; so he who communicates under one Species only, partakes both of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, and has no Reason to complain, that he is deprived of one kind, since under the other he receives the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ entire; that the People being satisfied in the real Presence of the Body of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, ought to adore him, both at Mass, and when he is carried to any Sick Person. In the eighteenth, nineteenth, twenty second, and twenty third Articles, it speaks of the Qualifications such as come to this Sacrament ought to bring along with them, which are a pure Conscience, an Heart weaned from all Affection to Sin, and a lively Faith, which assures us of the truth of the Body of Jesus Christ sacrificed, and his Blood shed for us in this Sacrament.

In the twenty fifth, twenty sixth, twenty seventh, and twenty eighth Articles, the Curates are admonished to instruct the People, to teach them what is the meaning of the Mass, and that it's a Sacrifice which represents to us and renews in us the Remembrance of the Death of Jesus Christ, and to explain to them all the Parts and Prayers of it, to show them how it is profitable to the Dead; but that it ought not to be accompanied with all the Solemnities, which are used at Funerals, and such a number of Monks and Priests, which makes only more confusion, and renders the Carrying of it less pious and modest. 'Tis for this Reason, adds the Council, that those who would have many Prayers made for the Dead, had better leave the Monks in their Monasteries, and the Clergy in their Churches to pray to God, and say Masses, than oblige them to attend the Funeral.

From the thirtieth Article to the fortieth, it speaks of the Sacrament of Penance, and the Qualifications which a Confessor ought to have. In the thirtieth 'tis said, that the Orthodox Christians in the Primitive Church allowed three parts in the Sacrament of Penance, Contrition, Confession, and Satisfaction, or Fruits worthy of Repentance.

In the 31st. Preachers are advised to preach Repentance to the People, because the Gospel began with preaching of Repentance.

The 32d. answers those Sinners, who say, that they are not converted, because God doth not draw them; since God stands every moment at the door of our Hearts, and knocks by an inward and outward Voice.

In the 33. and following Articles about the Qualifications of a Confessor, 'tis said, that he ought to be of a blameless Life; that he ought to be Learned, and of an inviolable Secrecy; that he ought to have a sweet Behaviour to allure Sinners, and Art to comfort them; Courage to reprove them, and Prudence to apply fit remedies for their Diseases, and to appease those troubled Consciences, which never think that they have confessed their Sins fully enough, but have omitted some Circumstance, and have need to make their Confessions anew to some other Confessor, by assuring them, that God requires no more of us in our Confessions, than Sincerity of heart, and not too scrupulous an Enquiry into our Lives.

In the 36th. Curates in some reserved cases, which are secret, are allowed to absolve, because, first they who fall into such Sins, if they were forced to go to the Grand Vicars, or those, that have power to absolve them, would become more negligent to rise from their fall, or think it needless to go; secondly, because young Men and Women are kept back by shame, and not being able to go to such Penitentiaries, but it must be known, that they may not disgrace themselves, would continue silently in their Sins.

From the 40th. to the 47th. Article, it speaks of the Sacrament of Marriage, and wishes that the good custom of Fasting, and receiving the Communion before

Councils held in France & Germany before the Council of Trent.

The first Council of Cologne in 1536.

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 before Marriage, were again restored. It enjoins the Curates not to marry the Daughters of any Family without the Consent of their Parents; to marry none, unless the Banns have been published three times, as also not to marry any Strangers, or Persons of unknown, without Certificates from the Place of their Abode, to testify that they are not already married, and without a License from their Curates, that they may be married by another, and if there be any Degrees of Consanguinity between the Persons who are to be joined in Marriage, and if they have obtained a Dispensation from the Pope to examine it, and if they find that the Copy is not true, to declare their Dispensation null, as also to forbid those Sports in the Church which are usual after the Celebration of Marriage, with the new married Couple. As to the Sacrament of Ordination, it refers us to what is said in the first part about the Functions of a Bishop.

In the 49th. and 50th. it speaks of extreme Unction. In it 'tis said, that the Curate in Administering of this Sacrament, shall explain the Text of St. James, shall exhort the sick Person to think of Death, and shall prepare for his latter end.

In the two last Articles, the People are enjoined to allow a Christian Burial to all those who die in the Communion of the Church, even tho' they die suddenly, it being but reasonable, that those who have lived in Communion with the Church in their lives, should remain in it after their Death. It forbids the allowing Christian Burial to Hereticks, excommunicate Persons, publick Robbers, such as have killed themselves, and such as have died in some Mortal Sin without shewing any marks of Repentance,

The 8th. part, which treats about the Maintenance of the Parochial Clergy, is divided into seven Articles. It forbids the Curates to take any thing for the Administration of Sacraments, and Burial, and orders that a small Fund shall be assigned to the Curates; that they shall enjoy the Tythes which the Laity have taken from them; that several Churches shall be united, if there be occasion; and that two Pence shall be paid to the Curates at *Christmas*, *Easter*, and *Whitsuntide*, and the Feast of the *Assumption* of the Virgin, which shall be put into the Church-Wardens hands, to avoid all Disputes with the Curates, and to take away all Suspicion.

The 9th. part is about the Constitutions, and Usages of the Church, and contains 21 Articles. In the first 'tis said, that the People ought to be acquainted, that the diverse Usages, which are practised in different Churches, having nothing contrary to the Faith, and therefore ought to be observed, either as being derived from the Apostles, or as being introduced by general Councils. In the second Article 'tis concluded, that since the Church hath commanded Fasts, they ought to be observed, but indeed the great and true Fast, is abstinence from Sin, but we ought to consider, that the other are appointed to arrive at that.

In the 3d. 'tis observed, that the Church hath ordained nothing contrary to St. Paul, in forbidding the use of certain Meats upon certain days, because she doth not account them unclean, but as proper means to mortify the Flesh, and upon that account 'tis said in the 4th. that the Church in commanding abstinence from certain Meats upon certain days, hath not by that means laid any snares for the Faithful, because she dispenseth with them, when Charity or necessity requires.

In the 5th. the Council takes notice, that it is contrary to the Spiritual Design of the Church, to make as sumptuous Feasts of Fish upon Fasting days as can be made with Flesh, since the Intemperance which the Church endeavours to stop, is no less promoted by many Dishes of Fish than it is by Flesh. In the sixth Article, it is forbidden to eat Flesh in the Holy time of *Lent*, upon the account

of the weakness, without a License obtain'd from the Curate.

In the 7th. the Reason given for the Fasting and Prayers in the Rogations, which are kept by the Church before Ascension is this; that this Feast happening in the Spring time, which is the usual time when Wars begin, and the Fruits of the Earth being then in Flower are in very great danger; they endeavour to allay the anger of God by their Repentance and Prayer, and to obtain his Blessing upon the Fruits of the Earth. And for this reason 'tis said, in the 8th. Article, that Perambulations through the Fields were appointed, but because the most Holy Institutions become an occasion of Sin; thro' the evil disposition of Men, it was thought more convenient to make these Processions round the Church.

By the 9th. Article it is appointed, that the *Sunday* should be kept holy by meeting in the Church, being present at Mass, and receiving it, hearing the Word of God, and singing Psalms and Hymns: And by the 10th. 'tis forbidden to keep Fairs upon that day, to go to Taverns and to Dance.

In the 12th. and 13th. Articles it is enjoined, that the People be taught, that the Anointings with Oyl, which are used in the Consecration of Altars, Dedications of Churches, and Blessing of Chailces, are not Jewish Ceremonies, as some assert, but holy Rites appointed by Pope *Silvester* to inform Christian People, that when they offer upon those Altars, pray to God in those Temples, and receive the Blood of Christ in those Chalices, they receive all sorts of Comforts from Heaven, and the Anointing of God's Grace.

In the 14th. 'tis said, that they bless Bells, because they are consecrated to a Holy use, and are made the Trumpets of the Church Militant, to animate the Faithful to meet together, and join in Prayer to drive away the Devil their Enemy, who mixing with Tempests and Storms, works mischief by that means to Christians.

In the 15th. 'tis added, that when Churches are cleansed after any Pollution, 'tis not because they are really polluted, because that's the place where Christians are washed from all their Filth, but they are cleansed by sprinkling of holy Water and Prayer, to raise a Horror in those, who have committed Crimes, and let them know, that if an inanimate Place, which in it self cannot be guilty of any Crime, is washed and purified, much more ought they to wash and purify themselves from their Crimes who were the Temples of the living God.

By the 21st. the Council leaves it to the Bishop's Care to correct the Abuses which are found in the Confraternities, which under the pretence of religious Meetings, give an occasion to Debaucheries, and caballings against Princes.

The 10th. part which is concerning Monastick Discipline, contains 19. Articles. In the first 'tis said, that though a Monastick Life as it is now used, is different from that which began soon after the Apostles days, nevertheless it may much contribute to the obtaining of an Evangelical Perfection, if those that embrace it, would conform exactly to the Rules of it, but for as much as it is hard to observe them exactly through the weakness of the Flesh, Superiors are commanded carefully to examine such Persons as come to them, and particularly Maidens.

In the 3d. Parents are advised not to force their Children to become Monks, lest they fall into the Damnation of the *Pharisees* Profelyte.

In the 7th. it is ordered, that some Monks be chosen, to send to some University to study Divinity, and that Care be taken, that they abide in their Monasteries, and not in private Houses.

In the 8th. it is appointed, that Nuns shall have extraordinary Confessors sent them twice or thrice a Year, to whom they may discharge their Consciences, which they can't do with confidence to their

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 their ordinary Confessors; and that they shall be careful to choose regular, wise and able Men to receive such Confessions, who shall take care not to put any Questions about Sins, that they do not accuse themselves of, for fear of teaching them what they don't know; and who shall hear their Confessions not in a private Place, but in the presence of other Nuns, that they may not only avoid all Evil, but any Suspicion that may be had of them.

The first Council of Cologne in 1536.
 In the 9th. those that live in the World are forbidden to go into all sorts of Monasteries, because by the Abuses which proceed from that Custom, those for Men are made Taverns, instead of Schools of Virtue, and Hospitals for the Poor, and Nunneries are looked upon as places of lewdness.

In the 11th. it is provided, that Stewards shall be settled in those Monasteries where the Abbesses having the full Authority, and Administration of the Revenues, lay them out in expences, which are no ways agreeable to their condition, and starve the Nuns, and that these Stewards shall have the management of all their Revenues, and give an Account once a Year.

In the 14th. the Visitation and Reformation of the Houses of the Knights Hospitallers, of the Teutonic Order, of St. John Baptist, and St. Anthony, is recommended, to restore Divine Service and Hospitality in them, to hinder the Goods of their *Commendators* (c) deceased from being swallowed up by the great Masters of the Order, and carried into foreign Countries, and to take care that these Goods be employed for the Necessities of the Church, or their Successors, or for the Relief of the Poor of the place where their *Commendaries* lie.

In the 16th. both Monks and Nuns are exhorted to acquaint themselves with the Holy Scriptures; to work with their hands; and above all things, to employ themselves in transcribing the Books of Holy Scripture, that by this Labour they may nourish both Soul and Body.

The 18th. forbids both Monks and Nuns to write, or receive Letters without the License of their Superiors.

The 19th. says, that it is very necessary to reform the *Secular Canonesses*, who make no Vows, because they live a Life which is a little too Licentious, and even scandalous in the eyes of several persons.

The 11th. Is concerning Hospitals, and contains seven Articles; in which it is said, first of all, that the Canons, and Laws of Emperors and Kings, have commanded Hospitals to be erected in their Kingdoms, to receive and entertain Strangers, poor Orphans, old Men, Children, Fools, Lepers, and Persons incurable; that it is the Duty of Bishops to preserve those that are built, to rebuild those that are fallen; and to take care that in those Houses nothing be neglected, that concerns the Salvation of those Mens Souls, who are shut up in them; that the Sacraments be administered to them, and when they are sick, that they have both spiritual and bodily Medicines given them, and that no Persons be admitted into them, but such as are past their Labour.

In the 4th. Article, it is particularly commanded, that Lepers, and such as have any Infectious Distemper be shut up, because by conversing with the World, they may infect those that may come near them; that if the Revenues of Hospitals, which are appropriated for such Persons are not sufficient to maintain them, some Persons shall be appointed to beg for them, and that the Alms given shall be put into certain Boxes in the Churches for them, rather than those unhappy Wretches shall be suffered to beg for themselves, and live in the World.

In the 5th. Article it is forbidden to receive such Beggars into Hospitals as are able to labour, or to suffer them to beg; it is also order'd to take them

up and punish them, it being better to deny Relief to him that being an hungry neglects to do what he ought, with a certain assurance that he shall not want, than by giving him, to leave him in his miserable condition, and by that means maintain him in Laziness.

In the 6th. Article the Abuses of certain Governors of Hospitals are condemn'd, who neglecting the true Poor, maintain such persons as they have a Kindness for, with the Revenues of the Hospitals, and so cause them to live in abundance, and effeminate Idleness.

In the 7th. the Governors are advis'd not to imitate the management of Judas, taking for themselves what is intended for the Poor, and for that reason it is order'd, that every Year these Governors shall give up their Accounts before the Magistrate in the presence of the Curate.

The XII. Part of this Council, which concerns Schools and Printers, contains nine Articles. In the first it is said, that it is of great consequence, and for the good of the Church, to provide as well for the Reformation of small things as great, (and especially in a time when Heresie hath spread it self thro' all Germany, particularly by the means of these Schools.) To prevent this Evil it is ordain'd, that those little Masters shall be remov'd out of all Cities and Villages, who undertake to teach in private Meetings, and such Masters shall be put in their places to keep petty Schools as are prudent, of sound Doctrine and unblameable Lives.

In the 3^d. Article they complain of the Non-execution of the Canon of the Council of the *Lateran*, held under *Innocent III.* which orders, that in cathedral and collegiate Churches, there shall be a Revenue sufficient to maintain a Master that is able to teach and instruct the young Clergy of those Churches, because the Revenues that are provided for it are so mean, that no learned Man who can subsist creditably of himself, will undertake to instruct the Clerks at that price, that this matter being of no small importance, since the Good and Evil of the Commonwealth depends upon it, it is necessary to provide for it.

In the 5th. it is propounded, that since the Universities are infected with the new Heresies, that some of the Revenues of the Church shall be set apart to maintain Masters to instruct such Clerks, whose Relations are not able to pay them.

In the 6th. the Council declares, that they wish'd that according to the Council of *Basil*, Patrons should be obliged to provide such Persons as were Graduates in some University to give their vacant Benefices to, that the Clergy might be oblig'd to study that they might deserve those Benefices.

In the 7th. the Council wishes also, that the Constitution of *Honorius III.* by which it is decreed, that Prebendaries during the five Years of their Studies, should receive the Profits of their Prebends, were observ'd.

The 9th. forbids all Printers, Booksellers, and Hawkers, to print, sell, and disperse any Book that is not examin'd, and hath not the Name and Surname of the Printer, and the Place of the City where it was printed; as also any single Sheet, printed or painted, which hath not been seen and examin'd by the Commissioners deputed.

The XIII. which concerns the Jurisdiction of the Church in things controverted, contains fourteen Articles.

The 5th. admonisheth the Ecclesiastical Judges not to pronounce any Ecclesiastical Censures for unjust, or trifling causes, nor in passion, and without regard to the Forms prescribed by the Law; and unless there be reason to think that the guilty Person can be no otherwise brought to a Sense of his Fault.

[c] *Commendators* in Military Orders, are the Governors; are called *Commendaries*. They answer to *Abbots* and *Priors*, of Houses, who are under the *Grand-Masters*. Their Offices | in *Abbies* and *Priories*.

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By the 7th. Article it is enjoyn'd to the Proctors not to lay any Informations, but upon repeated complaints made by wise Men, and not by ill affected and ill tongu'd persons; and before such Informations are made publick, to inquire privately into the Council of Crimes, with which the persons accus'd are charg'd by the Libel that is presented against them; and to condemn the Informers to bear all the charges if they can't prove their Allegations.

The first Council of Cologne in 1536.
In the 8th. 'tis asserted to be a thing of ill example to punish such as keep Concubines openly, and are guilty of open Crimes, by pecuniary Mulcts only, because that might give Men occasion to think that a Liberty to commit them were this way to be purchased; but nevertheless, if the Quality of the Person, or Nature of the Crime requires it, the Money shall be employ'd in pious Uses, that it may not be said, that the Punishment was imposed through Avarice, and not for the Amendment of the Offender.

By the 9th. Article they are remitted to the secular Power, whose Crimes deserve Degradation.

In the 10th. it is decreed, pursuant to the Canon of the Council of Mentz, that the Executors of Wills shall be depriv'd of their Legacies, if they do not perform the Will of the Testators; and by the same Article the Proctors are appointed to see that the Wills of Ecclesiastical Persons be executed within the Year; that all the Wills made by Ecclesiasticks shall be registred within one Month after their Decease; and that Legacies given for Uses forbidden by the Law, shall be put to pious Uses.

In the 11th. 'tis said, that if a Clergyman of the Diocess of Cologne shall die intestate, his Goods, (except such as descended from his Family, and belong to his Heirs) shall be employ'd in pious Uses for the Salvation of his Soul, after his Debts and Funeral-charges are deducted.

In the 12th. the Archbishop of Cologne affirms, that there is no reason to deny him the part which he claims in the Estates of Ecclesiasticks deceased, after their Debts are deducted, unless they be real, descended from their Family; because 'tis due to him by custom; and agreement which he made with his Clergy, having right to a much greater part, according to the disposal of the Canons, which he was very unwilling to remit.

By the 13th. Article it is forbidden to require an Oath of the Parties so commonly as it had been usual, unless the business deserve it, because it cannot happen otherwise; for where there is such frequent Swearing there must be frequent Perjury.

The XIV. and last Part of this Council, where they speak of the Visitations of Bishops, Archdeacons and their Synods, contains 24 Articles. In the 1st. 'tis said, that 'tis to no purpose to make Laws and Regulations, if they are not executed: And that the Decrees of this present Council may not become useless, all persons who are commission'd by the Bishops to visit Churches, are enjoyn'd to put them in execution.

In the 2d. it is appointed, that cathedral and collegiate Churches shall be first visited, and then Monasteries, Nunneries, Parishes, Schools, Libraries, and lastly, Hospitals.

In the 4th. 'tis said, that in cathedral and collegiate Churches they shall begin with the Reformation of such as are in the chief Dignities, and especi-

ally Deans, because their Example does very much contribute to the Ruin of those that are under them.

The 5th. orders, that since there is so great a corruption among the Clergy in several places that the Authority of the Bishops is despised, the Visitors should be careful to reprove and correct all turbulent Spirits, and punish the-Rebellious.

The 6th. commands, that the Abuses in Monasteries be reformed, by causing the Rules to be observed.

The 7th. orders Curates to give the People notice of the Visitation of the Bishop some time before, that they may be present at it, and prepared to receive those Sacraments which the Bishops only can administer.

The 8th. adds, that 'tis convenient that the Grand Vicar, or one of the Visitors should make a Sermon.

The 9th. and the following Articles tell us, what is to be done at Visitations: That the Rectors (d) of Parishes shall be asked, whether they are Curates by Title or Vicars; that they be farther examined about their Conversation, Learning, ministerial Services, Studies and Books; that they give information, whether there be any Hereticks or Schismatics in their Parishes, or any that use Superstitions, and Divinations, or any that are guilty of Perjury, Blasphemy, Adultery, or other Crimes? Whether any persons contain the Censures of the Church? Whether they obey the Ministers? Whether there are any persons that never come to the Sacrament? Whether they observe the Fasts and Feasts? If Children are instructed, and there be care taken of Hospitals? It must also be inquired into, whether the Curate reads Divine Service well in the Church? Whether the Sacrament and holy Chrism be kept safely and decently? If he have proper Vestments? Whether the Church and Parsonage-House be in good Repair? If the Goods of the Church be no ways alienated, &c.

It is decreed in the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th. Articles, that according to the ancient Custom, two provincial Councils shall be held every Year in every Province, to which the Archdeacons and rural Deans shall be summoned, that they may advise about the regulating of Matters, and they shall publish the Decrees of their provincial Councils in their particular Synods; and that this may be executed as it ought, the Archdeacons shall be very careful to provide Officials and rural Deans that are capable to do their Duty.

The 21st. lays down a Form of Enquiry, by which three or four honest Men in every Town are obliged upon Oath to discover the Disorders and Faults they shall know, and to prevent the abuse of such a practice as it may happen, by giving such a Commission to persons as may make use of it to calumniate honest Men, or to extort Money from them, it is appointed, that only Men of Integrity, worthy of credit, and who are not suspected of any ill will, shall be chosen, and that canonical Penances, and not pecuniary Mulcts shall be imposed upon Offenders. In the last Article they acknowledge that there are several other Abuses which ought to be corrected, which are not contain'd in these Decrees, to which they purpose to apply proper Remedies in their Visitations, and in future Synods.

[(d) *L'on interrogera le Recteur de la Paroisse s'il est Cure en Titre ou Vicaire.* Fr. The Words are obscure, for Cure is properly in French a Parish-priest, that has a Cure of Souls. Rector in our sense as opposed to Vicar, is not usual in French:

But the Meaning of the Canon is only this, that the Parish-Priest shall be examined whether he be what we call a Rector, or a Vicar. Cure en Titre here answers to Rector.]

The Synod of Augsburg, in the Year 1548.

The Synod of Augsburg, in 1548. Cardinal Otto Bishop of *Augsburg*, call'd a Synod at *Dillingen* in 1548, composed of the Bishop of *Nazianzum*, who according to the custom of those Times, did the Office of a Bishop as the Cardinal's Deputy, Abbots, Provosts, Canons, Deans, Priests, and other Clergymen of his Diocess. There were three Sessions held the 12th, 13th, and 14th days of *November*. In the first of them the Decrees already made containing divers Constitutions about Discipline and Manners in 33 Articles, were read. In them it is decreed, that none shall be chosen Bishop of *Augsburg* that is not a Priest, or who will not promise to be ordained immediately; that no Coadjutorship, or Resignation of Benefices shall be allowed in his Diocess, without a Testimonial of the Life and Manners of him, in favour of whom the Coadjutorship, or Resignation shall be obtained: That before he ordains any Person, he shall be well inform'd of the soundness of his Doctrine, Manners, and Ability; that he will not suffer either Priests or Monks, that are Strangers and unknown, and have not the Letters called *Exeat* from their own Bishop, to celebrate Mass, or otherwise officiate in his Diocess; that the Archdeacons and rural Deans shall be vigilant over their Churches and Cures in their Archdeaconries and Deanries; that they shall hinder the People from being cheated with false Indulgences; that they shall not suffer Images which are either indecent, or contrary to the Truth of History, to be set up, either in Churches or Chapels; that they shall cast out such as intrude into Cures; that Curates shall be careful to instruct the People, and to that end shall make use of the Institutions of *Peter Soto* a preaching Friar, Confessor to the Emperor; that the Deans and Chapters shall observe the conversation of the Canons; that Schoolmasters shall be careful to instruct the Youth, or cause them to be instructed; that the Canons shall celebrate Divine Service with Decency; that there shall be a Subsistence provided for such as are in the Universities, for the Improvement of their Studies; that the young Canons shall hear theological Lectures; that all the Clergy shall live regularly, and be modestly apparelled; they are forbidden to go to Taverns, and all that keep Concubines are ordered to be depriv'd of the Revenues of their Benefices; and Clergymen are forbidden to have any Women with them, unless they are near Relations, or above 40 Years old, and without suspicion; all persons that have several Benefices, are enjoin'd to keep but one, and resign the rest within a Year; and all that shall for the future obtain a Dispensation to hold more than one, shall shew it to their Ordinary, and in case the Dispensation is good, they shall be obliged to allow a sufficient Maintenance to the Vicars that they shall put into the Benefices where they can't reside.

The Synod of Augsburg, in 1548. It is also decreed, that Monasteries shall be reformed; that Learning shall be restored in them; that Nunneries shall be strictly kept; that the Canonesses shall live in common, and be modestly apparelled. Preachers are admonished to interpret Scripture according to the Judgment of the Fathers, and to assert nothing false, fabulous, or suspicious, to accommodate themselves to the capacity of their Auditors; to abstain from hard and intricate Questions; to utter no Affronts, Invectives, or seditious Words; but to preach in a modest, sober, grave Stile, and confirm'd with cogent Texts of Holy Scripture, *Sit Oratio eorum modesta, sobria, gravis, & verbi Divini nervis compacta*. To exhort Men to good Works, and to guard themselves from Heresies, and to confirm them in Faith and Purity. They keep up the custom of saying Mass and Divine Service in *Latin*. They give also some Instructions about the Administration of the Sacraments, and observe in what cases the Communion ought to be deferred or refused. They appoint the Curates every Year to publish the Canon, *Omnis utriusque Sexus*; that they teach the People what Punishments Sinners were subject to according to the ancient Canons; and that they impose reasonable Penances. That no secret Sin be reserv'd to the Bishop, excepting those of *Homicides, Hereticks, and Excommunicated Persons*. They also advise the Curates not to require any thing, nor make any gain of the Administration of Sacraments, or giving the Blessings. They approve of the Ceremonies in use, and confirm the Decree about the number of the Feasts to be observ'd in their Diocess, which was made by one of the Predecessors of that Bishop. They forbid the saying of the *Lord's Prayer, Salutation of the Angel, or Creed* in any other Words than those which are commonly us'd; they make several Rules for Studies and Hospitals; they recommend to Princes and Magistrates the Execution of these Decrees, and exhort the People to avoid Novelties; they order a Reformation of the Breviary; they will not allow that Excommunication be us'd, unless it be for criminal and weighty causes; they require, that the Monks that call themselves Exempts, should be subject to the Jurisdiction of the Bishop. Lastly, they hope, that by holding Synods every Year, an entire Reformation may be compleated.

In the 2^d. Session, certain Deputies were appointed to draw up Articles of the Abuses which they desired should be reform'd, and the Grievances which they had to object against the Bishop and his Officers.

These Deputies made their report in the 3^d. Session, and said, that they found nothing needful to be added to the Decrees which had been read to them in the 1st. Session, nor any thing amiss in the Management of the Bishop.

The Synod of Triers, in the Year 1548.

The Synod of Triers, in 1548. THE Archbishop of *Triers* called a Synod of the Clergy of his Diocess in 1548. which was holden *October* the 14th. in the absence of the Archbishop, and composed as the former, of a Bishop *in partibus*, the Vicar of the Archbishop, Archdeacons, Abbots, Provosts, Archpriests and Deans, who made some Canons for the Reformation of their Clergy. They had nothing to object against the Management of the Bishop of *Axotus*, who supplied the place of the Archbishop, but this, that he had

The Synod of Triers, in 1548. not followed the direction of the Canons, when he admitted persons into Orders, by observing the distances of Time; but he cleared himself by alledging the Reasons which obliged him to do so. They then made some Constitutions against drunken Clerks, and such as kept Concubines, and apostatized from the Church, which were followed with some Advices to the Clergy, with an Edict of the Elector's against Clerks that keep Concubines, and against such as invade the Goods or Rights of the Church.

The Provincial Council of Cologne, in the Year 1549.

A Dolphus, who was put into the place of Herman Archbishop of Cologne, who was deposed, and forced to resign in 1547. held a Council of the Bishops and Clergy of his Province, from March the 11th. to April the 6th 1549. in which he propounded to them to find out a way to reform Discipline and Manners. He took notice of six principal Heads; the Restoration of Learning; the Examination of such who are admitted into Holy Orders, or to Benefices; the exact discharge of their Office in Ecclesiasticks; the Visitations of Archbishops, Bishops, and Archdeacons; the Restoration of Ecclesiastical Discipline almost destroyed and corrupted by divers Abuses. Several Constitutions about these Points were made in this Council: The first, that care should be taken, that the Instruction of Youth should be committed to such persons only, whose soundness of Faith and Goodness of Life they were assured of; that there should be commonly taught in Schools only Grammar, Poetry, Logick, Rhetorick, Arithmetick, and the other liberal Sciences; that they should only explain on *Sundays* the Text of the *Epistles, Gospels, Psalms, or Proverbs of Solomon*: But that Philosophy, civil Law, Physick and Divinity should be taught only in the Universities. They forbid any Book to be read in the Schools, but what is approv'd by the Dean of Arts in the next University; or by some person appointed by the Bishop of the Place; they strike occasionally at the Colloquies of *Erasmus*; they set down a Catalogue of the chief Hereticks whose Books are forbidden. Lastly, as to the studying of the Canons in the Universities, they regulate the Institutions of Divinity-Readers, and the Re-establishment of Lectures in Divinity in the University of *Cologne*. Upon the 2d. Article they enjoin the Bishops to examine, or cause to be examin'd all those whom they ordain, or give Letters dimissory to; they order the publication of Banns; they also require that those who shall get any Benefices by Election, Presentation, Resignation, or Exchange, shall be examin'd by the Bishop

before they are put into possession. They resolve to desire the Pope to recal the Collations by full Right, made by Ecclesiastical Prelates, unless the persons provided have been examin'd and approv'd by the Bishop; and they declare all such Collations made by Laymen null. Upon the 3d. Article it is order'd that Prelates shall commit their Offices to such persons only as are able to discharge them well, and they forbid them to give their Commissions for Money; they enjoyn Ecclesiastical Judges to impose canonical Punishments for Sins, and not pardon them for Money; they command the Heads of Colleges to do their Duty, and Deans, Abbots and Abbesses to reside; they forbid any persons to have several Benefices with Cure of Souls; they regulate the Allowances that shall be given to Curates, and will not allow them to hire Lands, or other Hereditaments. The other 3 Articles contain their Judgment of Visitations, Councils and the Jurisdiction of the Church. After these follow divers Constitutions against Clerks that keep Concubines, against apostate Monks, and for the Reformation of several abuses. This last part contains very wise Rules, and among others, these that follow; that private Masses should end before the Gospel of the high Mass, and not begin till after the Communion; that the People may not be drawn from the attention which is due to the solemn Mass; that Mass shall not be said while the Sermon is preaching; that pompous Funerals shall be laid aside; that Men shall carry themselves modestly at Processions; that whatsoever is not proper to stir up Devotion, shall be banish'd; and that there shall but one Image of each Saint be carried; that the Distributions shall be given to those only that are present at all the Offices; clandestine Marriages shall not be allow'd, and those that have contracted such, shall be obliged to celebrate them in the face of the Holy Church; that Mendicant Friars shall not hear Confession, till they have been presented to, and approv'd of by the Bishop; that twice or thrice a Year, extraordinary Confessors shall be sent to the Nuns.

The Council of Mentz, in the Year 1549.

THIS Council is more considerable than the former, because it contains not only some Rules of Discipline, but also Determinations of Matters of Faith. It was called by Sebastian Archbishop of Mentz, to meet May the 6th. 1549. The Bishop of *Eichstat* assisted in person, and the other Bishops of that Province by Deputies. The first Part contains 47 Articles concerning Doctrine. The first explains the Faith of the Church concerning the Trinity; the following Articles describe the Fall of Man, and his Redemption by Jesus Christ. It is there declar'd, that Men become guilty of Sin and subject to Damnation by the Fall of the first Man, and have such corrupt Inclinations, that they can do nothing, desire nothing, nor know nothing conducive to their Salvation, by the strength of their own Free-will, which is impotent and languishing, unless assisted by the Grace of God; that they are deliver'd from this Disease of Original Sin by the Redemption of Jesus Christ, and justified by his Merits and Grace, that the beginning of this Justification ought to be attributed to God's exciting Grace, which prevents their Merits; and that by consenting to, and co-operating with that Grace, they are disposed for Justification, which is then completed, when a Man receives the Holy Spirit with Faith, Charity, and Hope; Gifts which abiding in him, not only make him reputed, or called just, but make him really such; that that Charity which jus-

tifies is not idle and useless, but that it ought to be accompanied with good Works, of which Grace is the Source and Original, and by which the Commandments become possible, so that they do not only perform them for fear of Punishment, but with a sincere Heart, and free Will.

The Doctrine of the Sacraments begins at the 11th. Article, and ends at the 30th. It is there declared, that the Sacraments are not simple Ceremonies, but effectual Signs of Grace, which they confer, by a Divine Operation, upon those who receive them with a good Disposition; that Baptism washes away all Sins, so that there remains nothing in the Person baptized that can hinder him from entering into the Kingdom of God; and that the Concupiscence which is left in us to engage us in a spiritual Combat, is not Sin; but it is called so, because Sin is the Cause of it, and it inclines to sin; that Baptism is necessary and effectual for the Remission of Sin and for Salvation, and can't be repeated; that it ought to be administered with Exorcisms, and the Ordinary Ceremonies; that it ought to be celebrated with Holy Water, and with the Unction of Holy Oils; that by the Sacrament of Confirmation we receive the Holy Spirit, which hath purify'd us in Baptism with other new Gifts of Grace, that we may be strengthened against the Assaults of the Devil, be more enlightened to understand the Mysteries of Godliness, and more bold to confess Jesus Christ;

Councils
held in
France &
Germany
before the
Council of
Trent.

The Coun-
cil of
Mentz, in
1549.

Christ; that this Sacrament, which was at first be-
stow'd by the Imposition of Hands, has been given
almost from the Times of the Apostles by Unction,
which is a Figure of the Inward Anointing. In
them is also explained, what we ought to think of
the three parts of Penance; and then they prescribe
a Form of Absolution such as is now in use. *Mendi-*
cant Friars are forbidden to hear Confessions, unless
they are approved by the Authority of the Ordina-
ry; and then they except some reserved cases, such
as Murther, Heresy, and Excommunication. They
forbid Monks to administer the Communion to the
Laity, without the consent of the Curate; and Cu-
rates, to such as are not their Parishioners. These
Priests are condemned to perpetual Imprisonment in
a Monastery, who shall discover things told them
in Confession. They advise Confessors to inflict
proportionable Punishments, and which may have
some relation to their Sins; as Almsgiving to the
Covetous, and Fasting to the Intemperate, that
their Vices may be cured by the Practice of the con-
trary Vertues. Upon the Eucharist they determine,
that the Substance of the Body and Blood of Jesus
Christ is under the Elements of Bread and Wine;
that Jesus Christ can't be divided, nor his Blood
separated from his Body, and so he is entirely in
each Element, and consequently 'tis as profitable
to receive under one Kind as both, and in this the
Custom of the Church is to be followed. The
Council forbids all Ministers to give the Sacrament
to any but such as come to it Fasting, unless it be
in the case of Sicknefs. It expresses the Effect of
the Anointing of the Sick in these Words: *This*
Unction being applied with Prayer to the Sick, fills those
that receive it with comfort and joy, it blots out lesser
Sins, and purges the remainder of our greater ones.
Concerning Ordination it says, that it is given by
laying on of Hands, which is a visible Sign by
which the Grace and Power of executing the Func-
tion is conferred, and that good and evil Ministers
equally receive that Power. Upon Marriage the
Council determines, that the Marriage of Children
without the consent of their Parents, is null, and or-
ders that all Marriages shall be celebrated in the

Church with the usual ceremonies, and after the
Banns have been thrice published.

The 39th. and 40th. Articles approve of the an-
cient ceremonies of the Church.

The 41st. and 42d. are about Images, the use of
which the Council approves, but orders, that the
People be taught, that they are set up not to be
worshipped or honoured, but to put us in mind of
what is to be honoured and worshipped; *Imagines*
non ad id proponi, ut adoremus & colamus eas, sed ut
quid adorare & colere, aut quarum rerum utiliter me-
miniſſe debeamus, per imagines recordemur. It forbids
such Images as are not modest, and declares, that the
flocking of the People to certain Images, is not to
be tolerated.

In the following Articles, it approves of the Ho-
nour given to Relicks, Pilgrimages, and the Wor-
ship of Saints, Prayer for the Dead, the Laws for
Fasting and Abstinence; but blames whatsoever is
superstitious and excessive in these Practices.

The 2d. Part contains 56. Articles about the
Rules of Discipline, and concerning the Behaviour
of the Clergy and People. Several of them are ta-
ken out of the Council of *Mentz* in 1548. particu-
larly they require Attention and Reverence at the
Sacrifice of the Mass, and appoint, that the Feasts
of the Saints which happen on *Sundays*, shall be kept
the Day before, or the Day after, except the Feasts
of the Virgin, the Apostles, and the other great So-
lemnities. They desire that such Monks as have de-
parted from their Order, and are returned again,
shall be used kindly. They forbid Nuns to leave
their Nunneries. They make divers Constitutions
to provide a Maintenance for Curates, and to pre-
vent Simony. They forbid the Administration of
Sacraments, and Preaching in the Chappels that be-
longed to great Mens Houses. They appoint, that
care be taken that Schoolmasters be good Catho-
licks; and that Books suspected of Heresy and with-
out a Name shall be suppressed and confiscated.
They order that none shall be excommunicated, till
they have been canonically admonished; and the
Canons of the Council of *Basil*, are renewed con-
cerning Mens conversing with excommunicated Per-
sons before they are declared such.

The Council of Triers, in the Year 1549.

The Coun-
cil of Tri-
ers, in the
Year 1549.

THIS Council was held May 13. 1549. by
John Archbishop and Elector of *Triers*, and
was made up of the Deputies of the Bishops
of *Toul*, *Metz*, and *Verdun*, and the Chapter of the
Metropolitan Church: It made 20. Constitutions.

The 1st. orders, that nothing be believed, held,
or taught, but what the Holy *Roman* Church be-
lieves.

The 2d. appoints, that none shall preach, but
such as have a License from the Bishop, or his
Grand Vicar; and forbids Laymen to preach, or to
hold private conventicles. The turning out of Cu-
rates, as well as their Institution is declared to be-
long to the Bishop; and all those that undertake
to usurp the Ministry of Preaching are excommu-
nicated.

In the 3d. the Bishops are required to examine
those to whom they shall give a Power to teach or
preach, and to take care that they be not infected
with the new Doctrines; and it adviseth them to
chuse not those that are most eloquent, but such as are
most holy, provided they are not altogether unca-
pable of teaching the People; and 'tis observed,
that there ought to be more Precautions taken about
those that are more eloquent, because they are more
able to hurt and deceive others, under a pretence of
teaching them.

The 4th. contains several Advices about preach-
ing; that Preachers ought to teach the Word of
God faithfully, and according to the Purity of the

Gospel, without meddling with things useſſes, or
that edify little: That they ought to be careful
not to assert doubtful things, as certain and indispu-
table: That they ought not to relate Apocryphal
Stories, nor divulge things from the Pulpit, which
the Church has thought fit to conceal: That they
shall not deliver publickly comical, childish, and
immodest Stories, as have been often done, which
are more fit to beget Laughter than Weeping: That
they shall teach the Gospel of Peace quietly, with-
out showing any Passion, Hatred, Envy, Interest,
or Ambition: That they shall not abuse or refute
one another; but if any one finds, that another
Preacher hath asserted any thing that scandalizes the
People, he shall inform the Bishop, or his Vicar,
or the Inquisitor, or the Official, of it: That they
shall teach such things, as may conduce to the
Peace and Tranquility of the Church, and such as
suit the Capacity of the People, such as are the
Exposition of the Creed, Commandments, Sacra-
ments, Ceremonies of the Church, and the Lord's
Prayer, Exhortations to Repentance, by showing them
what good things Jesus Christ hath done for them,
and the eternal Punishments of Sin, and Consolati-
ons, that may be drawn from the Mercy of God,
&c. They advise them also to propound the Exam-
ple of the Saints, and to comfort them by an assu-
rance of their Intercession; and lastly, to draw
some Rules of Morality from the Gospels and Les-
sons, which are read every Lord's Day and Festival.

The

The Council of Triers, in the Year 1549.

The Council of Triers in the Year 1549.

The 5th. commands, that the singing of Divine Service be performed with Order and Devotion; and the 6th. that the Canonical Hours be recited with attention.

In the 7th. it is forbidden to walk in the Church, or to talk there of prophane things.

The 8th. directs the Canons how they assist in the Quire and Chapter.

The 9th. contains several Rubricks about the Celebration of the Mass; that at high Mass the Quire do not sing, while the Epistle is reading; that at the Elevation of the Host and Cup, and till the *Agnus Dei* is said, the Organs shall not play; that none shall sing any Anthem, but every one being silent upon his Knees or prostrate, shall remember the Passion and Death of Jesus Christ, and return God thanks for the things which he hath merited for us by his Death; that low Mass ought not to be said, while the high Mass is saying, and that it were to be wished that there were some that would communicate every day.

The 10th. lessens the number of the Festivals, and appoints which of them shall be celebrated, and explains the mannner how it is to be done.

The 11th. prescribes several Rules for the Reformation of Monks and Nuns.

The 12th. is against the Violences which are used against Monasteries, and forbids the Monks to govern the Curates, unless they be commission'd by the Ordinary, but so as that they may be revoked by their Superiors. It allows the Churches and Mo-

nasteries, which have Cures united to them, to have them supplied by Vicars, either removeable or perpetual: It also commands the Mendicant Friars to be conformable to the Pope's Decrees, in administering the Sacrament of Penance, preaching the Word of God, and the other publick Acts of Religion. It forbids them to absolve in reserved Cases, or to administer the Sacrament at *Easter*, without the Allowance of the Curate.

The 13th. and 14th. contains a Constitution about Archdeacons, and rural Deans (e).

The 15th. is about Schoolmasters and the Studies of the Canons.

The 16th. is against those that bring the Clergy before the Tribunals of secular Judges.

The 17th. maintains the Freedom of the Persons and Goods of Ecclesiasticks.

The 18th. makes void the Laws made against the Liberties of Churches.

The 19th. confirms the Regulations made at *Augsburgh* for the Reformation of the Clergy, and orders the Execution of them.

The 20th. commands, that the Decrees of this Council be published, and the Copies of them be given to the rural Deans, Bishops, Heads of Monasteries, and Curates of the Province, that they may not be able to pretend Ignorance. The Archbishop of *Triers* reserves to himself and his Successor, a Right of adding to, lessening, and correcting what he should think fit, as also of explaining and enlarging these Regulations.

[[e) *Doiens des Curéz.*]

C H A P. XXXIII.

The Censures of the Divines of the Faculty of Paris, to the Year 1550.

Censures of the Faculty of Paris in 1550.

THE Divines of the Faculty of *Paris* never had more occasions since the first Foundation of their Society, to signalize their Zeal in Defence of the Truth, nor a greater Obligation to censure Errors, than after the Rise of the Heresie of *Luther*. The Doctrine and Discipline of the Church were attacked on all Hands by dangerous Innovations, and Books were written every day to maintain them. The Preachers were so bold as to deliver them openly, or at least to insinuate them into the People. Several Catholicks suffered themselves to be seduced by Innovators, or were floating and uncertain on which side the Truth lay. Councils could not easily be called, and particular Bishops meddled little with any thing but what was in their Dioceses. In this Posture of Affairs it was necessary to consult congregations of Doctors of Divinity. The Faculty of *Paris* was the most famous, most esteemed, and least suspected by the Innovators: *Luther* himself promised to submit to their Judgment: The whole Church expected the Decisions of that Body. When the Captain of the Heresie was condemned, they had his Followers to fight against. Many other Novelties were dispersed in *France*, which it was necessary that they should oppose. Bishops, Chapters, Kings and Queens consulted them, and would order nothing but according to their Decisions.

All these things shew what necessity the Faculty of *Paris* had at that time to pass so great a Number of Censures, as they then published. We have already related those which they made upon *Luther's* and *Erasmus's* Books, which are the two longest, and the Articles concerning the Faith concluded in 1542. their other Censures and Determinations are these that follow.

Being consulted in the Year 1500. by *Henry de Berghen* Bishop of *Cambray* concerning the Imprecations made by his Chapter, they delayed several

Months to give their Judgment, that they might not keep up a Quarrel between the Bishop and his Chapter, and wrote Letters to both of them to exhort them to peace; but not being able to bring them to an agreement, they thought they were obliged to answer all the Questions propounded to them, except one where the Matter of fact was not evident. Wherefore having examined the Matter thoroughly by several Persons deputed by their Body, and having consulted about it in ten Meetings, they gave their Determination *July 1. 1501.* the Case, as it was reported, was this: The Bishop of *Cambray* excommunicated his Chapter, because they did not perform Divine Service in the Church, upon the Account of some Differences which they had with them. The Canons being angry, made their Processions in the Church, and at the return of the Procession, falling prostrate before the little Altar in the Quire, where the Holy Sacrament was in the Pyx, the Priest that was celebrating with the Deacon and Subdeacon, turned their backs to the Altar, and caused the Choristers to sing these Prayers, which contained Imprecations against such as persecuted them, and vows for their deliverance. Several Questions were put to them about this Action; as, 1. Whether this Innovation was not to be suspected of Levity, Rashness, and Superstition, and was not dangerous to the Faith? 2. Whether since it has ever been hitherto the Custom of the Church of *Cambray* to turn toward the East, it ought to be allowed to the Priest that celebrates and his Assistants, to turn their backs upon the Altar, and whether this Action be not superstitious? 3. Whether it be not a thing of ill consequence to cause the Choristers to sing these Prayers, because Fortunetellers make use of them? 4. Whether the Dean and Canons, who were excommunicated upon that account by the Archbishop of *Rheims*, did not incur an Irregularity in celebrating? 5. Whether

Censures of the Faculty of Paris in 1550.

The Judgment of the Faculty of Paris about Imprecations

Censures
of the Fa-
culty of
Paris in
1550.

ther Christians might use the Prophets Imprecations against other Christians, and what Punishment they deserve that do it? 6. Whether these Imprecations being uttered by private Persons who have no Authority, can hurt, and are at all to be feared? To these Query's, the Divines return'd these Answers. To the 1st. and 2^d. that it being the Custom of the Universal Church to pray with their Face toward the East, none ought to read the Publick Prayers with their Face toward the West, unless their Practice be allowed by a Superior, or there be an Ancient Custom for it. To the 3^d. that there seem to them no just Cause to suspect the Chapter to be guilty of Magick, or to accuse them of it, because they caused the Prayers to be Sung by the Choristers. As to the 4th. Question about the Irregularity they would give no Answer, *consulto nihil respondit*. To the 5th. concerning the Nature of these Imprecations denounced in Terms of Wishing which is the most considerable things, they answered in five Propositions; 1. that it is not allowable to use any Curses or Imprecations against any Man whatsoever, no not so much as against an Enemy, unless these Imprecations are ordered by a Person in authority, or are Authorized by long Use. 2. That 'tis not allowed to any private Person, or any Community, to utter such Imprecations or Wishes against any Man, as contain Sin or Damnation. 3. That it is never allowable to use Imprecations against our Bishop, who may amend, and who offers to leave himself to Justice, and who is neither notoriously obstinate, or a manifest Tyrant. 4. That 'tis not allowable to use them against an obstinate Bishop who is not deposed, unless in a very dangerous Case not otherwise to be avoided, and after all other lawful ways and humane means have been tried. 5. That those that deal otherwise with their Bishops, are guilty of Rashness, Pride, Cruel and Injurious Impiety, and a Schismatical Sedition, and that they ought to be punished as for a wrong done to their Father. Lastly, that these Imprecations are to be feared by him who has been the Occasion of them.

The Judgment
of the Facul-
ty about
Excommuni-
cation denoun-
ced for non
Payment
of Tenths.

The Church of Paris, having desired of the University in 1502. their Opinion, concerning the Censures inflicted upon those who should refuse to pay the Tenths imposed on them by the Pope; after the Matter had been debated in the Assembly of the Deputies of the University, the Divines determined in their usual meeting, April 1st. held at the Mathurins, that Censures past against those, who for fear of prejudicing the Liberty of the Church, and the Decrees of Councils, and changing the very easie Yoke of Jesus Christ into Slavery, have not paid the Tenths imposed by a new Pope, to make War against the Turk (as is pretended) after an appeal is put in, are altogether void, and in no wise to be feared; and that those, who have appealed from these censures, are not obliged to absent themselves from the Celebration of the Holy Mysteries, or other services of the Church. This Opinion was confirmed the next Day *Nemine contradicente*, in a full Assembly of the whole University.

The Cen-
sure a-
gainst
Reuchlin.

The Censures of the Divines of Paris, August 2. 1514. upon the *Ocular Mirror* of Reuchlin above mentioned, does not pass a particular Judgment upon any one Proposition, but declares only in General, that that Book contains several false and rash Propositions, which offend pious Ears, are injurious to the Holy Doctors of the Church, Blasphemous against Jesus Christ and his Church, suspected of Heresie, and some of them even Heretical; that that Book ought to be suppressed and burnt publicly, and the Author obliged to revoke it notwithstanding all the Glosses, Explications, and defenses proposed. Lastly, the Faculty declares, that the Books of the *Talmud* which the Author of the *Ocular Mirror* maintains ought to be preserved, have been long ago condemned by the Apostolical autho-

rity and by the positive Judgment of the Doctors of Divinity and civil Law in the University of Paris, and burnt thereupon.

In 1516. June 2^d. the Divines passed a Censure upon thirteen Propositions, Preached at Beauvais, by Friar Claudius Cousin, of the Order of the Friars Preachers.

The first Proposition was this: *Thou, who hast married a Daughter or a Son of a Priest, who hath nothing but the Goods of the Church, and who hath given with them an 100. Livres in Marriage, thou art Damned and thy Children, and Childrens Children, if thou make not Restitution.* The Faculty condemns this Proposition, as it is framed in general, and without distinction, as false, rash, scandalous, a disturbance to pious Minds, and which therefore ought to be recanted publicly, because though the Faculty abhors the Lewdness of Priests, yet they believe that they may leave some of the Churches Goods to their Children.

The 2^d. Proposition is delivered in these Words. *A legitimate Son inheriting the Goods of his Father, whether moveable, or immoveable, and being ignorant how his Father got those Goods, is obliged to enquire into it, and inform himself, whether they were got well or ill, upon pain of Damnation.* The Faculty declares this Proposition as it is worded in general, and without distinction, to be rash, fit to disturb Consciences, and to raise many Scruples. And therefore, ought not to be preached, but retracted, and to settle peace of Mind, and prevent all Scruples, they determine, that a legitimate Son, who inherits his Father's Estate who was of good credit, and was not reckoned among honest Men to have gotten his Estate ill, and so has no Scruples of Mind about it, is not obliged to make any farther enquiry about it.

The 3^d. Proposition is this, *Friars-preachers being presented to the Bishop, whether they are admitted or not by him, are proper Priests, and true Curates, and are to be preferred before the Parish-priests, for they have their Licence and Institutions from the Pope, but the Curates have it from the Bishops only.* The Divines declared, that whatsoever be the meaning of the first part, upon the account of that equivocal Term, a *proper Priest*, the Proposition it self, and as to the other parts, as it is proved by the latter part, when it is said, that Parish-priests have only their power from the Bishops, is scandalous to the Faith, erroneous and destructive to the hierarchical Order.

The 4th. Proposition is, *The said Friars by a special Privilege have power to absolve in many cases, in which the Curates cannot.* The Divines determine, that this Proposition is false, contrary to common Right, scandalous, and consequently ought not to be preached.

The 5th. Proposition is, *When any Parishioner confesseth himself to the said Friars, who have been presented to the Bishop, he satisfies the Decretal, Omnis utriusque Sexus, and is not obliged to present, or confess himself to the Curate of his Parish; nor to desire his Licence, even tho' it be for his Confession at Easter.* The Faculty censure this Proposition as scandalously contrary to common Right, and to the Obedience due from the Sheep to their Pastor.

The 6th. *If a Curate refuseth to administer the Sacrament of the Altar to a Parishioner, who hath confessed to the said Friars, he shall return to the Friar, who hath heard his Confession; and the said Friar shall give him the said Sacrament against the Will of the said Curate.* The Divines censure this Proposition as it is worded, as false, very much to be suspected of Heresie and contrary to common Right.

The 7th. *The Curate of a Parish, that preaches and says, that his Parishioners are obliged to confess to him, under the penalty of confessing again, is excommunicated, and if he celebrates the Eucharist, he is guilty of an Irregularity.* They condemn this Proposition as false and injurious.

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The 8th. says, *The said Friars have a Bull read and publish'd in Paris, and approved by the University of Paris, by which these Privileges are granted to them.* The Divines declare this Proposition false, and to contain a manifest Lye.

The 9th. is, *The Curate of a Parish ought to take nothing of his Parishioners for hearing Confession, or administering the Sacraments, and if he requires it, 'tis simoniacal.* The Divines declare, that this Proposition is contrary to the appointment of natural and divine Right, and consequently false, and notoriously heretical.

The 10th. says, *The Parishioners are not obliged to give any thing to the said Curates of their Parishes, or their Vicars for the Administrations of Sacraments, and if they do they sin.* This Proposition so generally delivered in the Sense 'tis commonly taken, is condemned as false, rash, scandalous, and liable to draw Men away from their Duty to their Superiors.

The 11th. adds, *And therefore, good People, I advise you to give nothing for the said Sacraments, that they may not be troublesome to you, to bring you to Confession through carelessness, and by that means may not hinder you any more from confessing to the preaching Friars.* This Advice is declared unjust, seditious, scandalous, and prejudicial to Curates.

The 12th. is, *Because it was given out that many of the said Propositions were not catholick, he says, that several times he preached them before the greatest Persons that are at Beauvais, who found no fault with them.* They declare this Discourse to be foolish, rash, presumptuous, full of Pride and Vain-glory.

The 13th. is, *That he had an Head of a Man of Champagne, which was worth another Head, or an Head and an half of Picardy.* They say, that this Discourse of a vain and silly Man is injurious to the Country and People he speaks of, and may be liable to scandalize them. These Divines declare, that in censuring these Propositions, they do not intend to prejudice the Bull, *Dudum de Sepulturis*.

On June the 2d. of the same Year 1516. the Divines gave a Judgment of a very different Nature upon certain Propositions directly contrary to the foregoing, delivered in Savoy by a secular Preacher against a Grey Friar. The Summ of them is as follows: Man is held and obliged by Right in this Life, to confess his Sins once a-year at Easter to his own Priest, or to some Priest, to whom He shall give power to hear Confessions in his Church. And for this reason it is, that Curates, and not bare Priests, can be called proper Priests, upon the account of their Jurisdiction, and the Mendicants, tho' they may be said to be Priests, yet are not proper Priests, having no Jurisdiction: And they can only be called Licensed.

The Divines declare, that this Proposition is true as to the two first parts, and likewise as to the last, if it be meant of the ordinary Jurisdiction.

The 2d. Proposition is, that a Monk, of whatsoever Order he is, who administers the Sacraments of Extream Unction, the Eucharist, and Marriage to Laymen by his own Authority, deserves Excommunication. The Divines declare, that this Proposition is very true.

The 3d. is, that the Monks of the Order of St. Dominick, and St. Francis have not more power by their Privileges, than the Curates and Vicars have by Right. This Assertion is declared to be true, and of common Right.

The 4th. is, that all the Monks who persuade the Parishioners to be buried in their Churches, are excommunicated by the Pope's Authority. They declare, that this is true of those that require Vows, Promises, or Oaths, and in general 'tis ill done to persuade Parishioners to order their Burials out of their own Parishes.

The 5th. is, that a Man, who takes a Monk's Habit without an intention of living like a Monk, sins. This Proposition is declared true, when he, that puts on the Habit, doth it without a lawful cause.

The 6th. is, that the Monks of St. Francis ought not to have any Estates, neither in general, nor in particular. They declare this Article true, and agreeable to the Decretal *Extrai*.

May the 6th. 1518. the Faculty being assembled at the Mathurines, gave their Judgment upon two Propositions about Indulgences, granted upon the account of the Crusade.

The 1st. was, *Whoever shall put into the Crusade-Box a Testoon, or the Value of it, for a Soul that is in Purgatory, he shall free that Soul immediately, and it shall go infallibly and directly into Paradise.* Item. *If he cast in ten Testoons for ten Souls, or a thousand Testoons for a thousand Souls, they shall go immediately and certainly into Paradise.* The Faculty declared this Proposition to be false, scandalous, depreciating the Prayers for the Dead, and exceeding the Tenor of the Bull for the Crusade, and consequently if it had been preached, it ought to be retracted to prevent the trouble and scandal that it may occasion.

The 2d. Proposition is contrary to the first, being delivered in these Words: *It is not certain, that all the Souls indifferently that are in Purgatory, and for whose deliverance, one shall put into the Crusade-Box ten Sols Turnois, do infallibly and directly go to Paradise, but we must leave it to God, who accepts it so, as to apply the Treasure of the Church to the said Souls, as he pleaseth.* This Proposition is declared to be true, and agreeable to the Judgment of the Doctors of the divine and human Laws, and proper to keep up the Devotion of the People, and contains nothing in it contrary to the Bull for the Crusade.

Thus the Divines of Paris by a wise Foresight prevented the scandal which the abuse of Indulgences caused at the same time that Luther took an occasion to declaim against them.

In the Year 1520. the Faculty stoutly maintained the Discipline concerning Confession at Easter, by condemning four Propositions, in which we are assured that the Religious of the Order of St. Francis are proper Priests; that Confessions at Easter may be made to them without the allowance of the Curate; and that the Curates are obliged to give the Eucharist to those who come to it, tho' they have not confessed their Sins to their own Parish-priest. There was also a 5th. added, that no Man was obliged to go to the Offertory above three or four times a-year, and that none but Men are obliged to go to it. The Faculty also condemned this last, as false and scandalous. These five Propositions had been preached in the Parish of the Fauxbourg d'Estampes, and the Curate made his complaints to the Faculty.

June the 29th. in the following Year, they defended the Curates Right about Burials, by condemning six Propositions preached at Sens, which were brought to them from the Bishop by John Gilinus, one of the Doctors of the Faculty, in which it was asserted, that there was nothing due to the Curates for the Right of Burial; that they ought not to exact or require any thing, and that all that did were damned. But they declared, that they designed not to favour any exorbitant Exactions contrary to Right.

In a Meeting of the same Divines, November the 9th. Judgment was given in favour of the common Opinion at that time, that Mary Magdalen, Mary the Sister of Lazarus, and the Sinner of the Gospel, were but one Woman. The Preface to their Opinion hath for a Foundation these Words of St. Paul, *that we ought to follow and observe these things, whereby we may edify one another.* Then they say, that the Books which had asserted that there were several Magdalens had caused much scandal and trouble among the People, and given occasion of doubting of other Opinions which the Church had taught by Tradition. Lastly the Faculty declares, that the Judgment of St. Gregory, that Mary Magdalen was the Sister of Lazarus and the Sinner, which is agreeable to the Offices of the Church, ought to be received and embraced, as authorized by the Gospel,

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Judgment
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Their
Censures
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Their
Judgment
concerning
the Right
of Curates
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Their Cen-
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Right of
Curates.

Censures of the Faculty of Paris in 1550. the Judgment of the Holy Doctors, and of the catholick Church, and that the contrary Opinion is not to be endured, and forbids all its Members to teach or preach it: But that Question of Fact is since better cleared, and the Faculty is not now of that Opinion.

Their Judgment upon the Assertions of Clichtovæus about Benefices. December the 5th. of the same Year, the Faculty censured some Propositions, which *Jerome Clichtovæus* had delivered when he kept his Aēt; namely, that it is not forbidden by divine or natural Right to sell Benefices or Fellowships, and to buy Pensions, or to trade in an holy Place, or upon an Holyday, and that Clergymen might till the Ground, and do other handicraft Works. This Position was maintained October the 8th. Several persons were offended at it, *Natalis Bedda* the *Syndick*, complained of it at a Meeting of the Faculty, December the 5th. and desired that the Scandal might be repaired, and so much the more, because they had lately forbidden the Batchelors to defend in their Theses, Propositions about useles and dangerous Subjects. The Faculty thought themselves obliged to hear both the President and the Batchelor; and after they had heard them, and given the Doctors a List of the Propositions, they condemned the four first (without stopping at the last, which might nevertheless cause Scandal) and declared that the first, that it is allowed by the divine Law, and Law of Nature to sell Benefices, is erroneous, and introduces Simony into the Church; that the 2d, that it is not forbidden by the same Laws to buy Pensions, is false and scandalous, and opens a Door to the selling of Benefices; that the 3d, that it is not forbidden by the same Laws to sell Fellowships, is scandalous, and favours fordid Gain; that the 4th, which concerns the allowance to traffick upon Holydays, is false, scandalous, and impious. These were the conclusions made in the Assembly, December the 5th. which commanded *Jerome Clichtovæus* to defend Propositions contrary to the former; which his President and He approved of.

The Condemnation of the Books of Lewis de Berquin. The Parliament in the Year 1523. remitted to the Examination of the Faculty, the Books of *Lewis de Berquin*, and the Faculty having examined them, gave in their Judgment to the Parliament, June the 26. They first censured the Books of *Lewis de Berquin*, that is to say, his *Apology* as injurious to the Holy See, contrary to the Authority of holy general Councils, and openly maintaining pernicious Heresies; his *Apologetical Letter* asserting the Doctrine of *Luther*; a *French Treatise* intituled, *A Dispute between Godliness and Superstition*, as containing the same Doctrine, and changing all Religion into a lawless Liberty; another Book as injurious to the Canon Law, Laws of the Church, Bishops and Holy See; and a Book about the Efficacy of the Mass, as treating upon that Subject with Rashness and Ignorance; and containing things contrary to the Doctrine and Usage of the Church; they also condemned his Translations of a Book containing the Reasons why *Luther* burnt the Decretals; of a Treatise intituled, *The Pope's Paradise*: And lastly, they also censure several other Books written by *Luther*, *Melanchthon*, and *Carlostadius*. Two of *Berquin's* Books which were sent them escaped their censure, one intituled. *Of the French Disease*, and the other, *Against the Sophiste*; but as to the rest, they required that they should be burnt, and *Berquin* was forced to abjure his Opinions publicly, with a strict prohibition that he should not concern himself to make or translate Books about Religion. The Court remitted the Judgment of *Berquin's* Person to the Bishop of *Paris* by their Edict of August the 5th. and by another of the 12th. of the same Month, they condemned all *Luther's* Books to be suppressed, and ordered all those that had any of them, to bring them to the Prothonotary of the Court, under the penalty of being banished the Kingdom, and having their Goods confiscated; and forbad all Men under the same penalty to maintain

those Books or that Doctrine. They also forbad the publishing of the Books of *Melanchthon*, and ordered that they should be brought to the Prothonotary of the Court to be delivered to the Bishop of *Paris*, who might pass his Judgment upon them, by the advice of the Doctors. The Divines, pursuant to this Order, examined *Melanchthon's* Books, and condemned them, as containing things contrary to Holy Scripture, sound Reason, the Councils, the Doctrine of the Universal Church, and Judgment of the catholick Fathers, full of schismatical and heretical Propositions already condemned, containing the pernicious Doctrines of *Luther*, and more dangerous than the Books of that Heretick, because of the artifices and smoothness of his Discourse; and to shew that they had reason to condemn them, they joined a general censure of certain Propositions taken out of his Book of *Common Places*, his *Commentary upon the Epistle to the Romans*, his *Treatise against the Censures of the Sorbonne*, his *Declarations and Letters*. This Censure was approved in an extraordinary Assembly, Oct. the 7th. 1523.

About the end of the same Year, several Propositions were brought to the Faculty about the Adoration of Saints, Relicks, and Images, the Canon of the Mass, Oblations for the Living and the Dead, with several other rash Opinions, upon which the Divines gave their definitive Opinion, November the 4th. In this Censure they condemned those that reprov'd the custom of saying an *Ave Maria* before their Sermons, and omitted the *Lord's Prayer*; as also those who found fault with the Words of the Anthems, *Salve Regina*, & *Regina Cæli*; they approve the Title of Intercessors with God, when given to the Saints. They condemn those that would have us pray to God only, and not to the Saints; they accuse those of lying, who say that the Church gives more honour to the Saints than to God; they condemn those as persons that revive the Errors of *Eunomius* and *Vigilantius*, who oppose the custom of adorning the Relicks of Saints, and repositing them in elevated places, and maintain, that they ought to be left in the Ground. They do not think it Superstition to pray to one Saint more than to another for a particular Disease. They believe that they may hold that the Adoration of the Images of Saints is allowable, meaning thereby the Worship which the Church gives to the Images of Saints. They cannot endure that all the Histories and Accounts of the Miracles of Saints should be despised in general; owning however that the Offices of the Church have something fabulous in them upon that Head, which ought to be amended. They shew much Zeal against such Expressions as are injurious to the Canon of the Mass. They blame the License that some would have given to all the People, to read the Scripture, and dispute about Matters of Faith. They think it not convenient for the People at Mass to sing the *Nicene Creed* in *French*; they are angry at the Assertion that no Man has spoken better than *Luther* when he speaks well. They condemn several Propositions against the custom of giving a Reward for a Mass, and against begging Rewards for saying Prayers for the Quick and Dead. They approve of the Office for the Dead, and the Foundations of Obits. This Censure was published December the 2d. in the presence of the Rector of the University, the King's Counsellors, and several other Witnesses.

The same Year, Friar *John de Bornosse* an *Augustinian* Friar, a Doctor of Divinity of the Faculty of *Paris*, explaining the Epistle of St. *Paul* to the *Romans*, asserted that he thought it was probable, that God did not demand any Satisfaction from Sinners, because *Jesus Christ* had satisfied for them; and that the Guilt of Sin being pardoned, the punishment was not changed from eternal into temporal, but was entirely remitted; that Purgatory was not necessary but for mortal Sins forgotten, or for venial Ones, for which they had not been contrite; and that the

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Book of *Maccabees* was not a part of the Canon. The Faculty being informed that this Monk had delivered these things publicly in his Lecture, they sent for him June 6th. and ordered him to satisfy them in his Lecture, which he was to make after Dinner; but he not answering their expectation, it was resolv'd the next day in an Assembly of the Faculty, to oblige him to make a formal Recantation, and to that end, the Dean and 12 Doctors went in the Afternoon to the Convent of the *Augustine* Monks, and caused him to declare in the presence of several persons, that he did acknowledge that regularly after Contrition and Confession, Sinners are obliged to Satisfaction; that a mortal Sin being forgiven, the eternal punishment is changed into a temporal; and that Purgatory is to expiate for the punishment due to mortal Sins, for which Men have been contrite, and which they have confessed, but have not made a full Satisfaction to God for them. He declared also, that the Books of the *Maccabees* belonged to the Christian Canon, and that the Church had not erred, nor held that the Virgin was conceived in Sin.

The Di-
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The Faculty of *Paris* were had in so great esteem at that time, that the King's Mother being desirous to hinder the settling of *Luther's* Doctrine in *France* on one side, and not falsely accuse several Persons of Quality and Worth of being of his Judgment on the other, sent *F. Nicolai* of the Order of *Grey-Friars*, to consult them about two things. 1. *By what means the Doctrine of Luther, which was condemned, might be driven and rooted out of the Realm, and so it might be entirely purged?* The Faculty answered to this Question, that tho' the Disputes, Writings, and scholastical Exercises which were every day made by Members of the Faculty, were useful for that end, yet because these means forced no Man to leave his Error, it was convenient that her Majesty should issue out her Letters Patent pursuant to the Arrest of Parliament, and command all her Officers under severe penalties to procure the execution of it; that she should command all Bishops to oblige all persons who have *Luther's* or any of the Innovators Books, to bring them to the King's Officers to have them burnt, and to prevent by Censures, and all sorts of ways, that none maintain that Doctrine.

The 2d. Question which the Queen propounded was, *By what means any persons might clear themselves, who assert that they are wrongfully and without cause charged with inclining to the favouring that Doctrine?* The Faculty answered, that they thought, that the Original of that Report was, that several great Persons had commended that Doctrine at Court, before things had been well understood; and that which has increased the suspicion is, that the Edicts by which it was ordered, that *Luther's* Books should be burnt, and his Followers proceeded against, were neglected to be put in execution, and that even Orders have been given to hinder the Bishops from prosecuting them, as to the Bishop of *Seëz* for instance; and not long since to the Bishop of *Paris*, in the case of *Lewis de Berquin*: That causes which concerned the Faith have been removed from the Parliament of *Paris*, as for instance, the Books of *James Fabri* and *Berquin*, and the Divines of *Paris* have been hindered from passing their Judgment on them; that several Volumes against *Luther* had been taken away by *Jerome Hangeſt*; that the only way for them to clear themselves from these things is to do as *St. Paul* did, who having persecuted the Church, defended what he had before condemned, and condemned what he had approved. The Faculty concluded that it is necessary to suffer the Bishops to proceed freely against Hereticks. This Answer was drawn up in *French* by *Natalis Bedda* their Syndick, and approved by the Faculty, November the 7th. To it was joined a Letter written in the Name of

V O L III.

the Faculty to the Queen, dated October the 7th. the same Year.

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About the same time there was a Suit between *Natalis Bedda* Syndick of the Faculty, and *James Merlin* Penitentiary of the Church of *Paris*, and some other Doctors, who maintained, that *Bedda* had nothing to do to give his Opinion upon the Bedda's Apology which *Merlin* had made for *Origen* against which *Bedda* and *Macæus* had written. *Bedda* drew up a Memorial to prove that in Matters of Faith, no Doctor could be hindered from giving his Doctrinal Opinion, if he were not suspected of being un- found in the Faith, whereupon he laid down these following Maxims;

Treatise in
Defence of
the Rights
of the Di-
vines.

1st. That by natural divine and humane Right, every Doctor in Divinity has a Right to examine and judge of Matters that concern Religion.

2dly. That no Doctors have Right to judge Persons, but Doctrines only.

3dly. That when the Question is to examine and judge of a Doctrine suspected, and the Author of the Doctrine maintains it, it ought above all things to be examined with respect to the Truth, and not to the Author; and that as for the Author, they may call and hear him.

4thly. That the Interest of the Author ought not to be mixed with the Interest of Truth.

5thly. That no Doctor ought to be debarred or hindered from giving his Judgment, and determining concerning any Doctrine, if he be not suspected of unsoundness in the Faith. The reason of this Assertion is, that in such Matters the Truth is considered without any regard to the Author, about which no Man ought to be suspected that is not an Enemy of truth.

6thly. That in the Canon Law in case of Heresy and Simony, all are allowed to bear witness, and to prefer an Accusation; yea, even Enemies, infamous Persons, and such as are forbidden to be Witnesses, or Accusers in other cases; If this is so, how can Doctors who are not branded with any Crime be hindered from giving their Judgment in Matters of Doctrine under a Pretense of Enmity, which is often invented at pleasure?

7thly. That when 'tis said that the Judgment of suspicious Persons is to be refused, it is meant of Persons, not Doctrines or Books.

8thly. That at this time it is not convenient to deny any one who is not suspected as to Faith, because it may be a means to hinder Censures against new Doctrines.

The Divines were always very zealous for the maintenance of the Rights of Bishops and Curates, of which they gave a Proof in 1524. *Lewis Conborn* a Preaching Friar asserted in a Thesis at an Act in the Hall of the Episcopal Palace kept June the 13th. That among the Apostles, *St. Peter* was the only one that was consecrated immediately by *Jesus Christ*, and that the Ordination of Curates is of Humane Right; and likewise that none of the Bishops except *St. Peter*, are of *Christ's* own immediate Institution. This Proposition being false and dangerous, displeased several Doctors, who rose up and asked the Respondant after his dispute before he made his Oration, by Master *de Chesne* who supplied the Place of Regent, as being the eldest, whether he would stand to the Determination of the Faculty upon that Subject. The respondant answered, Yes; but this Reply not being thought sufficient to repair the Scandal, *Conborn* was commanded to appear before the Deputies of the Faculty and being asked whether he knew the Determination of the Faculty upon that Question when he delivered this Proposition; he assured them that he was ignorant of it then, and was ready to submit to their Decision, and obey them in all things. The Faculty having heard him, and advised with their Deputies, ordered that he should recant that Proposition at the first

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first *Sorbonique*, (a) or maintain the contrary Proposition which the Divines gave him, adding, that the Opinion which he had maintained, was not probable. He submitted to the last in the Assembly of July the 2d. and the Proposition which he was forced to defend, was delivered in these words, *As it is believed that St. Peter was made supreme Bishop by Jesus Christ, so all the Apostles were immediately Ordained Bishops by Jesus Christ who also appointed the Order of Curates: And so the Church hath these three Orders in the Hierarchy by Divine Right. The contrary Opinion (being certainly opposite to the Gospel) cannot be probably maintained.* Friar Conborne maintained this Proposition in his *Sorbonique*, Sept. the 15th.

A Censure
upon the
Licensing of
Benefices.

November the 23d. of the same Year, Martin de Latere, a Batchelor, having asserted in an *Aulique* where he was Respondent, that no Ecclesiastical Office could be let without Simony, but that a Benefice might, the Faculty met November the 4th. and condemned this Batchelor to the same punishment with the Man we spoke of last. They caused him to appear before their Assembly, December 1st. and obliged him to maintain in his *Majeure* (b) February the 14th. a Proposition just contrary to what he had before affirmed, in these Terms, *That a Christian can neither let an Ecclesiastical Office nor Benefice without Simony, and that to maintain the contrary is an Error.*

A Censure
of a Book
intituled
The Determination
of the Divines

In December the Divines made an Extract of thirty five Propositions out of a wicked Book, fallily intituled, *The Determination of the Divines of Paris upon certain Propositions*, to present to the Court of Parliament, and to accuse that Book as a Defamatory Libel, and containing Railleries upon Religion, the Adoration of the Eucharist, the Canon of the Mass, the Worship of Saints, and the Service for the Dead. The Parliament upon this Remonstrance, empower'd two Counsellors to inform themselves concerning this Book, and ordered the Bishop of Paris to send out a Monitory to oblige all that had the Book to bring it to the Proto-Notary, under the Pain of Excommunication, and such as knew either the Author or Printer to declare it. The Edict is dated December the 9th. and the Monitory the 10th. of the same Month.

The Cen-
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In the beginning of the next Year, the Faculty undertook to determine a Business of Consequence. F. Amedeus Mesgret a Preacher Friar, having preached at Lyons and Grenoble, was accused of advancing several heretical Assertions. The Archbishop of Lyons caused him to be apprehended and began to proceed against him; but it being a Matter of moment, he thought it requisite, (as he terms it) to have it examined, discussed and determined by the Faculty of Paris, and so by the Order of the King's Mother and the Chancellor, he removed both the Prisoner and the Process to Paris, and appointed two Councillors of the Great Chamber, and two Doctors for his Vicars, that he might be proceeded against according to the Resolution and Judgment, which the Faculty should pass upon the Propositions which Mesgret had maintained. These Vicars gave the Faculty of Paris a Copy of the Propositions which Mesgret was proved to have delivered, and the Answers he made to the Interrogatories about them, with a Discourse which he made at Grenoble upon St. Mark's Day last, which had been printed. The Faculty assembled March the 9th. 1523. censured the following Propositions.

Mesgret's first Assertion was, that Confession ought not to be made as it is made at present, because as 'tis now used, it favours of Hypocrisy; for God regards not things past but to come; and a general Confession is sufficient without mentioning and discussing the circumstances of our Sins. This Propo-

sition was censured as injurious to the Sacrament of Confession, contrary to the Judgment of the Holy Doctors, and heretical, and discouraging Men from Confession, so far as it assures them that God regards not things past, but things to come.

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His second Proposition was, that Priests are not obliged to recite the canonical Hours, if they do not make a case of Conscience of it, or have no scruple about it, and that they are only bound to it in the Quire. He had defended this in his Interrogatory, from which they had drawn four other Propositions like it, which were all censured in order, as false, apt to make the Clergy to neglect their Prayers, and favouring of the Licence which Wickliff had introduced.

The third Proposition was, that Abstinence from Flesh in Lent, and on Saturdays is not commanded. This they condemn as to the first part, as false, scandalous, contrary to good manners, and derogatory to the practice of the universal Church, which according to St. Ignatius and St. Jerome, was derived from the Apostles by Tradition, and as to the second part, as false.

His fourth Proposition was, that the Canons and Decretals are human Traditions not to be regarded. This Proposition as to the first part, is declared false, and as to the second, erroneous, schismatical, and agreeable to the heretical Doctrines of Luther and Wickliff.

The 5th. Proposition, that he that abuses a Clergyman is not legally excommunicated, is condemned as false, and contrary to the Privileges of the Clergy.

The 6th. that if any one will not pay his Debts, he can't be excommunicated; and the 7th, that the Church can't excommunicate for secret Sins, are condemn'd as erroneous and schismatical.

The 8th. that he that says that Luther is an ill Man, is a Slanderer, is rejected as favouring the perfidiousness of Luther.

The 9th. that a Pagan who is careful to follow his Reason may be saved, tho' he was never baptized, is condemned as scandalous, and apt to bring a contempt upon Baptism.

The 10th. says, that a religious Vow doth not always oblige, and that at 10 Years end none is bound by it. He adds, *You will ask me who hath given you leave, and permitted you to depart from your Obedience? I answer, that it is God, the Pope, the World, and the Devil.* This Proposition is condemned as impious, scandalous, and contrary to the Holy Scripture.

The 11th. Proposition, that the Church cannot make any Laws which we are bound to observe for fear of sinning, is rejected as false and heretical.

The 12th. that these Words of Jesus Christ, *Whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth, &c.* ought not to be understood of the Penances which are enjoined; and that more notorious Crimes cannot be reserved to the Bishop or Pope, is censured as leading Men to disobedience, and overturning the Hierarchical Order.

The 13th. is concerning the Exposition of these Words of the Apostle, *To deliver to Satan.* Mesgret interprets them of Enemies, Pains, and Afflictions, and not of the possession of the Devil, or of Excommunication: They declare, that this is a rash Explication, contrary to the common Opinion of the Doctors.

The last Proposition is concerning the three *Magdalens*.

These are the Propositions which were taken out of the Sermons of Mesgret. The Propositions taken from his Interrogatories, were of the same nature,

[(a) *Alis* kept for a Doctor's Degree in the Sorbonne Hall, are called *Sorboniques*. *Alis* kept for a Doctor's Degree in the Archbishop of Paris's Palace Hall, are called *Auliques*. Conborne therefore having defended an Erroneous Proposition at an *Aulique* which was kept June the 13th. 1524. was obliged to de-

send the contrary Proposition at a *Sorbonique* which was kept September the 15th. following.]

[(b) *Majeure* is an Act kept by one that proceeds in Divinity, before his time of Licence. A *Licentiate* is he that is next to a Doctor: They conferred three Degrees in Divinity, of Batchelor, Licentiate, and Doctor.]

Censures of the Faculty of Paris in 1550. The Censure of Wolfgang Schuth. and of the same Matter. Those that were taken out of his Sermon preached at *Grenoble*, are particularly about the Merit of good Works, Vows, and a Monastick Life, and against the Laws of the Church. These Propositions were also censured by the Faculty.

The Abbot of St. *Anthony* at *Vienna* being made Inquisitor General by the Pope, in the Dominions of the Duke of *Lorrain*, consulted the Faculty of Divinity of *Paris* the same Year, about the Opinions and Books of *Wolfgang Schuth*, which contained several of the Errors of *Luther*, and the Faculty condemned them all by their Censure, *March* the 7th. 1524.

The Censure of Caroli. There were also the same Year some complaints brought against Master *Peter Caroli*, who preaching to the Parish of St. *Paul*, explained the Epistle of that Apostle to the *Romans*, read it in the Vulgar Tongue, and several times quoted other Translations besides the Vulgar. *Caroli* was summoned by an Order of the Faculty to appear at the Assembly of their Deputies, *August* the 8th. and being interrogated by the Syndick about the Propositions, which he was accused to have advanced, his Answers were set down in Writing; and the Matter being brought before the Assembly held the 10th. of the same Month it was agreed upon, that such Propositions as might have an ill Sense, should be extracted out of his Answers, and a Copy of them given to all the Doctors to consult about: At the Assembly of the 22d. of the same Month, *Caroli* came thither with two Notaries, to signify to the Faculty his Act of Appeal; and summoned *Bedda* the Syndick to appear before the Official of *Paris* (c), to make reparation of the Injuries he had done him. The Faculty deputed two Doctors to inform the Official of the Affair, and appointed two others to attend the Syndick with the Bedel to the Official's Court, to require that this Matter might be remitted to the Faculty. *Caroli* came again to the Assembly on the 30th, to demand his Letters of Appeal, and said, that if the Faculty would proceed to his prejudice, he would appeal as from an Abuse to the Parliament. The Syndick also appealed as from an Abuse from the Proceedings of the Official, because he would not remit the Matter to the Faculty. The cause being debated in the Grand-chamber, the Parties were remitted to the Faculty, and the Court appointed three Counsellors, in whose presence *Caroli* was to be examined by the Dean, about the Propositions which he was accused of advancing, and who might inform themselves of the Fact if he denied it.

The Faculty called an Assembly *Septem.* 14, about this Matter. *Caroli* appeared at it, and alledged, that by the Arrest it was allow'd him to refuse such Doctors as he suspected; he was required to name them, but he refused to do it immediately, but after several delays he gave in the Names of those he objected against upon the 22d. day of the same Month. The Syndick remonstrated against the Reasons of his Recusation (d), which he alledged as not valid; nevertheless those whom he refused desired to withdraw, that They might examine and hear *Caroli* in their Absence. The Commissioners appointed by Parliament, not being present at that Assembly, the Court appointed two others, who might be at the Assembly on the 25th, which was held both Morning and Afternoon. They drew a verbal Process containing the Questions to be put to *Caroli*, and his Answers. At the same Assembly, *October* 1. some Doctors complained that *Caroli* continued still to give offence by his unsound Doctrine, and his Reflections, and that it was convenient to forbid him to preach. The Consultation upon this was put off

to the Assembly, *October* 8. in which it was agreed, that *Caroli* should be admonished to forbear preaching, or else the Faculty would proceed against him. This Resolution was signified to him by the Bedel of the Faculty, and there were some fresh complaints brought in against a Sermon, which he preached upon St. *Deny's* day, whereupon he was summoned before an Assembly of the Faculty, on the 11th. of the same Month, and was forbidden by them to preach in the Diocess of *Paris*; *Caroli* appealed from this Sentence, but was advised by his Friends to desist from this Appeal, and not to preach till this Business was ended, yet so that it should appear that he did it freely; he promised it but did not perform it. The Faculty then being met with the Commissioners to judge of the Causes which he had alledged, of his Recusation of some Doctors, he consented that all Doctors might pass their Judgment upon those Propositions. The Syndick desired, that till Judgment was passed, the Commissioners should order him to forbear preaching. They said, that the Court had not given them that power, but they would report it to the Court: Whereupon the Parliament remitted to the Bishop of *Paris* the Syndick's desire, that he might forbid *Caroli* to preach.

In the Assembly of the 25th, the Propositions, which *Caroli* had presented to the Faculty were received, and at the same time an Act of Submission. The Syndick alledged, that it was not sufficient, and the Faculty judged the same [after the Syndick and *Caroli* were withdrawn. But *Caroli* continuing still to preach, the Faculty agreed, that he should be deprived of all the Privileges of his Doctorship, unless he forbore for the future. This Resolution being made known to him, he appealed to the Parliament as from an Abuse. Nevertheless the Official of *Paris* began to proceed against him, and at last forbid him the Pulpit under pain of Excommunication, by a Sentence given, *January* 24. 1525. *Caroli* gave notice to the Faculty of his Letters of Appeal as from an Abuse (e), and having no License to preach, he set himself to explain the Psalter in the College of *Cambray*. The Faculty summoned him to their Assembly, *February* 13. forbid him to go on with his Lectures, and only allow'd him to read one Lecture more in the Afternoon to take leave of his Scholars, but instead of doing this, he set up a Paper upon the Gates, and near the College of *Cambray* in these Words. *PETER CAROLI* in obedience to the Orders of the Faculty gives over his Lectures, to begin them again when it shall please God, at this Sentence where he ended, *FODERUNT MANUS MEAS ET PEDES MEOS*.

The Society seeing, that the Official did not proceed to give a definitive Sentence upon *Caroli*, presented their Petition to the Parliament desiring, that the Official might be obliged to impart to the two Commissioners of Parliament the Process, the Rehearing, and cross Examination of the Witnesses, that the Faculty might know what the Propositions were, which he was convicted to have asserted. The Court having order'd it, and the Official obeying their Edict, the Faculty censur'd the Propositions following, *Sept.* 7. 1525.

The 1st. was, that if Christians honour'd God only, with divine Worship, they would do best; and neither the Virgin nor Saints would take it ill. This Proposition was condemned as false, impious, schismatical, and agreeable to the Errors of *Vigilantius*, the *Waldenses*, *Bohemians*, and other Hereticks.

The 2d. was, the Holy Scripture is better understood now than it was in times past, when it was not well understood. This Proposition is condemned as schismatical, injurious to the holy Doctors of

[(c) Et fit assigner la veille le Syndic Bedda, pardevant Monsieur l'Official de Paris, en reparation d'injures. Fr. I do not well understand the Force of these Words, and so they are put down in French.]

[(d) Du Pin's Word is kept here, because it is a Term of Art: It answers to our challenging of Jurors in Tryals.]

[(e) Appeal to the Parliament from an Ecclesiastical Court, upon pretence that it has exceeded its Jurisdiction, is called in France, Appel comme d'Abus. An Appeal as from an Abuse.]

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the Church, and heretical, because it asserts, that the catholick Church had not a true Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures till this time.

In the 3d. they condemned his custom of saying *Christ*, without adding the Name of *Jesus*.

The four following Propositions are concerning the Obligation of the Ecclesiastical Laws. *Caroli* declared, that he did not know whether they obliged under pain of mortal Sin.

The Faculty condemned this Opinion as favourable to Hereticks, and particularly the third, wherein he doubts of the Obligation of Fasting, *Lent*, and Abstinence.

The 16th. Proposition is, that the Gospel is now revived, because Men are now carried on only by the Love of God. These two Propositions are declared to favour *Luther's* Heresie.

The 18th. says, that it is better to give six *Blanks* to a poor Man, than one to a Priest to say Mass. This Proposition is condemned as false, and spoken out of Ill-will to the Priests.

The 20th. that there is no difference between a Lecture and a Sermon, is stiled false.

The 6 following Propositions, that all the people, even Women, may read the Scripture and preach the Gospel, are condemned as taken from the Sink of the *Waldenses* and *Lutherans*, and proper to overturn the Hierarchy.

They did not pass over what *Caroli* had said, that whereas we read in our Bible, *Ipsa conteret caput tuum*, according to the *Hebrew* it ought to be *ipsum semen mulieris*, i. e. *Christus*. They condemned this Proposition as rash and schismatical, because it seems to derogate from the Honour of the Virgin, and to be contrary to the Usage of the Church, which 'tis certain hath Reason to read *Ipsa conteret caput tuum*.

They also condemn the Observation he had made, that where the Vulgar reads in St. Paul, *Ex resurrectione mortuorum Jesu Christi*, it should be *Jesu Christo*, according to the *Greek*. They look upon this Remark, as injurious to the ancient Interpretation, and preached scandalously to the people.

The last of the Propositions which he preached is, that Grace is not obtained by the accomplishment of the Commandments of God, but by Faith, and that God in bestowing Grace doth not respect the Goodness, or Merits of Men, but his own infinite Bounty. They condemn this Proposition as dangerous, and apt to draw Men from the Observation of the Commandments of God, in as much as it supposeth that we can observe all the Commandments of God without Faith, as containing things contradictory and indeed heretical, in as much as it assures us, that God regards not the Works and Merits of Men.

The other Propositions are taken out of the Answers of *Caroli* before the Deputies. The two first are, that Faith is a Confidence and Hope of being justified, and that Faith infused cannot be without Charity. These two Propositions are condemned.

The 3d. is, that the Anger of God is not when he sends Tribulations and Maladies, &c. nor in Hell, inasmuch as the Damned are deprived of God, and tormented with sensible pains. The first part of this Proposition is declared to be contrary to Holy Scripture, and the last heretical. The two last are against the Worship of Images and Saints.

These Propositions are accompanied with others delivered in a Sermon preached on St. *Deny's* Day in the Church of St. *Gervase*. The two first are against the Use of Temples dedicated to God, and lighted Tapers. The 3d. is, that the Sacrifice of the Altar is nothing else but the Commemoration of our Redemption, this is condemned as heretical. The 4th. is, that in the *Psalms*, *Redde Altissimo vota tua*, the Vow is nothing but a Wish or Desire, or a zealous Affection to God. They condemn this Assertion in general as false and pernicious. The 5th. that 'tis not we that perceive any thing, but God that per-

ceives in us, is condemned as Heresie and Blasphemy. The 6th. that we are in God, but God is not in us, is condemned as heretical. The 7th. against the Worship of Images, is marked as contrary to the Definition of the seventh Council. The 8th. that it is impious to have any Images of the Trinity, is also condemned as false, schismatical, and contrary to the Usage of the Church.

The Parliament having also remitted to the Faculty, the Examination of certain Propositions delivered by *James Povent* in the Diocese of *Meaux*, and in the Apology made for them by *Matthew Saunier*, the Society passed a Censure, December 1. 1525. upon several Propositions of *Povent's* and his Apology, which were against Purgatory, the Title of God's Vicar given to the Pope, the Laws of the Church, Confession, the Anthem of the Virgin, *Salve Regina*, against the custom of offering Tapers to the Saints and their Images, their Prayers, Intercession, and Worship of Saints, the offering of the Sacrifice of the Mass for the Dead, the necessity and usefulness of hearing Mass, Indulgences, Vows, the efficacy of the Sacrament of Baptism, and declared, that *Saunier's* Book ought to be burnt, and *Povent* forc'd to retract as well as he.

Some time before (namely on November 6.) the same Faculty gave the like Judgment upon a Book intitled, *The Epistles and Gospels for the use of the Diocese of Meaux, translated into French with Exhortations, joyned to every Epistle and Gospel*, and condemned particularly several Propositions taken out of that Book, favouring the new Errors concerning Justification by Faith only, against the Merit of good Works, Traditions, Invocation, and Intercession, Ceremonies and Laws of the Church, Satisfaction, and some other Points; some of these Propositions had been tolerable at another time, and particularly that Observation, that it ought to be read in the Text of the Gospel of St. *John*, chap. 1. *Bethabara*, and not *Bethania*.

The Faculty having given their Judgment upon *Lewis de Berquin's* Books in 1523. passed a new Censure upon some Propositions in 1525. which he had written in the Margin of his Books, or were taken out of some of his Translations.

The first was, that a Reservation of some Cases of Conscience doth not hinder a full Remission, this is condemned, as disturbing the Hierarchy and Schismatical. The second and third, that S. *Peter* had no Primacy by Divine Right over the rest, of the Apostles nor over the Church, were condemned as Erroneous and Heretical. The fourth, that it is a shame to say that good Works are meritorious of eternal Life, is declared to be one of *Luther's* Heresies. The fifth, that faith consists not in believing the History, but in relying upon the Promises of Jesus Christ, is condemned as a pernicious Error. The sixth, that Faith alone justifieth, or is the only Cause by which we are justified, is condemned as Heretical. The seventh, which is against the Law of Fasting, is declared false, unjust and injurious to the Catholick Church. The eighth, that a true Fast is to allow the Body no more Nourishment, than is necessary to preserve Health, is condemned as tending to alienate the People from the Custom of the Church, and very much approaching to the Heresie of the *Begards*: Further, the Apologetical Letter of *Berquin* is condemned in general, as containing the Heresie of *Luther*, and injurious to Monastical Vows. They also condemn this Proposition taken out of a Note upon his Translation of S. *Jerom's* Letters to *Vigilantius*, what they desire of one Saint, they dare not beg of another, as though every one of the Saints had their certain Office and Charge. They renew also their general Condemnation of *Berquin's* Books, and condemned several Propositions taken out of his Translations of *Erasmus's* Books of *Marriage*, *method of Prayer* and *Peace*.

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The Cen-
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Povent.

The Con-
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of a Book
called, The
Epistles
and Gos-
pels, &c.

Their
Judgment
upon some
Propositions
of
Lewis de
Berquin

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of the Fa-
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1550.

Censures
upon the
Colloquies
of Eras-
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The Cen-
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John Ber-
nard.

On May the 16th. 1526. the Faculty passed a general Censure upon *Erasmus's Colloquies*, as a Work, wherein the Fasts, and Abstinences of the Church are little esteemed; Prayers to the Virgin and Saints are laughed at, Virginitie is set below Marriage; Men are discouraged from a Religious Life; and Grammar is preferred before questions of Divinity, and consequently they judge, that all People ought to be prohibited from reading it, and chiefly young Men, and to be quite suppressed if possible.

The same Year the Parliament committed to the Examination of the Faculty, certain Propositions contained in the Answers of Friar *John Benardi* a Doctor of Divinity of the same Faculty, who gave their Judgment July 7th. The first Proposition was delivered in these words: *I question whether the Church can oblige under Pain of mortal Sin.* They judge, that this Answer without distinction, is blame-worthy; especially in a Doctor of Divinity. The 2d. that a Man upon Fast-days may eat at twice what he should have eaten at one Meal, is condemned as scandalous, and bordering upon the Heresie of *Luther*, as so generally exprest. The 3d. that when we go to prayers, we should rather pray to God than the Saints, is censured as scandalous, and taken from the Doctrines of *Wickliff*. The 4th. Proposition, that we read no where in Scripture, that a Saint prayed to God for another Man, unless it be in the 2d. of *Macabees*, concerning *Onias* and *Jeremiah*. They say, that this Ignorance which a Doctor of Divinity professeth before the People is pernicious, and tends much to weaken the Peoples Faith concerning the Worship and Adoration of Saints. They add that the Person that has delivered such Propositions, should be obliged to retract them, and preach, that we ought to honour and pray to the Saints.

We shall not mention here the great Censure of the Faculty upon the Works of *Erasmus*, nor the particular Condemnation of his *Colloquies*, because we have already given an Extract of them.

The Faculty then being consulted by the Bishop of *Chrysopolis*, Vicar of the Archbishop of *Valence*, in *Dauphiné*, Whether the Case of Fornication in Priests was reserved to the Bishop in the Diocese of *Valence*, because the breach of Vows and Sacrilege was reserved to him, answered, that the Vow of chastity being joyned with Ordination, the Fornication of Priests ought to accounted a reserved Case, according to that Statute. This Determination was given April the 1st. 1526.

In 1529. two Canons of *Soissons* brought to the Faculty their *Breviary* printed by the Bishops Order, in which that Text of the *Psalms* was altered in several places, which the *Gallican Church* had used to that time. The Faculty determined July the 24th. that this attempt was dangerous, and ought not to be endured for several reasons. They also wrote a Letter at the same time to the Bishop of *Soissons*, that they had received a *Breviary* from his Diocese lately published in his Name, but to his dishonour, because it contained several things that were odious for their Novelty, contrary to the common usage of the Church, and which might cause a Schism in the *Gallican Church*, if speedy Orders were not taken; and they prayed him to suppress these Seeds of Division before the Evil increased, and the Contentions grew greater. They wrote also to the same effect to the Chapter of *Soissons*. These Letters are dated July the 24.

There is also another Censure of the last of April, 1530. of the two Propositions following. The first, that the Scripture can't be well understood without a Knowledge in the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and such like Tongues. The second, that a Preacher can't explain the Epistles and Gospels aright without the said Tongues. The first is condemned as rash and scandalous; and the second as false and impious, and which discourages Christian People from hearing the Word of God. They add, that both

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of them render their Author suspected of *Lutheranism*.

The Reputation of the Faculty of Divinity of *Paris* was so great in foreign Nations, that the Magistrates of the City of *Ypres* thought it convenient to consult them about an excellent Constitution made by them in 1525. with the advice of the Provost of the Church of *Ypres*, Great Vicar of the Church of *Teroüanne*, and some other Clergymen of that Diocese, for the maintenance and support of the Poor. The Faculty approved the Constitution, but on condition, that if the Common Stock were not sufficient to maintain the Poor, they should not be kept from begging: That the Rich should not forbear to assist the Poor in their extreme necessity; that none should forbear to give their Alms both in publick and private; that Laymen should not meddle with the Goods of the Church under that pretense; that the *Mendicant Friars* should not be hindered from begging no more than the Poor in the Country. They did not disapprove this Regulation, as very useful for the maintenance of the Poor, and very proper to prevent many Evils: But they observed, that it ought not to be looked upon as an unchangeable Law of Nature, from which we may not depart upon any occasion, but as a Constitution which may receive diverse Interpretations and Restrictions according to the Judgment of prudent Men and different Circumstances of place and time: This Judgment is dated January the 10th. 1530. which is according to our manner of Account 1531. (f).

On March 2d. in the same Year, the same Society gave their Judgment upon several Books found in the Possession of *John de St. Denys*, viz. the *Pandects* of the *Old and New Testament* composed by *Otho Bronsfield*, which they judged to be pernicious, and worthy to be burnt. A Book entituled, *The Prayer of Jesus Christ*, Which is the *Pater Noster* the *Creed*, *Ten Commandments*, and *seven Psalms* in *French*, containing several other *Lutheran Treatises*, which they thought worthy to be burnt. A Book of *Hermannus Gobius*, Entituled, *Union between Persons that are at Difference*, of which they gave the same Judgment. They Judged the *Luccdary* and *Spiritual Theology* to be tolerable Books; they said nothing of the Book Entituled *Antonius de Arena*; nor of that which has the Name of *The Fifty second Arrest of Love*. They declared, that the Book Entituled, *The Poores Petition*, is full of abuses upon the Clergy, and contains ill Notions about the Mass, Confession and Purgatory, and so ought to be burnt publickly. They condemn 116 Conclusions in three Sheets of Paper as *Lutheran*. They say nothing of *Erasmus's* three Books. They condemn the Books of *Cornelius Agrippa*, *Of the Vanity of Sciences*, as blasphemous, and deserving the Fire. They judge the Epistles of *St. Paul* newly translated out of *Latin* into *French*, with Commentaries and Glosses, to be tolerable. After they have given this Judgment in general, they give their Proofs by taking some Propositions out of the Books which they condemn.

The same Year the Bishop of *Condom* desired the Judgment of the Faculty upon the three Propositions following, the 1st. that there are four Baptisms able to procure Remission of Original Sin, by Water, Blood, the Holy Spirit, and Sanctification; that this fourth is invisible, and may be obtained without the Sacrament, and without the Motion of the Creature by the Faith of the Parents, for that Infant who is in an impossibility of being Baptized with Water. The 2d. that it is probable that *St. John the Evangelist* did not die, but was translated into the Earthly Paradise, from whence he shall come to preach against Anti-Christ with *Enoch* and *Elias*. The 3d. that the *Martyrdom* of *St. John the Evangelist* was extensively greater than that of the Virgin, when they were both at the Cross; but that the *Martyrdom* of the Virgin was greater for

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Their
Judgment
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[(f)]
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in France
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A Censure
of several
Books.

A Judg-
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the Propo-
sitions sent
them by
the Bishop
of Con-
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grief

Their
Judgment
of the Vow
of Celiba-
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The Cen-
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Breviary
of *Sois-
sons*.

A Censure
of two Pro-
positions
about
Scripture.

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grief and suffering: That nevertheless St. *John* having two causes of Grief, the one for *Jelus Christ*, and the other for the Virgin, whom he loved, in that sense the Martyrdom of St. *John* was greater than that of the Virgin; thus upon several other considerations, the Martyrdom of the Virgin might be greater than St. *John*'s. The Faculty declared *June* the 7th. 1551. Upon the first, that though it be certain that God doth not tye down his grace to the Sacraments and the ordinary Laws of Tradition, but sometimes bestows his Gifts upon whom he pleases by a special Privilege; yet since we can't know, or have any certainty, but by Divine Revelation, who they are to whom God gives these Gifts, they think they cannot give a certain Judgment of these things, and so they think it rashness to say, that Children who die unbaptized in their Mothers Belly, just or when they are born shall be saved. Upon the 2^d. they think, that those that preach the Word of God to the People, ought to be advised to deliver nothing to them but what is useful and edifying, and conformable to the Office of the Church. And so since the Church prays to and honours *John* as well as the other Apostles, as being with God according to the Opinion of the Holy Fathers, it is imprudence to speak of it before the People, and to propound anew those Opinions, which have been heretofore rejected. Upon the 3^d. they declare, that they like not such Comparisons of Sufferings and Merits, which the Church hath not received, nor the Holy Doctors explained, and are only built upon frivolous Conjectures.

Their
Judgments
upon cer-
tain Pro-
positions
sent by the
Bishop of
Beauvais

[(g) Li-
terally,
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what it
means.]

The Bishop of *Beauvais* also consulted the Faculty the same Year about some Propositions preached in his Diocese, on which they gave their Opinion *June* the 16th. the Propositions and the Resolutions follow. The first, that Curates and Vicars ought not to give the Sacrament of the Altar to Usurers, common Swearers, Players at Cards or Dice, Minstrels, Tumblers, Dancers, Concubines, *Filles de la Grande Maison* (g), Ravishers, and Detainers of other Mens Goods, either by Force or Law unjustly, unless they give security, though not upon Oath, to restore them. The Determination is delivered in these words following, that as to Usurers, Swearers, Women of an ill Life, Players at Cards and Dice, and violent Takers of other Mens Goods, being publicly known and notorious, when it is certain that they are such, the Curates or their Vicars ought not to administer to them the Sacrament of the *Eucharist*, till they are converted, and we are sure of their Conversion; but as to Minstrels and Dancers, though their Employment ought to be avoided, yet it seems indiscreet and scandalous to say without distinction, that the Sacrament of the *Eucharist* ought to be denied them. And as to the 3^d. 'tis false and rash to say, that the Detainers of other Mens goods may not be admitted to the Sacrament of the *Eucharist*, unless they give security though not upon Oath, that they will make Restitution.

The 2^d. Proposition is, that nothing ought to be given to Vicars, or other Priests for Baptizing, hearing Confessions, or administering any Sacrament whatsoever, because it is Simony, and such Priests are simoniacal and excommunicated, and those who pay the Money sin mortally, but after the Sacrament is given, something may be given to the Priest for God and Alms, otherwise the said Giver shall be excommunicated.

Now the Ministers of the Church, say these Divines ought to abstain from all appearance of Evil and Covetousness; nevertheless this Proposition as to the first part, which ends at these words: *But after, &c.* is contrary to the Disposition of natural and divine Right, and is false and notoriously Heretical; for the Workman is worthy of his Hire, and as to the Reason that is given, *That it is Simony*, it is false, schismatical, and injurious to the Church. The second part is false, and suitable to the Error of *Wickliff*, which is condemned in the Council of *Constance*; for what is given to him that administers the Sacraments is not a mere Alms, but a Debt, and they who give it them are not to be thought excommunicate, or to sin mortally.

The Propositions following are Invectives against Priests that keep Concubines in which 'tis said, that Men ought not to communicate with them, receive Sacraments from them, nor hear Mass from them, &c. Tho' the Faculty abhorred these Disorders of Priests, they condemn these Propositions, because they are contrary to the Disposition of Right, seditious, scandalous, and apt to make the people withdraw all obedience from their Pastors and Priests, and contrary to the Law of God, which commands us to obey wicked Priests, and not to regard their Works, but their Doctrine and Authority.

The 12th. Proposition is, that neither the Pope, nor any Bishop can dispense with eating Butter in *Lent* without great necessity. The Faculty owns that such a Licence ought not to be given without a reasonable cause, but it declares, that the Pope and Bishop may allow it without any great necessity.

Aigulphus Lambert a Grey-Friar, having in his *Sorbonne* maintained, *July* 7. 1531. this Proposition, *That Jesus Christ the Redeemer of Angels and Men, is not necessarily God*; though he had no design to deny the Divinity, but only to prove, that a Creature might absolutely redeem Mankind; nevertheless, because the Proposition was doubtful, he was obliged to make an humble Explication.

On *February* 1. 1532. the Divines condemned several Propositions of *Steven le Court*, Curate of *Conde* in the Diocese of *Sees*. This Curate having been condemned as an Heretick by the Bishop of *Sees*, appealed to the Archbishop of *Rouen*, who would have the Judgment of the Faculty of *Paris*, according to the custom of that time, before he would proceed against the person accused. Of these Propositions some did plainly contain, and some did insinuate the Errors of the *Lutherans* and *Zuinglians*, against the Sacraments, Indulgences, Pope's Authority, real Presence, Sacrifice of the Mass, Worship of Saints and Images, Purgatory, &c. They condemned also in this Censure some particular Errors, such as these: That all Actions that go before Justification are Sins, and that Man without Grace cannot but sin. They acknowledge, that there is no Merit without Grace; that one is obliged every Moment to love God and honour his Parents; that the Death of *Jesus Christ* was not ignominious; that there is but one Church; and if there were two, there would be two Holy Spirits; that the Pope ought not only to call all Bishops his Brethren, but also all Christians.

We could not recover the Censures of the Faculty, which were to follow these to the Year 1552. the Registers of that time being lost.

Censures
of the Fa-
culty of
Paris in
1550.

Friar Lam-
bert's Re-
cantation.

A Censure
of Steven
le Court.

B O O K III.

Being an HISTORY of the Lives, and an Abridgment of the Works of the Ecclesiastical Writers, that flourished in the former Part of the Sixteenth Century.

P R E F A C E.

WE are now come to an Age that afforded great Store of good Authors and excellent Books; for which Reason, we have been encouraged to give larger Abstracts of them, and thereby to render our Labour both more profitable and more agreeable: But the Number of them being so great, that we could not undertake to give an Account of them all, we have therefore been obliged to make choice of the most principal. Those whom we have taken no Account of here, shall be inserted in a general Catalogue of all the Ecclesiastical Authors and Writings, which will shortly be published, yet we do not think that we have omitted any of those that are worthy of Consideration, and whose Works are esteem'd among

the Learned. The earnest Desire the Publick expressed to see what we had written on this Subject, made us resolve forthwith to publish the Authors that flourished before the Year 1550. which we were the more willing to do, because those Authors furnished us with Matter sufficient to make a pretty large Volume, and for some time to employ those to good purpose who will take the pains to read it over. Nay it may be said, that of all the Volumes of this Ecclesiastical History that have been hitherto published, there is not one in which there are so many excellent Subjects, so accurately handled, and from which the Reader may reap so great Advantage and Satisfaction.

JOHANNES REUCHLINUS aliás CAPNIO (a).

Johannes Reuchlinus was born at Phortzeim, a Town in the Marquisate of Dourlach, in the Year 1454, or 1455. He was of a good Family, and his Parents resolved to breed him a Scholar, finding that his own Inclinations tended that way; and in a short time, he made a considerable progress in the Study of Languages; he came to Paris with the Bishop of Utrecht, where he prosecuted his Studies under Johannes a Lapide, who taught Grammar, and under William Tardif and Robertus Gaguinus who read Rhetorick, and Gregory Tiphernas, Professor of Greek. He was obliged to return to Germany with the same Bishop: But in a little time he made a second Journey to Paris, where he attained to a great perfection in the Greek Tongue, under the learned Hieronymus de Sparta, who succeeded Tiphernas. Being returned again to his own Country, he took his Degrees of Doctor of Philosophy at Basil, and having there met with Johannes Wesselus of Groningen, whom he had formerly known at Paris, and who had taught him the Rudiments of the Hebrew Tongue, and with Andronicus Contoblacas, he resided for some time in that Town, and there taught the Greek and Latin Tongues. It was then that he composed a Grammar, a Lexicon, some Vocabularies, and other such Works, for the Instruction of Youth, which were printed by Amerbachius, who had newly set up a Printing-house at Basil. He lived four Years in that Town, and then went to Orleans to study the Law there, where also he taught Greek, and was there received Doctor in the Year 1479. The same Year he composed a Greek Grammar, which he taught publicly next Year at Poitiers, and was there made Licentiate of Law the 14 of June 1481. After some time, he went back again

to Germany, and stay'd at Tubing, where he soon acquir'd a more than ordinary Reputation; Eberhard Count of Wittenberg being to go to Italy, took Reuchlin along with him: This Journey gave him an opportunity of conversing with great numbers of learned Men, who were in Italy at that time, and particularly with Hieronymus Barbarus, who changed his Name of Reuchlin into that of Capnio, which in the Greek signifies Smoak, as the Word Reuch does in the German Languages. Count Eberhard entertained so great an Esteem of Reuchlin, that upon his Return into Germany, he made him his Ambassador to the Emperor Frederick III. He came to be so much considered at the Imperial Court, upon the account of his great Merits, that the Emperor conferred many Honours upon him, and made him a Present of an ancient Hebrew Manuscript Bible. Frederick died the 16. of August, 1493. and Capnio returned to his Master, who two Years after constituted him his Deputy to the Dyet at Worms, where Count Eberhard was created Duke of Suabia. This Prince died about three Months after, and left his Dominions to Ulrich his Nephew by his Brother Count Henry, but another of his Nephews called Eberhard II. made himself Master of his Duchy, and banished Capnio; who being the Creature of the late Prince, was in the Interests of Prince Ulrich. Capnio retired to Worms, where he composed a History of the four Empires, for the use of Philip Prince Palatine, he made also a Comedy in Latin, in which, under the Name of Sergius, he exposed a Monk, who had been the cause of his Banishment, but Dalbourg Bishop of Worms advised him to suppress it; yet it was published some Years after, and was printed at Phortzeim in 1507. The Elector Palatine having a Cause to defend at

[(a) **R**euchlin's Name in High-Dutch signified little Smoak. The way of that time was, to express their Names in Greek, when they could find any Word in the Greek Language, into which they could turn them, Thence came Erasmus, Melancthon. Oecolampadius, Chytraeus, and several others. In Imitation of that Custom, Reuchlin at the Instigation of Her-

molaus Barbarus, called himself Capnio, from the Greek Capnos, as Reuchlin was derived from the German Reuch; this last Name he was in all probability the more fond of, because Reuch in German (whence our English Word Reek) and Ruakh in Hebrew signify the same thing.]

An History of the Lives, and an Abridgement of the Works of the Authors of the former Part of the sixteenth Century.
Johannes Renchlinus.

Rome against a Monk of *Weissembourg*, who had gone thither and complained of him to Pope *Alexander VI.* pretending that he had refused to do Justice to the Monks of his Monastery; and *Alexander VI.* having proceeded in Law against the Elector, this Prince could not find a Man so well qualified as *Capnio* was, to defend and maintain his Rights; and therefore he sent him to *Rome* in quality of his Ambassador. The 17th. of July, 1498. *Capnio* made an Oration in presence of the Pope and Cardinals, concerning the Rights of the Princes, and the Privileges of the Churches of *Germany*. He staid more than a Year at *Rome*; and had so much leisure from his Occasions, as to perfect himself in the *Hebrew* Tongue, under one *Abdias* a Jew, and in the *Greek* under the famous *Argyropylus*. Before he returned to *Germany*, the Affairs of *Suabia* were quite changed: The Usurper was expell'd, and Duke *Ulrich* re-established; the Emperor had appointed him Guardians, who called home *Capnio*, who was then raised to the Dignity of being one of the Triumvirate of the League of *Suabia*, for the defence of the Emperor and the Electors. However, this great Employment did not hinder him from following his Studies. He composed an *Hebrew* Grammar and Dictionary, and a grammatical Commentary upon the seven Penitential Psalms. He was sometime after sent Ambassador to the Emperor *Maximilian*, then at *Innsbruck*; at his Return the Pestilence was raging in *Suabia*, which obliged him to retire with his Family into a Monastery of the *Dominicans*, called *Denken-dorf*, near *Stuttgart*, where he met with a very kind Reception, and the Visitor-general of the Order intreated him to write a Book of the Art of Preaching, which was printed two Years after at *Fortzeim*.

Capnio was vexed in his old Age, with an unhappy Difference that fell out between him and the Divines of *Cologne*. The Occasion of it was this: There was a Jew in that City one *Pfefferkorn* who had for a long time deluded those of his own Nation, with an Opinion that he was the *Messias*, but the Imposture being at last discovered, he turned Christian, and persuaded *Jacobus Hogostratus*, a *Dominican* and Inquisitor in those Parts of *Germany*, and *Arnoldus Tongrus*, Professor of Theology at *Cologne*, that all the Books of the *Rabbins* ought to be burnt, because they were full of Impieties, Superstitions, and Blasphemies against *Jesus Christ*. For this end they addressed to the Emperor *Maximilian* for an Edict, which they easily obtained: And with this Edict *Pfefferkorn* ran up and down to all places, where there were any Jews, and went into their Houses, and seized upon their Books, which he sold back again underhand to the Owners. *Capnio* would not suffer them to put the Edict in execution at *Stuttgart*; and the Jews having made all the Interest they could with the Emperor *Maximilian* to obtain a Revocation of it: He ordered the Universities of *Cologne*, *Mentz*, *Erford*, and *Heidelberg*, to name Deputies, who, together with *Jacobus Hogostratus*, *Capnio*, and *Victor Corbeiensis*, should consult about this Matter, and give their Judgments in it. *Capnio* gave his Opinion in Writing, with the same Sincerity and Impartiality that he used to do every thing; he first gave the true State of the Question, and then he proposed the Arguments on both sides: First, for those who thought that the Books ought to be burnt, and, then for those who alledged it would be unjust to burn them, because the Jews being Subjects of the Empire, ought to enjoy all the privileges that had been granted them: That the Law does not allow that any Man should be robb'd of what justly belongs to him, and that since the Jews are allowed to have Synagogues and publick Schools, they ought

also to be allowed to have Books; then he represented to them, that all the Books which the Jews made use of, were not of the same kind, that their Books of Grammar, Philosophy, History and Medicine, ought no more to be prohibited than the *Greek* and *Latin* Books of the same Sciences. That the Commentaries of their *Rabbins* upon the Old Testament, are necessary for understanding thoroughly the *Hebrew* Tongue, and useful for a literal Explanation of the Scriptures; that their Rituals and Books of Controversy ought no more to be forbidden, than the Exercise of their Religion. He acknowledged, that in the *Talmud* there were many unjust Reflections upon the Honour of *Jesus Christ* and his Apostles, but he said that on the other hand, there were in it some Jewish Traditions, and a great many Sentences, Customs and Histories, which are extremely useful for understanding the Old and New Testament: And in short, that they may be made use of to good advantage, for understanding the Prophecies, and for proving that they are accomplished in *Jesus Christ*. The *Cabala* of the Jews is yet less dangerous, and *Capnio* was of Opinion, that it afforded good Arguments for the confirmation of the Mysteries of the Christian Religion, and cites a Book written by *Picus Mirandula*, which has *Alexander VI.*'s Approbation, where that Author is of the same Opinion. In a word, he was not for condemning any of their Books to the Fire, except their scandalous Libels against the Honour of *Jesus Christ*, or of the blessed Virgin, or of the Apostles, or of some Christian Law or sovereign Power. He said that he had seen two of this sort, the Title of the one was *Nizzachon*, and that of the other *Toledoth Jeschu* (b): For these he was of Opinion, that they should be burnt, and that all those should be punished severely who should afterwards keep any Copies of them. This was *Capnio*'s Opinion as to the Jewish Books, he sent it to the Elector of *Mentz*, to be presented to the Emperor, and it fell into *Pfefferkorn*'s Hands, who wrote a Book in the *German* Language under the Title of a *Manual Mirror*, as a Refutation of it; to which *Capnio* published a Reply, which he called an *Ocular Mirror*; wherein he challenges his Adversary for having published 34 several Calumnies against him. The Divines of *Cologne* drew up 44 Propositions, all taken out of the *Ocular Mirror* which they asserted to be erroneous and heretical: *Arnoldus Tongrus* published them in *Latin*, with Notes upon every one of them. *Capnio* published an Apology in *Latin*, as an Answer to that Book, which he dedicated to the Emperor; upon which he was cited before the Elector of *Mentz*, and the Inquisitor *Hogostratus*; he could not appear in person because of his Age, and the ill State of his Health; but he sent an Attorney thither, to except against *Hogostratus*, because he was his declared Enemy; but the Reason of the Exception not being allowed of, his Attorney appealed to the Court of *Rome*. Notwithstanding this Appeal, *Hogostratus* proceeded to pronounce a Sentence, by which the *Ocular Mirror* was prohibited.

The Holy See to which *Capnio* had appealed, remitted the Cognizance of the whole Matter to the Bishop of *Spire*, and the Elector *Palatine*; and these appointed other Deputies to take Cognizance of it, *Thomas Trusches*, *George de Sualbac*, *Philip de Flerfheim*, *Vigilius Sickingen*, *Jodocus Gallus*, and *Wolfgangus Fabricius Capito*. These Judges met at *Spire*, and cited both Parties to appear before them. *Capnio* made his Appearance, but *Hogostratus* would not acknowledge the Authority of that Court, so that he was condemned for Non-appearance. While they were trying this Cause at *Spire*, the Divines of *Cologne* condemned *Capnio*'s *Ocular Mirror*, and caused

[(b) These two Jewish Books against Christianity have been since published. The *Nizzachon* by *Theodorick Hackspan* in *Hebrew* at *Nuremberg*, in 4to. 1644. The *Toledoth Jeschu* of *Christ*. *Wagenfeilius*, in *Hebrew* and *Latin*, among his *Tela Ignea Satanae*,

at *Altdorff*, in 4to. 1681. Another *Toledoth Jeschu* or *Life of Christ*, full of abominable Blasphemies has been lately published in *Hebrew* and *Latin* by *Johannes Jacobus Hildricus* at *Leyden* in 8vo. 1703.]

it to be burnt in February 1514. and for this they pretended that they had the Authorities of the Universities of Louvain, Mentz, Erford and Paris. Psefserkorn finding his Cause so well supported, wrote another Book against Capnio, under the Title of the Alarm Bell. Capnio was forced to carry his Cause to Rome, and to make his Application to the Pope for a definitive Sentence. All the learned Men of Europe were on his side; and his Agent took his Journey, with Recommendations from many of the Princes and Prelates of Germany. Most of the scholastick Divines were against him; Pope Leo X. delegated Cardinal Grimani to be judge in this Case, and Hogostratus made his appearance; the Cardinal of Ancona was joined with Grimani, and Hogostratus made such an Interest at that Court, as to have two other Delegates appointed, who were both of his own Order, Cardinal Cajetan, and Silvester Prierias Master of the sacred Palace; but notwithstanding this Advantage, the Votes of the Judges were not at all favourable for Hogostratus, and all he could do was, to obtain a Superseas of the Pope, the 20th. of July, 1516.

Notwithstanding all these Troubles that Capnio met with, yet he went on in his Studies, he translated out of Greek into Latin the Life of Constantine the Great, written by Eusebius, and the several Questions attributed to St. Athanasius; he composed a Treatise of the Wonderful Word, de Verbo mirifico, divided into three Books, written by way of Dialogue, betwixt a Philosopher whom he names Sidonius, a Jew whom he names Baruchias, and a Christian whom he names Capnio, which is also one of the Titles of the Treatise. The Philosopher discourses of the Wonders and Mysteries that are taught in the Pagan Philosophy; the Jew discovers the wonderful Mysteries that lye hid in Hebrew Names, and especially in the Name of God; and the Christian makes use of both their Principles to prove the Mysteries of the Christian Religion, and to shew that the Name of Jesus is wonderful above all other Names. He wrote also another Treatise, De Arte Cabalistica, divided like the former into three Books, and done by way of Dialogue between Philolaus a Pythagorean Philosopher, Marranus a Mahometan, and Simeon, a Jew (c), whose Reputation was so great, that the other two were come to Franckfort for no other end, but to see him and to converse with him. In this Treatise he makes the Jew discover the Secrets of the Cabalistical Art, and the Philosopher the mysterious Sentences of the Pythagoreans.

His Adversaries continuing always to asperse him, he thought fit to expose them, by writing a Book which he called the Epistles of obscure Men; which are a Satyr against the barbarous Stile of the School Divines, whom he imitates in those Epistles, nay, and out does them too, that he might make them absolutely ridiculous. It is a very witty Book, and it so galled the Monks, that they put it into the Index, expurgatorius. Some say, Capnio was not the Author of these Epistles, but Ulrichus Huttenus, and they seem truly to be more worthy of one that taught Rhetorick and Grammar, than of so learned a Man

Epistole obscurorum virorum.

[(c) One R. Simeon of Franckfort, whose Age we do not precisely know, writ a famous Catena out of the ancient Midrashim (or Allegorical Commentaries upon the Old Testament,) and out of the Mishnah, and Talmud upon all the Books of the Old Testament. He calls it Jalkut or a Scrip, in allusion to the Scrip, into which David put the Stones, which he gathered up to throw at Goliath. It is a Book of great Authority among

as Capnio. Erasmus did not approve of them; and if Capnio was the Author, it was the last thing he composed. The rest of his Days he spent in Peace, retiring to Ingolstadt to avoid the persecution of the Inhabitants of Stutgard, where his Friends procur'd him a Pension of two hundred Crowns of Gold, for teaching the Greek and Hebrew Languages there: His Enemies would have involved him in Luther's Quarrel, but he was not for meddling in those Debates; at last his Enemies themselves found it necessary to be reconciled to him. Three Dominicans came to him, and proposed an Accommodation: He sent them to Franciscus Sickingius, to whom he had entrusted his affairs. The Dominicans compounded the Matter with him, and agreed to pay all the Charges he had been at in defending his Cause, and to procure from Rome a Sentence of Absolution in his Favour. After this, Capnio retired into Suabia, that he might shun the Pestilence that was then at Ingolstadt; and the Magistrates of Tubing desired him to teach the Greek Tongue there; which he did, but was soon forced to give it over, for he was taken ill of the Jaundice, and was carried to his House at Stutgard, where he died July the 30. 1522. or as others have it, 1521. Aged 67. Years 4. Months and 8 Days.

Reuchlin was without Contradiction one of the most Learned Men of that Age, and it may be said of him, what Cicero said of one of the Ancients, that he was excellent in that Science which he first discover'd, I mean in the Jewish Learning, and the Cabalistical Mysteries; for he was the first Christian who took pains to search these things to the Bottom, and there are but few, who to this time, have advanced farther, than he did: Yet these crabbed and abstracted Studies did not in the least indispose him for other things; he had always a wonderful Genius for the Belles Lettres, and had observed all that is fine or curious in the Grecian Philosophers and Orators. He was a perfect Master in the Greek, and spoke Latin with an inimitable Pureness and Elegancy: In a word, this was the only Man whom Germany had at that time, to put in Competition with all the Learned Men of Italy. He was nothing short of them as to the Delicacy of his Stile, and he excelled them by much in Erudition.

His Works have been Printed separately. His Formulæ de Arte Concionandi, were Printed at Phortzeim in the beginning of the 16th. Century, and since at London in 1570. His Treatise de Verbo Mirifico at Spire, in 1493. and at Basil in 1597. with several other Cabalistical Treatises. His three Books de Arte Cabalistica, in the beginning of the 16th. Century, and at Haguenaw in 1530. It was Printed also with Galatinus's Treatise of The Secrets of Catholic Truth at Verona, 1550. His Ocular Mirrour was published in Germany, at the time he wrote it, and his Latin Apology sometime after. His Interpretatio & Comm. in Heb. Voces 7 Psalmorum Penitentialium, was printed at Tubing, An. 1512. and Epistole obscurorum Virorum in Germany about the Year 1516. and afterwards at Franckfort, 1524. (d)

Angen-Spiegel:

the Jews, and very useful to those that would know the Sense of their most ancient Interpreters of Scripture. I take this to be the Man whom Reuchlin here introduces discoursing of the Cabalistical Art, of which that R. Simeon was certainly a very great Master.]

[(d) Mr. Wharton, in his Addition to Dr. Cave's Historia Literaria, says it was 1624. not 1524.]

JACOBUS ALMAINUS, ALMAIN.

JACOBUS ALMAINUS was born in the City of Sens, and flourished in the University of Paris in the beginning of the sixteenth Century, where he taught Philosophy with great Applause. He was admitted Fellow of V o L III.

Jacobus Almainus.

the College of Navarre, in 1508. and took his Degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1511. and was afterwards Divinity Professor, in the same College. Cajetan having at that time published a Treatise of the Pope's Sepremacy, it was sent by the Council of

Jacobus Almainus.

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An History of the Lives, and Abridgement of the Works of the Authors of the former part of the sixteenth Century.
Jacobus Almainus.
 Pise to the Faculty of Divinity of Paris, that they might write an Answer to it; they laid the Charge of this upon *Almainus*, who so acquitted himself in it, that he was approved of, both by the Men of Learning and by the Court. He was taken away by an untimely Death in the Year 1515.

Almainus's Works are of three sorts, either Philosophical, or of Scholastick Divinity, or concerning the Power of the Church; of the first sort there are five Treatises of Logick, under the Title of *Consequentiarum Tractatus V. or Consequences*, Printed at Paris in the Year 1508. a Treatise of *Physicks*, printed 1505. and four Treatises of *Ethicks* printed in 1510. In the first of these, he treats of *Acts and Habits*, in the second of *Theological Vertues*, in the third of *Humane Vertues*, and in the last of the *Vices that are opposite to those Vertues*.

His Books of School Divinity are, *A Commentary upon the third Book of Sentences*, in which he follows the Doctrine of *Gabriel Biel*, a Commentary concerning Penance, according to the Principles of *Scotus*, *Dictata super Sententias Roberti Holcot*, or some Notes upon *Holcot's* Book of Sentences, concerning the Acts of Faith, and of the Understanding, and concerning Free-will.

His Works of the last kind are, *Questio in Vespertiis habita*, &c. or the Discussion of a Question, concerning natural, civil and ecclesiastical Dominion, which was the Subject of his last Exercise, in order to his commencing Doctor; *Expositio in Questiones seu Decisiones Gul. Occami, de Potestate Ecclesiastica & Seculari*, or a Treatise upon Occam's Decisions concerning the Pope's Power in Matters Ecclesiastical and Civil: And his Treatise *de Auctoritate Ecclesie, &c.* of the Authority of the Church and Councils against *Thomas Cajetan*. All these Works of *Almainus* were Printed at Paris in 1517. his Treatise of the *Authority of the Church*, and his *Question concerning natural, civil and ecclesiastical Dominion*, are yet extant among *Gerson's* Works, and were Printed in 1683. in a Collection entituled, *Defenses of the Doctrine of the Ancient Divines of the Faculty of Paris*, his Treatise of *Ecclesiastical and Civil Power*, is in the first Tome of the *Monarchy of Goldastus*.

I need not take any more notice of his Books of Philosophy, or School Divinity: But the rest of his Treatises are upon such a Subject as deserves that we shall give a full account of them. In the Treatise of *Ecclesiastical and Civil power*, he examines all the Questions that have any Relation to these two Powers; he begins with giving the Definition of what he means by Power of which he treats and tells us, that it is not Power in the General, but a Power of Jurisdiction, which gives Authority to pronounce Sentence, even against a Person who is unwilling to submit himself to the Judge. That Power taken in this Sense, is divided into *Ecclesiastical or Spiritual*, and *Temporal or Lay Power*: That the *Ecclesiastical or Spiritual Power* was given by *Jesus Christ* to his Apostles and Disciples, and to their Successors, for the Government of the Church, according to the Laws of the Gospel, and for the Salvation of the Faithful. As for *Temporal Power*, if we take *Almainus's* Definition of it, it is for the most part originally from the People, who have committed it to certain Persons, either by Succession or Election, for the Government of the Civil Society, according to the Laws of the State, and for the maintenance of Peace. As to the Question, whether this Power comes from God? He is of the same Opinion with *Durandus*, that it is from God as to its Obligation, that is to say, it is the Will of God there should be temporal or civil Magistrates, and that they should administer Justice: But as to the Acquisition of the Right, it is not from God, because God has not immediately given the temporal Power to such and such Persons, as he has given the Ecclesiastical. Then he reckons up with *Johannes Parisensis* and *Petrus de Alliaco*,

fix several kinds of Ecclesiastical Power viz. 1. The Power of Order, instituted by *Jesus Christ* when he appointed the Lord's Supper. 2. The Power of administering the Sacraments, and especially that of Penance, granted to his Apostles when he breathed upon them, and said unto them, *Receive the Holy Ghost*. 3. The Power of Jurisdiction for inflicting Church Censures upon those who offend, this was granted by *Jesus Christ* to his Apostles, *Matth. 18.* 4. That of ordaining Ministers, and distributing Benefices and Ecclesiastical Dignities, conferred by those Words of *Jesus Christ* to St. Peter, *Feed my Sheep*. 5. That of the Apostleship or of preaching the Gospel, which is expressed in the last Chapters of the Gospels of St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark*. 6. The Power of receiving, nay of exacting from those under their Charge, a sufficient Maintenance, which is recommended by *Jesus Christ*, when he says, that the *Workman is worthy of his Wages*. As there are some things spiritual, and some temporal, so there are some Sins which are purely spiritual, and are only against Divine and Ecclesiastical Laws; and there are Crimes which are temporal, and against the Laws of civil Society. *Almainus* is not of Opinion, that the Love of God and our Neighbour is the only Foundation of spiritual Power, as *Wickliff* and the *Bohemians* affirmed, nor does he think that it is founded upon Faith; because it may be exercised by a Man that has nothing of a true inward Faith: Tho' Hereticks, who make open Profession of Heresie, do thereby lose all Right to it: And he maintains that a Man who is not baptized, is altogether incapable of it. He enquires, whether all Priests are invested with the same degree of Ecclesiastical Power; for the Resolution of which Question, he distinguishes between the Institution of Ecclesiastical Power and the Persons appointed to make use of it: And says, that *Jesus Christ* alone is the Author and Institutor of it, since there is none but he who is superior to the Church. He takes this for granted and then he resolves the Question, according to the several kinds of Ecclesiastical Power, which he himself has laid down. He makes no doubt but that all Priests are equally authorized to consecrate the Host, but he finds a greater Difficulty as to the Power of absolving Penitents: Some are of Opinion that by the Law of God, all Priests are also equally authorized in this, and others think that the Pope and the Bishops are invested with a greater Power than ordinary Priests. *Almainus* treats the Question Problematically, but he inclines to the first Opinion. Then he gives an account of the Opinions of *Armachanus* and *Marsilius*, that by Divine Right all Priests are impowered to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation; but he subjoins, that the more common Opinion is, that the Bishop is the sole Minister of the Sacraments, both of Confirmation and Order. As to the Power of external Jurisdiction, with regard to the Ecclesiastical Court, which consists in making of Laws or Canons, in excommunicating, in granting Indulgences, &c. He acknowledges, that all Priests are not equally invested with it, and that the Pope's Power extends farther than the Bishop's does; nay, that according to the Institution of *Jesus Christ*, it is even a Sovereign Power.

He enquires next, whether two several Persons can be invested with this Sovereign Power? And he is of Opinion, that the Pope may resign it, or may communicate it to another: But he asserts withal, that it cannot be wholly and equally lodged in two Persons at the same time. But as to the Temporal Sovereign Power, he is of another Opinion. He says also, that the Temporal Sovereignty is not altogether incompatible with the Ecclesiastical but that the Pope has no Sovereign Power in Temporals, by Virtue of any Commission from *Jesus Christ*: That the Ecclesiastical and Temporal Powers are two distinct Powers, which have different Objects; that *Jesus Christ* as he was Man, tho' he had

had some things that belonged to him in property, yet he was not temporal King of the Jews, and much less was he temporal Sovereign of all the World. He had no Jurisdiction in Temporals, and tho' it should be granted that he had such a Jurisdiction, yet it cannot be alledged, that he left it either to the Pope or to the Church; so that the Goods and Estates that belong in property to the Clergy, are not exempted by any divine Law, from the Jurisdiction of the civil Magistrate: As to their Persons, he is of *Gerson's* Opinion, that they are exempted from it by the Law of God: And he makes no doubt but they are so, as to those things which belong to them by divine Right; such as Tithes, and the power of excommunicating. And here, he takes occasion to enquire, whether the Pope be invested with such a power, that he may excommunicate every Believer? And he answers, first, that he cannot excommunicate for a Sin that is only in Thought, but only for an outward and publick Sin, tho' the person who committed it be not known. He then considers, whether a person may be excommunicated for Sins, which tho' they be external, yet are kept secret. And he concludes, that such a Sinner may be excommunicated with the Excommunication *a Jure*, but not with the Excommunication *ab Homine*; and that many are of opinion, whom he also follows, that a general Excommunication *a Jure*, when the Matter of Fact is not judicially proved, is of no effect. The Ecclesiastical Judge, he says, has a Right to take cognizance of all mortal Sins, but he is not the ordinary Judge of Mens Rights, to declare who has or who has not Right to temporal things: But when the Matter of Fact is proved, so that it is manifest that a Man has sinned, by possessing unjustly what belonged to another, he has then a Right to inflict Censures, Excommunications, or other Ecclesiastical Punishments, upon those who have so offended. After this, he treats of the Obligation of Ecclesiastical Laws, and says, that the Pope or any other Priest has power to inflict Punishments in secret, and in the Court of Penance, which the Penitent is obliged to submit to, and which he cannot refuse to undergo without Sin. 2. That a general Council may make a Law, which under pain of mortal Sin we are obliged to obey, tho' what it enjoins be not precisely bound upon us by the Law of God. 3. That the Pope may also make a Law, that shall oblige under pain of mortal Sin. As to Dispensations, he proves, that the Pope cannot dispense with any Precept of the Law of Nature, or of the Law of God, but he may dispense with Laws that are purely human, and even with those of a general Council, if so be it appears, that the Council did not intend that Law should take place in a Case so circumstanced as that is, in which he dispenses with it: That he cannot dispense with any Laws that have been established by the Apostles, and that no Dispensations, of what kind soever, ought to be granted but for very good Reasons: That if the Pope does dispense with Vows, it is not to be understood, as if he did by his Authority make void the Obligation of any Vow, considered simply and in it self, but that he declares, that such a Vow is not obligatory in such a particular Case; as to a solemn Vow, he is of the opinion of those, who deny that the Pope can dispense with it. He then states a Comparison between the Pope's power, and that of a general Council; and says, that ordinarily the Council ought to be called by the Pope, but that there are three Cases in which it may meet without his Authority; the first is, in case the Pope be dead, either in a natural or civil Sense: The second is, if he being required to call a Council shall refuse to do it: And the third is, when the time and place of the meeting of a general Council has been determined by a preceding Council. That in any of these three Cases, the Ecclesiastical Power, as to what concerns external Jurisdiction, is lodged in the Council lawfully assembled. That it may make Canons and inflict Punish-

ments, that it may grant Indulgences, pronounce Sentences of Excommunication, and give Dispensations as the Pope does. All the Doctors of *Paris*, and the *Gallican* Church, do maintain, that the Pope's power is subordinate to that of the general Council; that the Council has power to make Laws which the Pope is obliged to obey; that the Council is infallible, and the Pope is not, and therefore he ought to submit himself to its Light; that we may appeal from the Pope to a general Council; and in a word, that the Council has power to judge and depose the Pope, and that it may even exempt some Members of the Church from his Jurisdiction, yet only in some certain Points; for it cannot absolve them in the general, from all that Obedience which they owe to the Pope. At last he refutes the Opinion of *Panormitan*, concerning the Fallibility of Councils, and shows that a general Council, as being the representative Body of the Catholick Church, and assisted by the Holy Ghost, is ascertained of Infallibility.

He treats next of *Temporal Power*, and examines the Opinions of *Armachanus*, *Petrus de Alliaco*, and *Occam*, concerning the Origin of this Power, and maintains, that it is not founded in supernatural Grace, but only in the bare Approbation that God has given of it, and that it is in this Sense, that it is said to be from God, he enquires whether those who are invested with this Authority do thereby become Proprietors of particular Estates; and he affirms, they are Proprietors of those Revenues which are given to them by the Body of their Subjects for the Support of their Dignity; but not of the Goods of any other Men of whom they are Sovereigns, and that therefore a King cannot alienate any Part of his Kingdom. He enquires also, whether Kings and Emperors hold their Authority and their Dominions of the Pope? He treats fully of this Question, and determines it in the Negative, and answers all the Arguments that are produced by those who are of another Opinion; and particularly, the Arguments that are brought from the Examples of King *Childeric's* being deposed by Pope *Zachary*, and of the Translation of the Empire, from the *Grecians* to the *Germans*. As to the first, he says, that when it is said that Pope *Zachary* dethroned *Childeric*, the Meaning of it is only that he consented to his Deposition; and as to the second he says, that the Pope does not establish the Emperor upon his Throne by his Authority, but only declares that he is lawfully elected; that the Oath which the Emperor takes to the Pope, is not the Oath of a Vassal to his Sovereign; that on the contrary the Pope ought rather to swear Allegiance to the Emperor, because of some Fiefs of the Empire which he possesses; but that the Emperor swears only before the Pope, that he will defend the Rights of the Church, as the King swears before his Parliament, that he will defend his Kingdom: That the highest Degree of *Temporal Power*, consists in the power of Life and Death. He proves, that it is not lawful for a private Subject, by his own Authority, to put a Malefactor to Death; except when he cannot by any other means defend his own Life, (for he admits of this Exception contrary to St. *Augustine's* Opinion) but that they who are invested with publick Authority, have a Right to put to Death those who are guilty of such Crimes as are hurtful to the publick Society. And here he treats of this Question, Whether a Man who is condemned to die, may lawfully save himself? The Man may be condemned justly or unjustly: If he be condemned unjustly by the Fault of the Judge, who has proceeded to condemn him, tho' there was not sufficient Evidence against him, or who has not observed the Forms of Law; in that Case *Almainus* is of Opinion, that he may not only make his Escape, but he may even make use of violent Means for saving of himself. If he has been condemned unjustly, because he was truly innocent; tho' the Judge has proceeded in due Form, in this case also *Almainus* is of Opinion, he

may save himself and hazard his own Reputation. But if he has been condemned justly, so that he truly deserved Death, there is a greater difficulty to resolve the Question; yet *Almainus* is of opinion, that he may lawfully make his Escape, tho' *Aquinas* seems to have been of the contrary Opinion: But he does not think that he can lawfully break his Chains or the Prison, or use any other violent Means, for his own preservation. After having treated of these Questions, *Almainus* returns to his Subject, and shews, that Princes have not received their temporal Jurisdiction from the Pope; that they are not in the least obliged to him for it: That the King of the Romans is Sovereign of all the States of the Empire, as soon as he is chosen, and before he be confirmed and crowned; that his Coronation gives him no new Authority, but only a new Title: That the Emperor has no Right to the Kingdom of France as he is Emperor, and that he is not the Successor of *Charles the Great*, consider'd as King of France, but only as Emperor: That the King of France does not acknowledge any Superior in Temporals. These are the principal Questions treated of by *Almainus* in this Treatise, which is only a Commentary upon that of *Occam*.

He treats almost of the very same Questions, in his *Questio in Vesperis habita*, which was defended by *Ludovicus Berus*, in 1512.

His first Conclusion is, that a Man cannot renounce the natural Dominion that God has given him over himself; but that after the Fall it was necessary, that a civil Dominion of Property and Jurisdiction would be added to it, and that those who are invested therewith should have power to make use of the temporal Sword, and that the Clergy are not exempted from it by any divine Law: Then from this Proposition he draws these following Corollaries; from the first Part, that tho' there is a civil Right of Property established by a positive Law, yet a Man has a just Title to every thing that he can seize upon, provided it be absolutely necessary for the preservation of his Life. That tho' a Man be condemned to die, yet he ought not in any case to put himself to Death, even tho' the Sentence pronounced against him be just. That he who has more than enough, with relation to what Nature requires, tho' he have not more than enough with relation to his Rank and Quality, and does not give to him that hath not wherewith to support Nature, sins against the Laws of Nature. That a *Carthusian* is obliged to eat Meat, when he can have nothing else to support his Life: That those who shorten their own Lives, by practising Austerities, sin against the Law of Nature. From the second part of the Proposition, which concerns the Temporal Sword, he draws these following Corollaries; that the power of putting Malefactors to Death, is only an Exception from the general Law that forbids us to kill. That a free State can no more renounce this power, than a private Man can renounce his Right to defend himself; that this power is originally in the Society, and that Kings are only Executors of it. As to the 3d. part of the Proposition, which is, that the Clergy are not exempted by the Law of God, from Civil Jurisdiction; he declares, that he does not propose it as an undoubted truth, but only as a probable Opinion, about which he was willing to dispute with *Robert Jaquinot*, Licentiate in Divinity, and Principal of *Beauvais College*. He proves it by *St. Paul's* Words, *Let every Soul be subject unto the higher Powers*, which that Apostle explains afterwards by temporal Princes; he proves it also by *St. Paul's* Example, when he appealed to *Cæsar*: And from this Reason, because if putting a Man into Priest's Orders, should exempt him from secular Jurisdiction, then he could not be ordained Priest, without the Consent of his Prince, as a Slave cannot be ordained without the Consent of his Master. And if a Priest were exempted by divine Right, then it would not be in the power of the Church to make him accountable to his Prince by degrading him. But tho'

these Immunities of the Clergy are not founded upon the Law of God, yet Princes cannot deprive them of them.

His second Conclusion is, that 'tis impossible that the Church's power could have been established by any Man: That all Christians are subject to it: That the Form of it cannot be changed, and that it has not any temporal Jurisdiction annexed to it by divine Right. In proving this Conclusion, he examines how far the Ecclesiastical Authority extends; and says, that it cannot extend so far as to dissolve a Marriage that is once contracted tho' not consummated; or to dispense with any part of the Law of Nature, or so far as to deprive the inferior Prelates of their Dignity, without a just Reason. And he adds, that it does not extend to Infidels, or to Sins which are only in Thought; and that it extends not directly to the Souls in Purgatory, who cannot be delivered from their pains by Indulgences, but only by the Suffrages of the Intercessors. He says also, that it ought not to be restrained to Sins that are purely spiritual, and that it extends to all mortal Sins: As for instance, that by the Ecclesiastical Authority a Man may be ordered to restore the Sums he has robbed, or to pay his just Debts, or the like; and if he refuse to do it, he may be threatened with the Censures of the Church, and they may be at last executed against him. He examines whether it was in *Constantine's* power to make over the Western Empire to the Pope, and he concludes it was not.

His third Conclusion is, that the sovereign ecclesiastical power is more ancient, more perfect, and of larger extent in the Church, than in the Pope. That a general Council assembled without the Pope's Authority, may exercise all kinds of Acts of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over every Christian: He explains himself in his proofs of this Proposition, by saying, that at first Jesus Christ gave the Keys to the Church; and that if he had not appointed a sovereign Bishop, which he did not till after his Resurrection, the Church would have had the same power and the same Authority: That the Church is infallible, but the Pope is not: That a Man is not necessarily obliged to believe the Pope's Decisions, as he ought to do those that are given by the Church: That the Church cannot be deprived of its power, nor limited in it; but a Pope may be deprived of his power, or limited in the exercise of it. As to the calling of a Council, he says, that ordinarily it belongs to the Pope to do it, and to the College of Cardinals, whom he considers as the Pope's Curates; but if they refuse to call it, even when it is necessary that it should be done, the Church ought not upon that account to be abandoned: That every particular Church has power to remonstrate the necessity of calling a Council; and that upon this Remonstrance, the Prelates of all the particular Churches ought to meet together in some safe and convenient place, where they may hold a general Council, tho' the Pope should refuse to consent to it.

The next Question he treats of is, Whether the Censure of the Church may be inflicted upon the Pope? The Licentiate had maintained in his *Vespers*, that the Pope might be excommunicated, and yet might still continue to be Pope. *Almainus* says he will not contradict this Proposition, but he considers it as not altogether certain, and that there are several Divines who do not think it true. The Difficulties which he proposes against it are, first, that seeing all Christians are subjected to the Pope by divine Appointment, it seems that they are not in any case allowed to separate from his Communion. 2dly. That if the Pope were excommunicated by a Council without being deposed, he could not be absolved from the Sentence of Excommunication, after the Dissolution of the Council. 3. That if the Council could excommunicate the Pope, he might thereby come to fall under the Excommunication *Lata Sententie*, pronounced by the Council. As for instance, if he did not confess once a Year, which seems

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seems a great Inconvenience ; because in that case he could not exercise any Act of Jurisdiction. And lastly, that if the Pope were excommunicated, then Christians ought to pray for him, and he would be a Head separated from the Body, and by Consequence no Head of that Body. But notwithstanding all these Objections, which are produced by *Almainus*, the Respondent's Proposition may still be true ; nay, it follows consequentially too from *Almainus*'s own Principles.

His Treatise of the *Authority of the Church and Councils*, against *Thomas de Vio*, surnamed *Cajetan*, who was afterwards a Cardinal, is dedicated to *Tristanus de Salazar* Archbishop of *Sens*, who assisted in the Council of *Pisa* against which *Cajetan*'s Treatise was composed. In this Treatise *Almainus* repeats the same Principles, concerning the Origin and Extent of Ecclesiastical and Civil Power ; and after having laid down this for a Principle, and proved it, that Jesus Christ gave the Ecclesiastical Power immediately to his Church ; he concludes against *Cajetan*, that the Church or the general Council that represents the Church, are superior in Power to the Pope. He proves this Proposition, first, by the Testimony of *St. Augustin*, who speaking of Pope *Miltiades*'s Decree, says, that supposing he had not determined aright, recourse might have been had to a full Council of the Universal Church. 2. By the 21st. Canon of the eighth general Council, which allows, that the general Councils should examine the Decisions of Popes. 3. By the Testimony of Pope *Damasus*, who remitted the Judgment of *Bonofus* to the Council. 4. Because according to *St. Augustin*'s Opinion, *St. Peter* received the Keys only as he represented the Church. 5. Because it would be a strange thing if the Pope should make an ill use of his Authority, that there should be no Power that could hinder him from ruining the Church, and ruining himself. 6. Because the Pope being a Son of the Church, he ought to submit to it. 7. Because when there is a double Election, so that there are two who pretend a Right to the Papacy at the same time ; it is necessary there should be a Judge who has Power to determine which of the two has the just Title. This Judge must be the Superior, and cannot be any other than the Church. 8. Because *St. Jerome* and the Popes themselves, do acknowledge this Superiority in the Church and in the Council, as representing the Church, which indeed is founded upon the Light of Nature : So that the general Council, whether the Pope be assisting in it or not, as it represents the Catholick Church, is always superior to the Pope. It is objected against this Doctrine, 1st. That the Pope is Head of the Universal Church. 2. That it was only to *St. Peter* that Jesus Christ said, *Feed my Sheep* : And that thereby he constituted him Monarch of the Church, and sole and universal Pastor ; and that the Members of the Council are his Sheep. 3. That the Pope is Bishop of the whole Church, as every Bishop is of his own Diocess. 4. That the Pope has a Sovereign Power in the Church, and consequently there can be no Power above it, or equal to it. 5. That the Pope is the immediate Vicar of *Jesus Christ*, and not of the Apostles. And 6. that the general Councils receive their Authority from the Pope. *Almainus* answers these Objections : And as to the first, he says, that the Pope is not so much as ministerial Head of the whole Church, taken collectively ; and that he is only Head of the particular Churches, taken separately ; and that is only in this Sense, that he is universal Pastor : That though it should be granted that the Pope is Head of the Universal Church, yet it is not necessary that all the Properties of a natural Head should belong to the mystical Head of the Church, and that he should be above the whole Body of the Church : For the Church is not called the Body of *St. Peter*, but the Body of *Jesus Christ*. That these Words of *Jesus Christ* to *St. Peter*, *Feed my Sheep*, are not to be

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understood of the Body of the Church ; but only of the particular Members, which are the Sheep of *Jesus Christ*, which serves for an Answer to the second Objection. He answers to the third, that though it be granted, that a Bishop has more Power than all the Clergy of his Diocess, yet the same cannot be said of the Pope, with relation to the whole Church ; because a Bishop acts not only as Principal Governor of the Church within his own Diocess, but also in the Name of the Universal Church : And besides, that a Bishop has a superior to whom he is accountable for what he does ; whereas the Pope has no other Superior but the Church. To the fourth Objection he answers, that when it is said that the Pope has a Sovereign Power in the Church, it is to be understood with relation to particular parts of the Church, and not with relation to the whole Body of it. And that it does not follow from this, that there are two Sovereign Powers in the Church ; because it is the same Power that is lodged in the Person of the Pope, that is also lodged in the Church, though it extends farther, as it is in the Church, than as it is in the Pope. To the Fifth he answers, that the Quality of immediate Vicar of *Jesus Christ*, may be understood more ways than one ; that the Pope is the Vicar of *Jesus Christ*, only so far as he exercises that Power which is committed to him by *Jesus Christ*. To the sixth Objection he says, that the Passages of the Canon Law, that are made use of to prove that the Councils receive their Authority from the Pope, are taken out of the Pope's Epistles, who have stretched their Power too far : that it is true, the general Councils are ordinarily called by the Popes, but being once assembled, they have their Authority from Jesus Christ : That *St. Peter* received his Power only as he was a Minister of the Church : And that when it is said, that no body has Power to judge the Holy See, it is to be understood of particular Persons, but not of a general Council which represents the Church.

Almainus having proved in general the Superiority of the Church, and general Council above the Pope, he descends to the particular Acts, by which they exercise this Power ; and inquires, first, in whom the Power of Electing the Pope is lodg'd. *Cajetan* said it was lodged in the Pope himself. *Almainus* maintains the contrary, and says, that it is lodged in the Church, because it is only to the Church that *Jesus Christ* has committed it : And besides, that if it were lodged in the Pope, it might happen that a Pope making a wrong use of his Authority, might deprive the Cardinals of their Right to elect ; and then dying after such an Ordinance, the Church might not be in a condition to chuse a new Pope. And he adds, that it is not in the least probable that God would have entrusted one single Person with a matter so great Importance to his Church : That the Pope himself cannot name his own Successor, and that it is not from the Pope that the Cardinals have a right to fill the Holy See, when it becomes vacant, but from the Church, which has entrusted them with that Power. That if they should all die, or if they should refuse to elect a Pope, then it is in the Church's Power to chuse one, or to entrust such Persons as it thinks fit with the Power of chusing ; and that if the Cardinals should abuse their Authority, the Church might deprive them of it, and give it to others. The second Question which he treats of is, to whom the last Decision in matters of Faith belongs. *Cajetan* maintains, that it belong to the Pope, and that all his Decrees in matters of Faith are infallible. *Almainus* asserts the quite contrary, that the Pope may be deceived in judging ; and he proves this proposition, because there have been Popes who have contradicted one another in their Decrees ; as Pope *John XII.* and Pope *Nicholas III.* upon this Question, *Whether Jesus Christ and his Apostles had any thing in Property ?* Pope *Innocent III.* and Pope *Celestine*, in the Matter of Divorce, when either the

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Husband or the Wife are Hereticks : And Pope Pelagius and Gregory the Great, concerning the Marriage of the Sub-Deacons of Sicily. He adds, that if the Pope were infallible, then the calling of general Councils would be absolutely needless ; for which Reasons it cannot be said, that the Pope's Decisions are the supreme and infallible Rules of our Faith : Whereas a general Council being infallible in matters of faith, as *Almainus* proves it is ; it follows of necessity, that it is the supreme Court, from whence there is no Appeal : Yet he acknowledges a Council may err in Matters of Fact, which are not revealed. The third Question is, concerning the Pope's Person, *Whether it be in the Power of the Council to depose him, or not.* *Almainus* supposes, 1. That tho' the Pope become Heretick, yet he is not deposed, *ipso facto*. 2. That he ought to be deposed by the Council. *Cajetan* agrees to these two Propositions ; but he pretends, that the Power by which the Council does in this case depose the Pope, is not Authoritative, but only Ministerial ; and that it cannot be inferred from thence, that the Council has any Authority over the Papal Dignity, but only over the Person of that Man who is cloathed with it. *Almainus* shews, that this is a piece of Chicanery that cannot be maintained, and a pitiful Defence ; and that it still holds true, that a Council has Authority over the Pope, and that it has power to depose him, nay and to excommunicate him too before he be deposed. *Cajetan* maintained, that Heresy is the only ground for which the Pope can be deposed. *Almainus* says, that it may be done for every Crime that deserves that Punishment, and proves his Opinion by Testimonies of Scripture, and by the Inconveniencies that must necessarily follow, if a Pope could not be deposed, how wicked soever he might be, and what Crimes soever he might have committed ; nay, that it may happen that a general Council shall be under a necessity to turn out an innocent Pope, as has been done in case of Schism, for settling the Peace of the Church, and as the Church would be obliged to do, if it happened that a Pope were taken Prisoner by the Infidels, and that there were not any hopes of procuring his Liberty. In the first place, *Almainus* enquires how it is possible to call a general Council to judge the Pope, in case that should be necessary. He confesses, that ordinarily it belongs only to the Pope to call the Council ; but he supposes that one Council has also Authority to call another, and that it is probable that the College of Cardinals have a Right to hold a Council in case of necessity, and when the Pope

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will not call it : But in case it be not call'd either by a preceding Council, or by the Cardinals, then any particular Church which knows there is a necessity that a Council should be called, has power to represent that necessity to other Churches, and to appoint a Place for the meeting of the Council, and the other Churches are oblig'd to consent to it, and to send thither their Representatives, not by virtue of any Command they have received from that particular Church, but pursuant to the Obligations they lie under, by natural and divine Rights, which oblige them to promote the Preservation of the Body of the Universal Church : That if the greater part of the Churches shall send their Deputies to the appointed Place, then without all doubt the Council assembled after this manner is a lawful Council, and the Authority of the Catholick Church is lodged in it, even though some particular Church should resist it.

Almainus concludes this Treatise with the following Declaration. ' This is what by the Assistance of Jesus Christ, I have written at *Paris*, for the Authority of the Church, his Spouse, against some Propositions of the Friar *Thomas de Vio*, taken out of a Treatise, which as he tells us, he composed in the Year 1511. in the 43d. Year of his Age ; and I have written this in the Year of our Lord 1512. in the second Month after my taking the Degree of Doctor : I conceal mine Age, that I may not seem to affect Applause. If there be any Error in this Treatise, I do protest that I shall always submit my self to the Determination of the Catholick Church. ' This Conclusion is a Mark of the Author's profound Humility, and of his Love to Truth, as his Works are sufficient Proofs of his Knowledge and Learning. He writes in a clear Style, and in a distinct Method, he reasons closely, and lays down solid Principles, from which he draws his Conclusions, and makes them good by Scripture, and the Testimonies of Councils and Fathers, and by solid Reason ; and in a word, he discovers every where a great deal of sound Judgment. He who first published his Works, assures us, that his Subtlety was equal to his Learning, and that he was of so clear a Head, that he could penetrate into the most difficult Cases, and with an admirable Dexterity he could set them in a true Light, and make them plain and easie. Another tells us, that he never spent so much as one Hour of a whole Day, without either reading, writing, or teaching ; so that it is no wonder he has left so many learned Works, tho' he died but a young Doctor.

JACOBUS HOCHSTRATENUS, or HOGOSTRATUS.

Johannes Hochstratenus.

Jacobus Hochstratenus, or Hogostratus, was so called from the Name of a Village in *Brabant*, where he was born ; he studied Philosophy at *Louvain*, where he took his Degree of Master of Arts in 1485. He afterwards entred into the Order of *Dominicans*, and was Prior of a Monastery of *Cologne*, Doctor and Professor of Divinity, and Inquisitor of the Dioceses of *Cologne*, *Mentz*, and *Triers*. We have given an account in the Life of *Reuchlin*, how he came to join with the Enemies of that learned Man, by which he fell under the displeasure, or rather contempt of the most learned Men of that Age. He was obliged, as we have said already, to go to *Rome*, where he was unsuccessful in his Endeavours of getting *Reuchlin's* Book condemned.

His Writings against that Author are these ; *The Destruction of the Cabala, or of the Cabalistic Perfidiousness*, dedicated to Pope *Leo X.* printed at *Antwerp* in 1518. A Dialogue concerning *Reuchlin's*

Johannes Hochstratenus.

Case, and some Apologies against it ; the judicial Proceedings in the Case between him and *Reuchlin* at *Hanaw* in 1518. He was one of the first who wrote against *Luther*, and he composed these following Treatises against him : *Six Books of Colloquies with St. Augustine*, printed at *Antwerp* 1524. *A Dialogue concerning the Veneration and Invocation of Saints*, printed that same Year ; *Five Treatises of Christian Liberty and Purgatory*, printed in 1526. A Treatise concerning Faith and good Works, and a Pamphlet intituled, *Against the eight Blasphemies of the Lutherans*. He also wrote some other Books, namely, *The Pearl of moral Philosophy*, in 12 Books, printed in 1521. Two Pamphlets in defence of the Princes of Germany, who allowed no Burials to Malefactors, but suffered their dead Bodies to hang on Gibbets ; A Discourse against those who had recourse to Enchantments, and another against those Priests who kept Concubines. He was one of *Erasmus's* chief persecutors, who

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who himself calls him the principal Actor in the Tragedy that was raised against him at Louvain. There were some Differences between him and the Count de Nevenar, who declaimed against him in a Speech he made before the Emperor at the Diet of Franckfort in 1519. wherein he advises the Emperor to order these little Friars, who make such a bustle in the World, to meddle only with the Affairs of their Monasteries; and he assures him, that *Jacobus Hochstratenus* was the Pest of Germany, and an Enemy to all learned Men, whom he attacked in the wrong place: *Fraterculos quosdam magnis titulis insanientes jube suorum Cœnobiorum curam gerere. . . . Unisa crede mihi pestis est in Germania Jacobus Hochstratus, quam si restrinxeris ἵσται πάντα καλῶς, homo præter ingentem suam audaciam, insigniter impudens atque temerarius. Omnes interroga, si libet, per Germaniam doctos viros, omnes læsit, omnibus æquè infestus est.* By this we may see, how much this Count was incensed against *Hochstratenus*: But he was not satisfied with giving him hard Words, he made him also feel the Effects of his Resentment; and made use of a Stratagem, which was pleasant enough, to oblige *Hochstratenus* to give him satisfaction for the Calumnies which he alledged he had vented against him; that was by forbidding the *Dominicans* of that Monastery to come and beg Eggs and Cheese, in the Lands that belonged to him and his Relations. The Monks found this very inconvenient for them, and they obliged their Prior to

retract in Writing every thing he had said against that Count's Honour, and care was taken to publish it. *Erasmus* gives an account of this in two of his Letters. *Hochstratenus* died at Cologne, the one and twentieth of January 1527. very much hated, not only by the *Lutherans*, but by all Men of Learning. Somebody made this bitter Epitaph upon him,

*Hic jacet Hochstratus, viventem ferre patique
Quem potuere mali, non potuere boni.*

Albertus Miræus said, that the Poet would have spoke more truly, if he had said on the contrary:

*Hic jacet Hochstratus, viventem ferre patique
Quem potuere boni, non potuere mali.*

'Tis certain, he cannot be excused for the Methods he took against *Reuchlin*, nor for the Passion with which he carried on his Design, making himself both Judge and Party at the same time, and charging him with Falshoods and Calumnies. Those who are most favourable to him, as this *Albertus Miræus*, are forced to confess, that it is not without ground that he is blamed for writing in a barbarous Stile, and that thereby he gave occasion to the Author of the (*Epistolæ obscurorum Virorum*) to write that Satyr.

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Johannes Hochstratenus.

ERASMUS.

Erasmus. **E** *Rasmus's* Father's Name was Gerard. He was of the Town of Zevenbergen in Brabant, the Son of *Elias* and *Catherine*; they had ten Children, who were all married except Gerard, who had two Sons by *Margaret* the Daughter of a Physician of *Tergoes*, to whom he had made a Promise of Marriage: The eldest of these Sons was named *Peter*, and the younger Gerard. This last was from his Infancy called *Desiderius Erasmus*. And this Name it's said was given him, because the Name Gerard comes from the Dutch Word *Gieren*, which signifies to love, and it was turned into *Desiderius* from the Latin *Desidero*, and into *Erasmus* from the Greek Word ἑρως, which two Words signify in these Languages the same that the Dutch Word does. Gerard was resolved to have married *Magaret*, but his Father and Brothers would not suffer him to do it: And therefore he stole away out of that Country, and went to Rome, leaving *Margaret* big with Child of her second Son. She went to Rotterdam to lie in there, where *Erasmus* was born the 22d. of October, 1465, 1466, or 1467 (a). *Erasmus* himself gives no clear Account of the Year in his own Writings; and the publick Monuments that have been raised

to his Memory, and the Authors that write of him do not agree as to the Year of his Birth. His Father was at Rome, where he got his Bread by writing, when he was informed that *Margaret* his Spouse elect was dead. He had always entertained Hopes, that she should at last become his Wife: and was so sensibly touched with the News of her Death, that he gave over all Thoughts of Marriage, and entered into Priests Orders: Yet the News proved false, for when he returned into Flanders, he found her still alive with his two Sons, whom she was forced to provide for: Now tho' he was no more in a condition to marry, or to live with her, yet he always loved her; and so long as he lived, he took care of the Education of the two Children he had by her. As for himself, he was a Man of good Learning, and had a Talent for preaching, and employ'd himself that way all the rest of his Life.

Erasmus was put to School at four Years of Age, and committed to the Care of *Peter Winkel*; and when he had learned to read, he was made a Singing-Boy in the cathedral Church of Utrecht, where he learned Musick. At nine Years of Age his Mother carried him along with her to Deventer, and

Erasmus.

[(a) **W** As born the 27th. of October, 1465, 1466, or 1467. We are certain of the Day of his Birth, from what he himself tells us, Ep. 6. Lib. 23. p. 1215. where it is said, he was born the Eve of St. Simon and St. Jude, tho' Authors speak of the 28th. of October as his Birth-day; but as to the Year in which he was born, we are at a greater Loss, for he has given no clear account of it in his own Writings, and other Authors are not agreed about it. He says, Ep. 5. l. 23. p. 1208. dated 1. May 1524. that he was near 60 Years old; and in his Ep. to Capito of the 26. Feb. 1516. Lib. 1. Ep. 4. he makes himself fifty Years compleat. In another Epistle of the same Month, which is the 19th. Ep. of the 2. Lib. he says, that he was but in the 49th. Year of his Age, *annum ago non plusquam undequingagesimum.* And Lib. 30. Ep. 68. 9. Jan. 1535. writing to *Curtius* Professor of Rhetorick, he says, that he was 70 Years of Age, *Quod si cognovero, says he, Quod equidem non spero, te uel tantillum contra me publicare, experieris, ni fallor, Erasmus jam septuaginta annos natum, neque edentulum esse omnino, neque exunguem.* These Testimonies seem to prove, that he was born in 1464 or 1465. But according to the Accounts which we find in some other Epistles, we must reckon his Birth to have been later: For in an Epistle of the 17. April 1519. which is

Ep. 32. Lib. 5. He says, he was 52 Years old; and Ep. 29. lib. 10. where he writes to *Ambrosius Leo*, the Physician, dated 15. October 1518. that he was 53 Years, which brings the time of his Birth to the Year 1466. In an Ep. to *Eckius* of the 15th. of May 1518. which is Ep. 26. lib. 5. He says, that he was 50 years old the 28th. of October 1517. and in another Ep. to *Rhenanus*, ibid. Ep. 25. he says, *Excessi annum quinquagesimum*, by which Account he was born Anno 1467. In the Inscription upon *Erasmus's* Statue at Rotterdam, it is said, that he was born 28 Octob. 1467. But in his Epitaph which is at Basil, it is said he died the 12th. July 1536. in the 70th. year of his Age; if he was 69 Years compleat, the 28th. of October in 1535, and was in the 70th. year of his Age when he died, then he was born 1466. but if he was 70 years compleat when he died, the year of his Birth was 1465. *Paul Vossius*, and the Author of the Abridgment of his Life, say also, that he lived 70 years, and died Anno 1536. *David Chytraeus* places his Birth in 1466. *Cardan*, *Swertius*, and *Valerius Andreas* in 1467. *Possevinus*, and *Theophilus Raimaudus*, in 1469. All Authors agree, that he was born at Rotterdam, except *Reynerus Snoius* a Physician of Tergoes, who asserts that he was born at Tergoes, perhaps because he was begot there, when his Father lived in that Town.]

put him into a College of Regent Schoolmasters, who tho' they were Seculars, yet they wore all the same Habit. In this College there was nothing read but sorry Authors, such as one *Johannes de Guarlandia*, *Brachylogos*, *Florista*, &c. yet there was one *Zynthius*, a Regent of the third Class, who had a much better Genius for Letters than the rest; and *Erasmus* made a considerable progress in his Studies under him. *Hegius*, who was Principal of the College, was also a Man of good Parts, and took care of *Erasmus* as to his Studies, because he conceived great Hopes of him. *Rodolphus Agricola* coming one day to pay a Visit to his Friend *Hegius*, and having read over his Scholars Compositions, found that that which had been made by *Erasmus* was better than any of the rest, and desired to see the young Scholar that made it, who was then but about 12 Years of Age: *Erasmus* was brought before him, and *Agricola* looking on him very stedfastly, said, that he would one day make a great Man. He lost his Mother when he was 13 Years of Age, she died at *Deventer*: And next Year he returned to *Tergoes*, where he did not stay long, but his Father died also, and left for Guardians to his two Sons, *Peter Winkel* and his Brother, and a third who died soon after.

These two Guardians finding that they could not make any great Advantage to themselves, by having the Management of so small a Fortune, thought it would be most for their Interest, if they could persuade their two Pupils to become Monks; and for this end they sent them to *Boisleduc*, and put them to School under those Masters who are called Friars of Community, *Fratres Collationarii*; the chief design of whose Rules was, to form their Scholars for a monastick Life: And when they found a Scholar that was of too high a Spirit, and had too much Life for a Convent, they took more care, if we may believe *Erasmus*, to check and discourage him by threatnings and chastisements, than to instruct him in true Learning. *Erasmus* lost two Years in that place, and being one day severely chastised without any cause, he laid it so much to heart, that he fell sick upon it. After that he and his Brother were sent to their Guardians at *Tergoes*, that they might escape the Pestilence which was then at *Boisleduc*. *Peter Winkel* continued to importune them to turn Monks. He was the more earnest in this, because his own Interest was concerned in it; for he thought that thereby he should easily discharge himself of the Accounts of his Guardianship: He proposed to them, to enter into a Monastery of Canons Regulars of St. *Augustine*, called *Sion*, which was near *Delft*; but *Erasmus* refused to do it, both for himself and for his Brother. *Winkel's* Brother continuing his Importunities, *Peter* condescended to it: But *Erasmus* stood out longer, yet at last overcome by the Importunities of his Guardians, he entered into a House of the Canons Regulars of *Stein*, near *Tergoes*. *Cantelius*, who had been his Friend and his Companion in his Studies, persuaded him to go thither, and in that House he put on the Habit at 17 or 18 Years of Age, and entered into the Order when he was between 19 and 20, in the Year 1486. These two Brothers had no Inclinations for such a State of Life, and therefore it is no Wonder if they did not persevere in it. They both left the Monastery; but *Peter* fell into a lewd and vicious Course of Life, whereas *Erasmus* applied himself closely to his Studies, and lived always very regularly.

He stay'd some Years in the Monastery of *Stein*, and there he began his Works, by writing a little Treatise of the Contempt of the World: He was ordained Priest by the Bishop of *Utrecht* upon S. *Mark's* Day, 1492. Sometime after *Henry de Bergen* Bishop of *Cambray*, invited him to come and stay with him; he was to go to *Rome*, and resolved to take *Erasmus* along with him. *Erasmus* was overjoyed to meet with an opportunity of going thither, and accepted of his Proposal, and went out of the Monastery by consent of his Bishop and his Superiors;

yet without quitting his Habit of a Canon-Regular. The intended Journey to *Rome* did not hold, and he thought that he could not employ his time better, than by going to *Paris*, that he might accomplish himself in his Studies: While he was there, he stayed in *Montague* College, where he fell sick by the Unwholsomeness of the Victuals; so that he was forced to return to *Henry de Bergen*; but in a short time he went back to prosecute his Studies in Divinity at *Paris*. He made no great account of the School-Divinity in the manner it was then taught; and applied himself to more solid kinds of Learning. He preached sometimes. *Paris* was the Place of his ordinary Residence, from the year 1496, to the year 1499, tho' he made some Journeys into *Flanders*, and one into *England*, in the year 1497, where there were many who entered into Friendship with him. In the year 1499, he retired to *Orleans*, because of the Pestilence, and there he studied the Law, and cooled himself with studying *Accursius Bartholus* and *Balbus*. The same year he made a second Journey into *England*, from whence he returned to *Paris*; he always had a great Desire to go into *Italy*, and at last prosecuted his Design in the year 1506. He stayed almost a year at *Bononia*, and there he took his Degree of Doctor of Divinity: And there also he was by mistake thought to be the Surgeon of those who were infected with the Plague, because of the white *Scapulary* which he wore as a Canon Regular; by which his Life was in Hazard: For those who met him threw Stones at him, and some of them pursued him with Sword in Hand, being incensed against him, because he had not advertized them to go out of the way. He took occasion from this to write a Letter to *Lambertus Grunnius*, Secretary to Pope *Julius II.* in which under the Name of *Florentius*, he gave him an account how he had been forced by his Guardians to enter into a monastick Life, how he had come out of the Monastery by the Leave of his Bishop and his Superiors, and of the great Danger he had been in because of the white *Scapulary* which he wore. And he intreated him to intercede with the Pope, to dispense with those Vows, into which he had been prevailed upon by such unjustifiable Methods, to engage himself; as also with his wearing the Habit of a Canon Regular. This Letter is written in an agreeable and pathetick Style, and *Grunnius* having read it to the Pope, he ordered immediately that a Breve should be expedited for granting the Dispensation which he desired. From *Bononia* he went to *Venice*, where for some time he was Corrector of the Press, in the famous Printing-house of *Aldus Manucius*: From thence he was called to *Padua* by Prince *Alexander*, the natural Son of *James IV.* King of *Scotland*, then nominated Archbishop of St. *Andrews*. He attended him to *Ferrara*, but this Prince being to stay for some time at *Sienna*, *Erasmus* went forward to *Rome*, whither his great Reputation was gone before him. He met with a very favourable Reception from the Pope and Cardinals, and especially from Cardinal *de Medicis*, who was afterwards Pope *Leo X.* They offered to make him Penitentiary, but that was an Office which he would not accept of. After he had stayed some time in that City, he returned to *Sienna* to attend the Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, with whom he went back to *Rome*, where he might have had a Settlement, if his Friends in *England* had not persuaded him to return into that Kingdom, by the great Advantages which they put him in hopes of, from *Henry VIII.* who had a singular Esteem for him. When he came into *England* in 1509, he was much disappointed of the great Advantages with which they had flattered him: He retired into Sir *Thom. More's* House, and there he composed his Book in Praise of Folly. *William Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, offered him a Living in his Diocess, but he would not accept of it, because he would not confine himself to the Service of a Cure. He made a Journey to *Paris* in 1510. and returned once more into

into England, and publickly taught the Greek Tongue in the University of Oxford (b). But at last, finding that conveniently he could not have any Settlement in that Kingdom, he left it and came and lived at Basil, for the convenience of Frobenius's Printing-house; but he went often from thence into the Netherlands, and made also many Voyages into England. One would think, that he could not have prosecuted his Studies, when he travelled so often from one Country to another, which he continued to do almost all his Life-time: But notwithstanding all those Journeys, he enriched the publick with a vast number of learned Works which he composed himself; and besides, he published an incredible number of other Authors; for he was of so capacious a Soul, that nothing was too hard for him, and of so great Application, that he could go through much Business in a short time. Leo X. being raised to the Papal Dignity, Erasmus, who had known him while he was Cardinal, congratulated him upon his Advancement, and intreated him that he would permit him to dedicate his Greek and Latin Edition of the New Testament to his Holiness. The Pope was pleased he should do it: And Erasmus sent him a Copy of it, with a Letter informing him, that it was not his design by that Edition, to contradict the vulgar Latin, but only to correct the Faults that had crept into it; in the mean time it was not well received at Louvain, or in England, because he had made some Alterations in the vulgar Latin. He defended himself by saying, that the vulgar Latin had not been made by the Authority of a general Council: That the Fathers had made use of Copies that differ'd from one another, and that often when they cited the same Text, those Citations did not agree exactly with one another: That Pratenfis had published a new Version of the Psalms, as Faber Stapulensis had done one of St. Paul's Epistles, and they had never been challenged for it: That his Edition of the New Testament had been approved of by the Bishop of Basil, according to the Statutes of the Lateran Council, by two Professors of Divinity, and many other Divines; and that the Pope had commended it and approved of it, tho' there were many Divines, who used their utmost Endeavours to disparage it: Edward Lee (c), an Englishman boasted, that he had discovered three hundred Errors in it. Erasmus desired a Conference with him, and promised to alter every thing that was contrary either to Faith or good Manners; but Lee declined to enter into a Conference with him, and published his Observations afterwards, which were refuted by Erasmus.

Jacobus Latomus, one of the Divines of Louvain and Lopez Stunica made also some Attempts against it. Atensis and Dorpius made some Observations upon it; but Erasmus explained his meaning in those Passages which they had taken notice of, and Atensis was fully satisfied with his Explanations. However the Preachers, and many Divines continued incessantly to declaim against Erasmus's Version of the New Testament, and his Notes upon it; and those who were secretly his Enemies, did not cease upon all Occasions to disparage it. But notwithstanding all these Oppositions, Erasmus obtained from Pope Leo X. a new Approbation for a second Edition of this Work, in which he compares the Text with nine Manuscripts. He published a third Edition of it An. 1521. in which he revises the Text by the Venetian Edition, and the Version by three other Manuscripts. Many other Editions of this Version have been published since that time, and it has never been looked upon as a prohibited Book, as we have shown more fully in another place.

It was a long time before Erasmus met with any Encouragement suitable to the great pains he was

at for the Advancement of Learning: At last Charles Arch-Duke of Austria, Sovereign of the Low-Countries, who was afterwards Emperor, made him one of his Councillors of State, and gave him a Pension of two Hundred Florins a Year; which was always paid him till the Year 1525. The French King Francis I. invited him earnestly two several times to come and settle in his Kingdom, and offered him much more considerable Advantages both in Benefices and Pensions; but he would not accept of them without the Consent of his Natural Prince, which could not be easily obtained; and he excuses himself because he was a Counsellor of State to Charles of Austria, which engaged him entirely in the Services of that Prince. He was empow'd to order every thing as he thought fit that belonged to the College of the three Languages, which had been founded at Louvain by Francis Bussidius, Archbishop of Besançon, who died at Toledo the 23d. of July 1502. Erasmus named one Adrianus a Physician, and a Jew by Birth, to be Professor of Hebrew, and Agathias for the Greek, and Gerardus Gochenius (d) for the Latin.

When Luther began first to appear, he used his best endeavours as we have observed, to engage Erasmus in his Party; but Erasmus could not be prevailed upon to declare for him, tho' he did not approve of the fiery Zeal of his Adversaries: He found fault also with Luther's too great Heat and Passion, and advised him to behave himself with more Moderation, telling him, that he ought to speak only against those who made a wrong use of the Episcopal Power, and not against the Bishops themselves; that he ought not to treat the Publick Schools with so much contempt, but rather put them into better Order; that it would be a much better way for him to give solid Reasons for reforming some common Customs, than confidently to affirm that they ought to be abolished: That there were some Persons, whose Disputes ought rather to be despised than refuted, and that above all things, he ought to take Care, that he did nothing through a Spirit of Presumption or Faction, and that he would not suffer himself to be transported with Anger, or a Desire of Vain-glory. Erasmus was called together with Eckius and Cochleus, to attend the Diet of Worms, that they might there dispute against Luther: But he would not appear there, and returned from Cologne to Louvain, under pretence of the Plague.

It was much about this time, between the Years 1519. and 1523. that he wrote his Paraphrase upon the New Testament. This Work was elaborately done, and met with a better Reception than his Version or his Notes had done, and was approved by almost all the Divines, except Natalis Bedda, and some others of his Faction; though all this while, he was often travelling from Basil to the Netherlands, and from the Netherlands back to Basil, yet these frequent and long Journeys did not hinder him from publishing a great many Books; this was almost the only Business he applied himself to, all the remaining part of his Life: For he shunned those Meetings to which he was invited to treat about Matters of religion, because he did not believe that they would allow him to speak his Thoughts with that Freedom he desired to do; and besides he did not think that the Differences in Religion could be adjusted by those sort of Conferences; yet he himself proposed one upon these Conditions, that the King of France and the Emperor should unite together for the Establishment of Truth; that out of all the Christian Nations there should be chosen a Hundred and Fifty Pious, Learned and Judicious Men; and that their Opinions should be summ'd up by a

[(b) One would think that Du Pin here mistook Oxford for Cambridge: Erasmus more than once, in his Letters, mentions his reading Greek Lectures at Cambridge, where his Chamber is yet shewn at Queen's-College; but I do not find any mention of his reading at Oxford. He was there indeed for some time,

and might possibly read Greek privately to some Friends, but as for his reading publickly in Oxford, as he certainly did at Cambridge, I can see no sufficient Authority.]

[(c) Afterwards Archbishop of York.]

[(d) It should, I suppose, be Conradus.]

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Erasmus.

lesser, Number of Deputies; that many useleſs Questions, which the Divines diſputed in the Schools, ſhould be laid aſide; that ſome Eccleſiaſtical Laws ſhould be abrogated, and others ſhould be changed into mere Councils; that the Churches ſhould be provided with Paſtors fit for inſtructing, exhorting and comforting the People: That the Diſcipline of the Church ſhould be obſerved, and that Religion ſhould be made to flouriſh in its Purity. He began to write a Dialogue concerning the Differences in Religion, in which he introduced three Perſons diſcourſing together, *Phisimacus*, who pleaded for *Luther*; *Eubulus*, who maintained the contrary Opinions; and *Philaletus*, who was as a Judge between them. He deſigned to have divided it into three Parts, and in the firſt, to have examined whether they could ever hope to adjust the Differences in Religion by ſuch a Conference. In the ſecond, he deſigned to have diſcuſſed the Doctrines of *Luther*; and in the third, to have propoſed the beſt Expedients for putting an end to thoſe Debates. This Work was never compleated; but *Erasmus* was conſulted upon the ſame Subject by Pope *Adrian VI.* and Pope *Clement VII.* and was invited to *Rome*, and they offered ſo to order his Journey, that his travelling ſhould not irritate the pains of his Gravel, with which he was often tormented. He proteſted in his Letter to Pope *Clement VII.* that neither the Sollicitations of Princes, nor the Careſſes of his Friends, nor the Hatred of the Monks and of ſome Divines, could ever engage him to do any thing for *Luther* againſt the Interests of the *Roman* Church; he declares to him, that he has always ſubmitted both his Perſon and his Writings to the Judgment of the Church of *Rome*, and that he would chuſe to undergo the greateſt Calamities, rather than to be thought a ſeditious Perſon. At laſt being ſollicited on all hands, by the Pope, by the Emperor, by the King of *England*, by the Cardinals, by Prince *George of Saxony*, and by his own Friends to write againſt *Luther*; he took his Book *de Seruo Arbitrio* to taſk, which Book *Luther* answered, which engaged him in ſuch a Controverſy, that he was forced to write ſeveral Books againſt him. There was a Pamphlet publiſhed, in which it was aſſerted, that *Erasmus* and *Luther* were of the ſame Opinion concerning the Eucharift. He would not endure ſuch a Slander as this was, and therefore he declared openly, in an Addreſs which he made to the Aſſembly at *Baden*, that his Opinions were quite different from *Luther's*. There were alſo ſome Differences upon the Account of Religion betwixt him and *Ulricus Huttenus*, a *Lutheran* who had once been his Friend; and they wrote ſo bitterly againſt one another, that it came at laſt to a formal Suit in Law, which was proſecuted by one *Ephendorff* and at laſt *Rhenanus* and *Amerbachius* were Arbitrators in it, and they amerced *Erasmus* in twenty Florins to be given to the Poor; *Erasmus* rejected the Opinions of the *Sacramentarians* concerning the Eucharift; as well as thoſe of the *Lutherans*. He undertook a Treatiſe againſt *Caroloſtadius*, but he was afraid to publiſh it, leaſt by that means he might have raiſed a Tumult in the Town of *Baſil*, where *Caroloſtadius's* Doctrine was favoured both by the People and the Senate. In the Year 1526. he vigorously oppoſed the Reception of *Zuinglianifm* into that Town: But the Innovators in 1529. obtained all their Deſires, ſo that their Religion was eſtabliſhed and the Maſs aboliſhed. He quitted *Baſil* entirely in the Month of *April*, and retired to *Fribourgh* in the Country of *Brifgaw*.

Before he went from *Baſil*, a great Clamour was raiſed againſt him by the Faculty of Divinity at *Paris*: *Natalis Bedda* a Doctor of Divinity, who was at that time Syndic of the Faculty, collected ſeveral Propoſitions out of *Erasmus's* Paraphraſe upon the New Teſtament, which he thought deſerved to be cenſured, and he communicated ſome of them to *Erasmus*, before he made them publick: *Erasmus*

wrote him an Answer, but before *Bedda* had received it, he preſented theſe Propoſitions to the Parliament of *Paris*, in 1523. together with a ſevere Cenſure of every Propoſition. And ſome time after (in *April* 1524.) he drew up a general Cenſure of *Erasmus's* Doctrine, in which he affirmed, that in many Heads it was erroneous, contrary to good Manners, and Schiſmatical: That it derogated from the State of Religion, that it diſparaged the Monack Life, and that all Perſons, but eſpecially the Monks, ought to be forbidden to read his Works. And for Proof of this, he referred to the Propoſitions which he had collected out of his Books. He perſwaded *William du Chêne*, a Doctor of the ſame Faculty, to ſign this general Cenſure; and he diſpers'd many Copies of both theſe Cenſures. *Erasmus* having received them, he wrote an *Apology* which he addreſſed to the Faculty of Divinity at *Paris*, with a Reſutation of *Bedda's* Cenſures: At the ſame time *Peter Sutor* a *Carthufian* Monk, who had formerly been a Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, wrote a Pamphlet full of Paſſion, againſt the New Translators of the Holy Scriptures; in which he inveighed bitterly againſt *Erasmus's* Translation. *Erasmus* defended himſelf againſt this Author, and continued to refute *Bedda's* Cenſures, and to expoſe his Faults and Diſingenuity. *Bedda* publiſhed his Book, and at Court it was found to be ſo full of Paſſion, that the King ordered it to be ſuppreſſed: Yet *Bedda* continued to put off the Copies of it, for which he was arreſted when he went to Court, and was not ſet at Liberty, but upon condition that he ſhould appear whenever he ſhould be cited. Notwithſtanding all this *Bedda* was not diſcouraged; but having prevailed with ſome Doctors, to draw up a great many Propoſitions taken out of *Erasmus's* Works, he laid them before the whole Faculty of Divinity at *Paris*, that they might condemn them; and he cauſed *Erasmus's* *Colloquies*, and the Propoſitions which were collected out of them to be condemned, the 26. *May* 1526. and they Proceeded afterwards, to examine the Propoſitions that had been collected out of the reſt of his Works, and which were ranked under ſeveral Titles, which at laſt were condemned 17 *December* 1527. *Erasmus* having notice, that the Faculty of Divinity were examining ſome Propoſitions that were collected out of his Books, and that they had already condemned ſome of them; he wrote a Letter to the Parliament of *Paris*, dated 14 of *November*, in which he complained of *Bedda's* deſign, and intreated, that that Court would interpoſe its Authority for putting a ſtop to the Proceedings of the Divines; not that he was afraid (as he ſaid) of the Judgment of the Faculty, for which he had a great Honour, or that he was not fully perſwaded of the Truth of his own Doctrine, but becauſe *Bedda* had ſufficiently diſcovered his Paſſion and Prejudice in that Matter, and that he had a conſiderable Party in the Faculty: Inſomuch, that the other Doctors who were not of his Opinion, were obliged to hold their Peace, leaſt by ſpeaking their thoughts freely, they ſhould become odious, or their Lives ſhould be uneaſy. That when any of them offered to ſpeak in his Defence, he was immediately run down by others, who exclaimed againſt him as worſe than a *Lutheran*: That there were ſome Doctors belonging to the Faculty, who had little or no Skill in Grammatical Learning, and therefore could not underſtand his Writings; and that in order to have thoſe Books condemned, they proceeded in ſuch a Manner, that thoſe of them who were of the greateſt Integrity and Learning, might be impoſed upon; for nothing was preſented to the Faculty but Sentences and Propoſitions, which as to the full Import and genuine Senſe of them, were lame and imperfect, being ſeparated from what went before, and from what followed after, and thereby might be taken in an ill Senſe; whereas, if they were read with what went before and after, they would be found to be ſound and Orthodox.

It

An History of the Lives, and an Abridgement of the Works of the Authors of the former Part of the sixteenth Century.

Erasmus.

Gulielmus Quercetanus.

An History of the Lives, and Abridgement of the Works of the Authors of the former part of the sixteenth Century. Erasmus.

It is not known how this Letter was received by the Parliament, nor what effect it had; but it is certain, that the Decree against *Erasmus* was not published of a long time after, and it was not printed at *Paris* till the Year 1531. *Erasmus* having got a Copy of it, caused it to be Re-printed 1532. with Explanations and Declarations, upon every Proposition that had been condemned, and addressed it to the Faculty it self with a Preface, in which he expressed a great Respect and Honour for that learned Body.

Erasmus met with a very kind Reception at *Fribourg*, and the Magistrates were ordered by the King of *Hungary*, to provide him a Lodging; and they lodged him in an Apartment of the King's Palace, which he did not find so convenient for him as he desired; and therefore he first hired, and afterwards bought a House for himself: While he staid in this Place, he wrote several books of Devotion, and *Paul III.* being advanced to the Papacy in *October* 1534. *Erasmus* congratulated him upon his Accession to that high Dignity, as he had some other Popes, and he exhorted him to maintain the Faith, and to procure the Peace of the Church. This Pope answered him with a very kind and obliging Letter, and told him he had received his Letter with great Satisfaction, that he had always had a great Affection for his Person, and an Esteem for his Doctrine, and he earnestly intreated him that he would employ all his Learning and Eloquence in defence of the Catholick Faith, and in Opposition to the new Errors, as well before the Council as in it. His Holiness being resolved to promote some Learned Men to the Dignity of Cardinals, *Erasmus* was spoken of as one: And there being nothing that could hinder his Promotion, unless it was his Poverty, the Pope gave him the Deanry of *Deventer* in 1535. and desired the Queen of *Hungary* Governess of the *Netherlands*, to put him in possession of it; but *Erasmus* would not accept of it. *Bembus*, *Sadolet*, and his other Friends at *Rome*, complimented him upon the Pope's design to promote him, and he could hardly have missed of a Cardinal's Hat, if he himself had been inclined to it, but his Age, the Infirmities of his Body, and his Aversion to greatness, made him decline it. His greatest desire was to end his Days in Peace and Quiet: Being weary of *Fribourg*, he returned to *Basil*, where they did him the Honour to make him Rector of their University. He there revised all his Works, and prepared them to be printed in a Collection after his Death: At last his Infirmities encreasing, and his natural strength decaying, he was taken ill of a Dysentery, which continued near a Month, and put an end to his Life the 12. *July* 1536. He was buried in the Cathedral of *Basil*, near the Steps of the Quire. By his will he left some legacies to his Friends, and for the rest of his Estate, he intrusted it with *Amerbachius*, to be bestowed for the Relief of old Men that were poor or sick, or for marrying poor Girls, or for the Education of poor Boys, and he named *Johannes Frobenius* and *Nicholaus Episcopus* to be Assistants to *Amerbachius* in executing his Will.

Erasmus was of a low Stature, his Eyes were Blue, his Hair when young of a Flaxen Colour, his Face, Meen and Carriage, grave and genteel, and his Complexion delicate: In his old Age he was much tormented with the Gout and Gravel. He had a prodigious Memory, a wonderful easiness of Expression, and his Stile in Writing was pure and elegant; and tho' it was singular and peculiar to himself, yet it was nothing short of that of the best Authors, tho' he never affected to use no Word or Expression but what was *Ciceronian*, as some Learned Men of that Age did. He was beyond all Controversy the finest Wit, and the learnedest Man of his Age: It is to him we chiefly owe the Re-establishment of the *Belles Lettres*, the Edi-

tions of the Fathers, Critical Learning, and a Taste for Antiquity. He was one of the first that treated of Matters of Divinity in a noble way, disengaged from the Sophistry and Chicanery of the Schools; his Books of Piety are written in a much more elegant Stile than the Books of other Mystical Divines. He takes a great Liberty in reproving the Vices of the Age he lived in, and especially those of the Clergy, their superstitions, the Aversion they had to solid Learning, the Ignorance and Barbarity that reigned in the Schools. He could not forbear to speak sometimes too freely against the Monks, and the School-Divines; and against some Superstitions; but he himself repented, that in his younger Years he had taken so great a Liberty, and said, that he would never have done it, had he foreseen the Storm that was raised by *Luther*. He was one of the greatest Enemies that the *Lutherans* and *Sacramentarians* had: He protested many times that he was at perpetual War with them, and would never in the least favour either their Party or their Doctrine; and declared, that nothing could separate him from the Communion of the Church of *Rome*; that he would never teach erroneous Doctrines, nor be the Author of a Tumult, *Nunquam ero Magister Erroris, neque Dux Tumultus*. He was commended and admired by Popes, by Princes, and by all the Learned men of that Age; yet he had many Enemies among the School-Divines, and the Monks, and those who were but half-learned, who charged him with Heresy, Error and Impiety. The Freedom with which he reproved them, the Prejudices they were possessed with against every thing that appeared new, their Aversion to the Study of the *Belles Lettres*, their Bigotry in adhering to some common Opinions and Customs were the Causes of all that trouble, which he suffered from them. As to his Temper and Conversation, he was subject to hasty Fits of Passion, but they were soon over, as he himself tells us, *Irasci celer, sed ut placabilis essem*. Never Man was less ambitious than he, he was so far from seeking after Honours, that he would not accept of the highest Dignities when they were designed for him. He had all his Lifetime an extreme Passion for Study, which he preferred to all other Business; he was a great Enemy to Luxury, sober, free in his thoughts, sincere, averse to Flattery, constant to his Friends, and easily reconciled to those who had offended him, no ways envious of the Reputation of others, and unwilling to offend any Man: Yet he was sensibly touched with Defamations, Libels and unjust Reproaches, and was uneasy when he was reproved, much given to Raillery, and treated his Adversaries magisterially, refuting them smartly, and sometimes with too much tartness. In his Youth he was very much afraid of Death, but in his Old Age he overcame those Fears, and prepared himself for it in a very Christian manner.

All the Works of *Erasmus* were collected and printed at *Basil* by *Frobenius*, 1540. in nine Tomes in Folio (e). The first two, and the fourth, contain only what he wrote of Grammar, Rhetorick and Philosophy, and do not concern Ecclesiastical Matters, unless it be some of his Colloquies, and some passages of his Book in Praise of Folly; the third Tome contains his Epistles, many of which relate to the Affairs of the Church; the fifth, his Books of Piety; the sixth, his Version of the New Testament; with his Notes; the seventh, his Paraphrase on the whole New Testament; the eighth, his Translation of the *Greek Fathers*; and the last, his Apologies, which make one of the largest Volumes. My design will not allow me to give an Account of any of *Erasmus's* Works, but of those which concern Religion and the Church; I shall begin with his Volume of Epistles, which has been since printed in *England* in 1642. with three Books of Additions.

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 Tho' *Erasmus* had no great Opinion of these Epistles, as he tells us in his Preface to the Collection which he made of them, and tho' he had some good Reasons to suppress them, yet he could not withstand *Frobenius's* Importunities, whom the learned Men of all Countries had solicited to publish them; he divided them into 28 Books, without observing any Order either of Dates or Subjects. Some of them had been published before in 1520 (f).

The first Epistle of the first Book written to *Rhenanus*, contains the Reasons why he would have suppressed all his Epistles, and how he had been constrained to give way to the publishing of them, because if he had not done it, they would have been published without his consent or knowledge. The particular Reasons he gives are these, that he was afraid there were some things in those Epistles, which might wrong his Reputation, and might give offence to others; that when he wrote them he had no Thoughts of publishing them; that his only design was to amuse and divert himself that way with his Friends; that from the time that *Luther* began his Tragedy no Man was safe, whether he spoke or held his peace, and that the most innocent things were taken amiss: That he had studied the Art of composing long Discourses, more than he had done that of writing Letters, which ought to be short and concise; that tho' he had had some Successes in this kind of writing, yet it was dangerous to adventure upon it: For in writing Epistles, a Man ought to represent to the Life, the Manners, Fortunes, Passions and Inclinations of Men; and it was to be feared, that if he spoke his Thoughts freely, he might by so doing offend others: That it is often seen, that those who have been our Friends become our greatest Enemies, so that a Man may have reason to wish, that he had censured those whom he has highly commended, and that he had said nothing of others whom he has offended; that in fine, an Author who publishes Epistles, exposes his Reputation to the capricious Humour of every Reader, who often judges of a Man's Parts by the reading of one single Epistle, which perhaps he wrote when he was weary, or sick, or some way diverted, or in which he condescended to the Capacity of the person to whom it was written; that for himself, he had more reason than any other Man, to be afraid to publish his Epistles, because Fortune had never been very favourable to him, and his way of living had not always been the same, nor altogether free from Faults: That a Man often intrusts the Friend he writes to, with Secrets that ought not to be published, and which some people may take amiss.

In his second Letter, which is written to *Barbinius*, he complains of the Methods that some Divines of *Louvain* had taken, with relation to him. He at first assures his Friend, that there was nothing he had desired more, than to live in good terms with those Divines, but that there were some of them, with whose Humours and Behaviour he could hardly be reconciled. That he could have easily agreed with *Johannes Atensis*, if he could but have pacified a *Carmelite* and a *Dominican* Friar, who as soon as his Version of the New Testament was published, had declaimed bitterly against it: But that after his Removal from that place, he had willingly forgotten all that ever they had done against him, and had been reconciled to the Divines of that University; that he had sent him a Copy of his New Testament, carefully revised and corrected, and had intreated them to give him notice of the Faults or Errors they could find in it, that *Johannes Atensis* had confessed to him, that after having read the first Edition of it, he found nothing in it that deserved to be censured; that yet this second Edition had no sooner appeared, but *Latomus* and *Dorpius* wrote and declaimed against him, and the same *Johannes*

Atensis had reviled him publicly; that afterwards they had charged him with having a hand in *Luther's* Books, and they published to the World that his own Books were filled with a vast number of Errors; that after the Matter had been thoroughly examined, the Report which they had industriously spread, that he was the Author of some of *Luther's* Books, was found to be false: And that they had not been able to discover one single Error in his own Works: that once more they came to be in good Terms with him; but that soon after they broke with him again, and created him new Troubles; upon suspicion, that he was the Author of a Collection of some Epistles in which there were some Verses against a *Carmelite*. That it was to no purpose for him to protest, that he had no Correspondence with *Luther*, since the *Carmelites* and the *Dominicans* had been at so much pains to accuse him as a Favourer of his Opinions, tho' no Man was more averse to them than he. That as soon as he had read some Pages of *Luther's* Writings, he became suspicious, that what he found there might occasion a Rupture, and that he was so great an Enemy to Schism, that he could not approve of propagating some things that were true in themselves, if the doing of that was like to prove the occasion of Sedition and Tumult. That he had been the first Man that had advised *Luther* to act with more Moderation, and that he had used his utmost Endeavours to persuade him and his Party to continue as they had begun. That on the other hand, those of that Persuasion had used all imaginable Arguments and the most earnest Solicitations, to bring him over to *Luther's* side: That he knew, that he was hated by *Luther's* greatest Adversaries, and that by keeping at so great a distance from that Party, he was like to lose the best Friends he had in *Germany*; but that no considerations had been able to shake him, and that he would rather be torn in pieces than be engaged in fomenting Discords, especially in the Concerns of Religion. He adds, that perhaps it would not be amiss to alter some things that were received in the Church, 'but that such a thing ought to be done in a calm and peaceable manner, that if the Men of Learning had given their Advice to the superior Powers, of the Abuses that ought to be reformed, he would have cheerfully concurred with them in it: He commends *Cajetan* for his Moderation in abstaining from Reproaches and Invectives, and he wishes that more Books were written after that manner against *Luther*, that he had all along effectually reprov'd the seditious Clamours of his Adversaries. That as to what was reported, that *Luther* had taken many things out of his Writings, he says, that it was not in his power to hinder him from making a wrong use of what he had written. That he had written those things at a time when they might have been useful for the Reformation of Manners; and that perhaps he would have spoken with more Circumspection, if he could have foreseen the tragical Times that had afterwards appeared; that the common Places on which he had declaimed, were levelled against those who neglected those sacred Fountains, the Holy Scriptures; and spent their time about Questions that were of moment, and might be called rather *Sophistical* than *Theological*, and against those who neglecting the Duties of true Religion, consisted too much in Ceremonies, in which they had more of *Judaism* than of *Christianity*: That he had often declaimed against the frequent Wars among Christian Princes: That his Books had never corrupted any person, and that on the contrary, many had by the reading of them, been excited to true Devotion: That he had carefully abstained from writing any thing that could engage a Man either in Impiety or Schism: That none of these Propositions, for which *Luther* was condemned, were to be found in his Books, that if hi-

[(f) The first Edition of *Erasmus's* Epistles, which *Frobenius* published, without any Distinction into Books, was in Folio, in 1521.

thereto he had not written any thing against him, it was because he had not had time; and that besides, he did not think himself sufficiently qualified for such an Undertaking, which required a great deal both of Learning and Prudence, nay, and of Authority too. That he foresaw, that some Bishops, Cardinals and Kings, would undertake to write against *Luther*. That he had done more harm to *Luther*, than many of those who had appeared in Print against him, by condemning from the very beginning his seditious way of writing, and by writing Letters to many persons, by which he had dissuaded them from being of his Party, and by disapproving his Doctrine publicly. That upon these Accounts, the *Lutherans* were become his Enemies, and inveighed bitterly against him upon all occasions. That it were to be wish'd, that Men would apply themselves in the Spirit of Meekness to search for the Truth; and to procure Peace: And that they would begin with removing those things that had given occasion to this Disorder. In a word, *Erasmus* clears himself from the Imputation of *Lutheranism*, with which his Enemies had charged him.

The 3d. is written to a *Carthusian*, who had sent him some Verses of his own composing. *Erasmus* tells him, that he did not disapprove of his bestowing some of his spare Moments that way, when he had nothing better to do; but he admonishes him, that he would do much better to imprint a lively Image of *Jesus Christ*, and of *St. Paul*, upon his Heart, than to represent them in Lead, or Copper, or Paper: And he adds, that a *Carthusian* had less Reason to repent, that he had betaken himself to a retired Life, because that since our Saviour's Days, there had never been a more corrupt Age than that was; and that whereas *Jesus Christ* had said, that he had overcome the World, it seem'd the World was now ready to say, that it had overcome *Jesus Christ*. So much did Immorality abound, even among those who look'd upon themselves as the Light and Salt of the World.

In the 4th. which is addressed to *Wolfgangus Capito*, he expresses his Joy to see that Learning was revived and flourishing throughout *Europe*; that the only difficulty was to re-establish Theology, because those who till that time had professed it, had been extremely averse to the Study of Languages, and of the best Authors, that they defended themselves in their Prejudices under a pretence of Piety; inso-much, that they had persuaded the ignorant People, that to quarrel with their Barbarisms, was a Violation of Religion it self: But he hoped, that if they continue to teach the three Languages in the publick Schools as they had begun to do, they might be as successful in that Science as they had been in the rest. Yet he did not desire that the methodical Theology should be quite abolished, but by the Study of good Learning it should be brought to a greater Perfection: For (says he) the Authority of the sacred Scriptures shall not be in the least shaken, nor Theology in the least danger, tho' some Passages be read more correctly and better understood than they were before; on the contrary, the more clearly the Scriptures are understood, the more will their Authority be respected. Yet he is afraid, lest under pretence of reviving the ancient Learning, and of studying *Hebrew*, Paganism or Judaism might come to revive.

The 5th. is a handsome Commendation of *Henricus Glareanus*, whom he recommends to *Stephanus Poncherius* Bishop of *Paris*, and Ambassador from his most Christian Majesty to the King of *Spain*, that he would procure him a Pension.

The following Letters from *Erasmus* to *Budeus*, and from *Budeus* to *Erasmus*, are full of Learning; but there is nothing in them remarkable concerning Religion, and therefore we shall pass them over, as we shall do all those that have nothing in them relating to the Doctrine of the Church, Christian Piety, or Ecclesiastical History.

V O L. III.

The 19th. is addressed to *Francis I.* King of *France*, whom he congratulates upon making Peace with the *Swiss Cantons*, and for the Esteem he had for Men of Letters.

The 30th. is a Letter of Thanks to Pope *Leo X.* for the Marks he had given him of his Esteem; he assures him, that it shall be his constant Endeavour to answer the good Opinion that his Holiness had conceived of him, and to do something that should be worthy of it: And then he expresses his Joy for the Happiness of that Age, in which by the Conduct and Watchfulness of that Pope, he hoped to see the Re-establishment of true Christian Piety, which in many particulars had lost much of its Vigor, and of the *Belles Lettres*, which were partly neglected, and partly corrupted, and of the Peace of *Christendom*.

In the 37th. Epistle, which is the last of this Book, he gives this high Commendation of *France*, that it was the only Kingdom that was not infected with either Hereticks or Schismatics, with Jews, or half Jews, or corrupted by the Neighbourhood of *Moriscoes* and *Turks*, as were some other Countries of *Europe*, which were well enough known without being named; that there was not to be seen in any Country a more august Parliament, a more famous or religious University, Laws that were in greater Force, or Estates of the Kingdom that were more united.

In the first Epistle of the second Book, he enlarges upon the Praises of Pope *Leo X.* in comparing him with his Predecessor Pope *Julius II.* He speaks also in praise of *St. Jerome*, of *William Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, of *Reuchlin*, and some other learned Men of that Age; of the pains he had taken on *St. Jerome's* Works which he mentions also in his following Letter to Cardinal *Grimani*, where again he highly commends the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Rocheſter*. He there declares his Resolution to spend the rest of his time in Writings that concerned Religion, how much soever his Works might come to be envied. He bewails the Misfortunes of *Reuchlin*, who had been brought into Trouble upon account of a short Letter which he had written in the *German* Language, which he had not published, nay, and never had any design to publish it. The 3d. addressed to the Cardinal of *St. George*, is much to the same purpose; he there praises the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and mentions his own Performances on *St. Jerome's* Works, and speaks advantageously of *Reuchlin*. These three Letters are written from *London* in *April 1515*. Pope *Leo X.* sent him a kind and obliging Answer, in which he promises to reward him for all the Services he was doing for the Church: This is the 4th. Epistle of this Book. About the same, the Pope recommended him to the King of *England*, by the 5th. Epistle, and the 6th. is a Letter of Thanks from *Erasmus* to the Pope.

In the 10th. he makes an Apology for his Version of the New Testament, against those who condemned it, under pretence that it was not permitted, that any Man should undertake a Version of the Scripture, but by the Authority of a general Council. He shews how unreasonable this Pretence is. What, says he, shall we not be allowed to restore the Text of Holy Scripture, according to the Opinions of the primitive Fathers, unless a general Council be called, while in the mean time the same Text is daily corrupted, and no Punishment is inflicted on those that do it? Was the Version which they approve done by the Order of a general Council? Was it not composed and published before it had the Approbation of the Fathers of the Church? And the same thing may happen to mine, tho' I neither wish nor expect so much: But it cannot be said that the Vulgar Version hath been approved by the Judgment of an universal Council. If it was so, all the Fathers would have made use of it, and all the Copies that were made use of that time would have agreed

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agreed exactly, which they did not: But it may be said, that the Councils made use of that Version; but this is not true of the ancient Councils, or of those of the Greek Church. Are different Versions of the sacred Scriptures more dangerous than different Interpretations? Will they not allow that any thing should be changed? They cannot say but that we are allowed to correct the Faults that are in it, why then do not they examine if the Alterations that we have made be just or not? My Design was not to make a new Edition of the New Testament, but to restore the ancient Edition, without having any thing in it that was new.

Then he speaks of the Examples of those who had written new Paraphrases or Versions of the Holy Scripture, as *Juvenius* who turned the Gospel into Verse, and *Egidius Delphus* who turned almost the whole Bible into Verse; *Felix Pratensis* who had some time before published a new Version of the *Psalms*; *Jacobus Faber Stapulensis*, whom he calls his Friend, and who he says was above Envy, who had composed a Version of St. Paul's Epistles, and had printed it with the Vulgar Latin. He confesses that he shews, that St. Hilary, St. Augustine, and Thomas Aquinas, had mistaken the meaning of some Passages; but he says, that he does this in so respectful a manner, that if they had been alive, they would have thanked him for it: That 'tis true, those Fathers were great Men, yet they were still but Men; and if any Man be of opinion, that they were in the right in those Passages where he differs from them, he ought to make it evident by solid Reasons, and not to fall a railing against him. But 'tis said, we must not descend into the trifling Niceties of a Grammarian (for so they call those who have studied the *Belles Lettres*) as if it were an Honour for a Divine to be ignorant of Grammar; yet is it not most certain, that this Art is absolutely necessary to make a Man a great Divine? Or can it be denied, but that St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, and St. Augustine, who are the chief Supports of Divinity, were Grammarians in this Sense? He adds, that he has satisfied the Decree of the Lateran Council, which forbids that any Book relating to Religion, should be printed without the Approbation of the Ordinary. That his Book was written and published with the Knowledge and Approbation of the Ordinary of the Place, that it was approved by *Ludovicus Berus* a Doctor at Paris, and by *Fabricius Capito* a Divine of Basil, and that he was still able to produce the Testimonies and Letters of many learned and devout Men, who had highly commended his Works: And that the sole Suffrage of the Bishop of Rochester was enough to justify him against all his Adversaries. What a Shame is it (says he at last) for those Men who are of so ordinary Parts, to exclaim against a Work which is approved of by the Pope himself? In the Close of this Epistle, he shews how useful his Version may be and has been, to engage Divines to read the sacred Scriptures with more Attention, and to study them with greater Care (g).

The 25th. Epistle is from *Johannes Eckius* to *Erasmus*, after having expressed the great Esteem he had for his Merits, and blamed the *Zoili* and *Momi* of the Age, that did nothing but revile him and censure his Writings; he tells him, (but in a quite different Strain) of some Difficulties he had met with in some Passages of his Notes upon the New Testament: The first is, in his Notes upon the second Chapter of St. Matthew, where he seems to advance this Opinion; that the Evangelists were liable as other Writers are to Mistakes of Memory:

The second is in an Observation he had made upon the Tenth Chapter of the *Acts* of the Apostles, where he said, that the Apostles writing in Greek had retained something of the Propriety of their own Tongue, not having learned Greek from *Demosthenes* but by ordinary use. He says, that this Observation contradicts a Truth, that no Christian can be Ignorant of, which is, that the Apostles were instructed in Languages by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost. He adds to this Remark, what *Erasmus* says in his Notes upon the 3. Chap. of St. Matthew, concerning the Greek Word *οργανισμος*, where he seems to take upon him to teach the Apostles the use of that word, as if the Holy Ghost had not been sufficient Master of Language, and as if he were to supply what he had been wanting in. He says, that he does not write these things to him to disparage his Work, but to admonish him of them; and that if it be not too troublesome to him, he promises to give him notice from time to time of what he shall observe in them: And then he adds, that having a profound Respect and singular Veneration for St. Augustine's Doctrine, which he considers as the most Excellent next to that of the Sacred Canon, and the Decrees of the Church, he could not approve of the Judgment which he makes of that Father upon St. John's Gospel, where he prefers St. Jerome to him. He says, that he is much better pleased with the Judgment of *Franciscus Philadelphus*, which is, that St. Augustine was the more learned in all kinds of Philosophy: But St. Jerome was preferable to him for an elegant Style, but not for his Doctrine; so that if these two Fathers could have made one Person, there could never have been any thing more perfect. Beware then, my dear *Erasmus* (says he) that by making such a Judgment in this matter, you do not obscure this great Light of the Church, which next to its first Pillars, is the brightest it ever had. Confess that St. Augustine was a most learned Man, read his Writings exactly, and then you will be persuaded, that it is great Rashness to say, that there was ever any Doctor who deserves to be preferred to him, either for his Learning or the Soundness of his Doctrine. He ends this Epistle with Compliments, and Expressions of Esteem and Affection: So that the first and last parts of it are much more civil than his Advices, in which he gives him Words hard enough.

But *Erasmus's* Reply is yet more courtly. He answers the Difficulties which *Eckius* had proposed; and as to the first, he says, that the Proposition he finds fault with if the whole of it be considered, consists of two disjunctive Parts; and that *Eckius* takes notice only of one of them, and of that one too that appears most liable to Exception: That if it be said, that an Alternative ought not to be considered as doubtful, he answers that by what he has written, it cannot be known whether he doubted of it or not, for all he does is to report the Opinions of others: That St. Jerome proposes the same Alternative in his Commentary upon the 5th. Chap. of *Micah*, and that he relates the Opinion of those who say, that the Authors of the sacred Scriptures may have been mistaken sometimes in citing one Prophet for another, and yet does not condemn it: That this Opinion does not overthrow the Authority of the Scriptures, as *Eckius* supposes: For as a Man cannot entertain a bad Opinion of St. Peter's Life taken altogether, only because he finds that sometimes he fell into Sin and Error, after he had received the Holy Ghost, so neither is the Authority of any Book of the Sacred Scriptures overturned,

[(g) This admirable Epistle was written from Rochester, where *Erasmus* was at that time in Bishop Fisher's House, to one *Henry Bovillus* a Divine at Cambridge. *Erasmus* here speaks of one College (which he names not) that particularly opposed his Version and Edition of the New Testament: But at the same time gives a noble Character of that University in general, which in 30 Years time was so much altered for the better, that whereas formerly nothing but the *parva Logicalia*, and *Questions upon*

Scotus, and such kind of Stuff was read; now *Aristotle* was explained in his own Language, now Mathematics came into request, now Authors were studied, whose very Names were before unknown, even to the greatest Rabbies. *Quaeso*, says he, *quid hisce ex rebus accidit Academia vestra? Nempe sic effloruit, ut cum primis hujus saeculi Scholis certare possit: Et tales habet Viros, ad quos veteres illi collati, umbra Theologorum videantur, non Theologi.*]

by saying, that there may be some small Escapes in it: For it does not follow from thence, that the Holy Ghost did not inspire the Author of it, but that it is a Matter too high for us to determine in what manner, and how far the Holy Ghost did inspire him, or whether this Inspiration was only in those things that did immediately concern the Gospel and the Christian Faith. I do not say this (says he) as if I thought that the Apostles had been really mistaken, but only to show, that the Authority of the Sacred Scriptures would not be shaken upon a Supposition, that there were found some small Escapes in them: That it was not unworthy of the Apostles, or any extraordinary thing for them to have Recourse to Books: For St. Paul writes, that his Books and his Parchments should be sent to him. The second Difficulty which *Eckius* proposes, is of less Importance, and *Erasmus* gets soon over it by telling him, that it was not necessary that the Holy Ghost should inspire the Apostles with the Greek or Syriac Languages, because they spoke them naturally and without any Miracle; that no Body can doubt but that it was a barbarous sort of Greek they spoke; that St. Jerome often takes notice that St. Paul spoke not Greek purely: That St. Luke was a greater Master of the Greek than of the Hebrew, because he was of the City of Antioch; and that St. Paul was a greater Master of the Hebrew than of the Greek: That Origen and the other Greek Interpreters, do often take Exceptions at St. Paul's Style: That the Observation he made, that he admires how the Evangelist came to make use of the Word *εὐαγγέλιον* in such a Sense, does not concern the Evangelist at all, who 'tis believed wrote in Hebrew, but only the Translator of his Gospel: That the Word *Abuti*, is often taken only for making use of a Word or Expression: That when one says he admires such a thing, he does not always mean that he condemns it; we admire what we esteem, and we admire what is new, and we admire things when we do not know the Causes of them. At last *Erasmus* answers *Eckius's* Complaint concerning the Judgment he had made of St. Augustin's Works, and says that he had a great Esteem for that Father, as having been a very Holy Man, and who had most excellent Qualities; that he would never speak any thing that is dishonourable to his Memory; but neither will he do any wrong to St. Jerome, to whose Memory he should be unjust, if he should say that he had been short of a Man to whom he deserv'd to be preferr'd. That so long as it was doubtful, which of the two ought to be most esteemed, he was always at liberty to declare for St. Jerome, rather than for St. Augustin, provided he had as good an Opinion for the last as he ought to have: That when *Eckius* says positively and with so much Assurance, that next to the Sacred Scriptures and the Decrees of the Church, St. Augustin among all the Ancient Fathers, is of the greatest Authority; he gives him a Prerogative that St. Augustin himself did not lay claim to, and which others have never granted him, seeing the Greek Fathers have been always preferr'd to the Latins, in this as well as in other things. He slights the Authority of *Philelphus*, which *Eckius* produces against him: And besides, that Author confesses, that St. Jerome writes more elegantly, and prefers St. Augustin to him only for his Skill in Logick. As for the general Applauses that the Schools have given St. Augustin, he observes that they ought not to pass for Oracles, and that many things have been positively asserted there, which are very doubtful in themselves: That the School-men have preferr'd St. Augustin to St. Ambrose and St. Jerome, either because he is oftner cited by those Authors, who are in greatest Reputation in the Schools, or because they understood him better, or because he is more positive in his Determinations than the other two Fathers are; and he adds, that St. Jerome is hard to be understood in many Passages, and St. Ambrose is

many times obscure, because of his Allusions. And both of them are like the Greek Fathers in this, that it was their great Learning and Judgment which made them determine things so modestly. He then complains of *Eckius*, that without any Proof he said so confidently, that he had not read St. Augustin; he declares, that St. Augustin was the first Father he ever read: That he read him every Day, and that the more he reads him, the more he is confirmed in the Judgment he has made of him: That besides, he cites him very frequently; and that he has not written so much as one Book, in which he does not cite some Passage taken out of this Father's Works; he afterwards makes a Comparison between St. Augustin and St. Jerome: "There is not the least doubt (says he) but the Country a Man lives in, and his Education do contribute much to the framing of his Mind: Now St. Jerome was born at Stridon, a Town so very near to Italy, that the Italians looked upon it to have been in a manner in Italy itself: St. Augustin was born in Africa, which is but a barbarous Country, where curious Learning was not much cultivated, as St. Augustin himself confesses in his Epistles. St. Jerome was a Christian, born of Christian Parents, and had sucked in the Philosophy of Jesus Christ with his Mother's Milk; whereas St. Augustin began not, till he was Thirty Years of Age to read St. Paul's Epistles. St. Jerome, with his mind thus fitted for Religious Studies, bestowed Thirty Five Years in the Study of the Sacred Scriptures, whereas St. Augustin was suddenly raised to the Episcopal Dignity, and thereby obliged to teach what he had not as yet learned. If you will not believe me (says *Erasmus*) you may read this Father's Epistle to Valerianus a Bishop, in which he craves that some time might be allowed him to learn that he might be the better qualified to teach others. St. Jerome understood Greek and Hebrew, and at that time Philosophy and Divinity was to be found only among the Greeks; whereas St. Augustin understood nothing of Greek, or so little of it that he was not sufficiently qualified for reading the Greek Authors: But was there so much as one Book in all the Libraries of Greece, which St. Jerome had not read exactly, or which he did not understand perfectly? And if one will be at the pains to read what the one and the other has written against *Jovinianus*, *Ruffinus*, and *Pelagius*, he will find more true Logick in St. Jerome than in St. Augustin. And in the Close of this Epistle, he says, that he had so much Esteem for St. Augustin, that he was just then publishing a new Edition of his Works, and he exhorts *Eckius* not to lessen the Reputation of St. Jerome; he confesses that while he was young, he had been of the same Mind that *Eckius* was of, but that as he grew older, upon his Reading of St. Jerome more exactly, he had found reason to alter his Judgment; and perhaps *Eckius* might live to do the same: However he hoped, that he would allow him to differ from him in this Matter, and that notwithstanding this difference, their mutual Friendship should still continue, seeing St. Jerome and St. Augustin continued always to be true Friends to one another, tho' they were of contrary Opinions in some things. In the first Letter of the third Book, he defends his own Works against the Notes of an impertinent Author.

In this Book there are some Epistles concerning *Faber Stapulensis*, for whom *Erasmus* had a great Esteem, but had reason to complain of him, because he had written somewhat roughly against him: *Erasmus* had been forced to answer him by an Apology. *Budeus* and some other Men of Learning, being troubled to see two such learned Men at Variance, complained of it to *Erasmus*, which obliged him to justify his own Conduct. The 51st. Epistle, which is from *Erasmus* to *Budeus*, and the 52d. which is from *Budeus* to *Erasmus*, gives a particu-

An History of the Lives, and Abridgement of the Works of the Authors of the former part of the sixteenth Century.
Erasmus.

lar Account of this Matter: In these two Epistles these two great Men give one another very hard Words, *Erasmus* being highly offended with the Epistle that *Budeus* had sent him, wrote him a Note, by which he tells him plainly how ill he took the ill Language he had given him: *Budeus* finding that *Erasmus* had taken it so ill, wrote him a Letter, in the Superscription of which he bid him adieu for ever. *Gulielmus Budeus haftenus Erasmi amicus, ultimam Salutem dicit Erasmo*: But *Erasmus* replied to him in more obliging Terms, and began his Letter with these Words, *Erasmus Rot. G. Budei perpetuus, velit, nolit, amicus, non ultimam sed jugem ac perennem illi D. S.* In this Letter he justifies himself, both with relation to *Faber* and *Budeus*: This Letter made *Budeus* more tractable, and he continued to write to *Erasmus* as to his Friend. The noble Emulation that might be between these two great Men, created no Jealousies between them, till *Longolius* having written a Letter, in which he shew'd some Displeasure, that the French King had prefer'd *Erasmus* to *Budeus*, gave the Character both of the one and of the other, but more to the Advantage of *Budeus* than of *Erasmus*; yet this last did so little envy the other that Preference, that he wrote him word, that he had not said enough of *Budeus*, but had said too much of him, and that he read *Budeus's* Praises with greater Satisfaction than his own. He adds, that the King had not at all preferred him to *Budeus*, but that he had resolved to join them together; and that if he should come to stay in France, he would willingly yield to him. The other Letters from *Budeus* to *Erasmus*, and from *Erasmus* to *Budeus*, contained in this Volume, are full of Learning, and shew what Value they had for one another.

In the 7th. Epistle of the 4th. Book, written to [*Christopher*] *Fisler*, *Erasmus* treats of the Authority of the Greek Text of the New Testament, and shews, that according to St. *Jerome* and St. *Augustine*, the Latin Version ought to be reformed by the Original.

The 8th. written by *Germanus Brixius* to *Erasmus*, speaks much to the Advantage of *Stephanus Poncherius* Bishop of *Paris*, lately returned from his Embassy at the Imperial Court, and gives account of the great Esteem he had for *Erasmus*.

In the 13th, and 14th. he speaks of the Persecutions that had been raised against *Reuchlin*, and he blames *Ortwinus Gratius*, who having enough both of natural Parts and Literature to deserve to be listed among learned Men, yet had never taken any other way to make himself known, but by falling foul upon *Reuchlin*; and he condemns *Hogostratus* for engaging in that Quarrel, and expresses no great Esteem for this last, and says that the reading of his Books had diminished the good Opinion that he once had of him.

The 19th. Epistle of the 5th. Book is a Panegyrick upon St. *Jerome*: He calls him a divine Man, and without contradiction, the most learned of all the ancient Christians; and says his Writings deserve well that all the World should read and learn them, tho' they were but few that read them, and yet fewer understood them. He cannot endure that *Albertus Magnus*, *Scotus*, and other Authors, who are yet more barbarous than they, should be so famous in Schools; while nothing is spoke of St. *Jerome*, who has so gloriously defended our Religion. But the worst of all is, that they despised him for that very Reason, for which they ought to value him. His Eloquence, which has been so serviceable to Religion, is the very thing which among them ruins his Reputation: And his profound Learning, which ought to recommend him to all ingenious Men, frights many People from reading him. What a number of ancient Customs and Histories are to be met with in his Works? How much Learning, and how great the Artifice in his Discourses? In which

he not only far surpasses other Authors, but may be compared even to *Cicero* himself.

In the 27th. Epistle *Erasmus* prescribes some Rules for preaching, which he prefers to all other Ecclesiastical Functions. 'To bless the People, says he, is certainly a magnificent thing; and to administer the Sacraments is a most excellent Function; but there is nothing either more apostolical, or more episcopal, than to frame the Minds and Morals of Christians so, as to make them worthy of Jesus Christ, by preaching to them the Doctrine of eternal Salvation. Yet we see many of those, who engage themselves in so excellent a Profession, that have nothing of Learning, or they want Lungs, or they have not the Art of speaking, and are without Eloquence. Well, but as St. *Paul* says, provided Jesus Christ be preached, it is no great Matter how it be done; but then the worst of it is, that a great many of those Preachers, instead of preaching Jesus Christ, preach only themselves. There are some of them who discourse very subtilly in the Pulpit of *Scotistical* Questions, which the People they speak to understand nothing of; and they think thereby to be admired; others preach only scholastical Matters; some Sermons are composed of confused Collections of scraps of Civil or Canon-Law, and of some Citations from other Authors. He who would instil true Piety and Devotion into the Hearts of the People, ought to banish out of his own Heart all sort of Passion; and if he would instruct the People in the true Principles of Christian Philosophy, it is much more proper to shew the admirable and charming Image of true Piety in its natural Dress, than to strain his Voice and his Lungs to no purpose, in exclaiming against Vice. The Image of Virtue will powerfully recommend it self, the only thing that's necessary to make People in love with it, is to set it in a true Light before their Eyes. It is needless to discover Vices, unless it be those which cheat us under an Appearance of Virtue, and by painting out Vice, People are often taught to practise it, and by declaiming earnestly against it, it comes to be believed, that the Preacher envies those who are guilty of it, and that he loves to speak of it. Why should a Man discover all the several ways that People sin against Chastity? Why should he make so much noise, in representing to the People, that all the World is full of Adulteries? Would it not be much better to represent the venerable Image of Chastity? Which so soon as St. *Augustine* considered, he immediately detested all those horrible Ideas of Impurity: The same may be said of other Parts of Christian Morality: Whoever begins to esteem the Picture of Christian Piety, begins at the same time to abhor Vice, and every thing that is not agreeable to that Notion he has of Virtue: No more do I approve of those Preachers, who to gain a Reputation among the meaner sort of People, declaim seditiously against the Vices of Bishops or Princes. These sorts of Declarations do nothing but incense those, whom a moderate, prudent, and civil Admonition, seasonably given, might have reclaimed. Some Liberty must be allowed to a pious Zeal, but it ought always to be sweetened with Charity: We ought to deal as gently as we can, with those who are invested with sovereign and publick Power; and if a Man must shew his Zeal, he ought rather to speak against those who make a wrong use of the papal, or the episcopal, or the royal Authority, than against the Authorities themselves. We must not rashly exclaim against a whole Order, but we may reprove those who dishonour their Orders, which ought to be highly esteemed for their good Rules. In a word, a Sermon will be of greater weight, if the Preacher takes it out of the sacred Scriptures, if his Life be answerable to his Doctrine, and if his Ministry is not despised, by his being

being suspected of Vain-glory, or of Avarice: If he himself be heartily in love with the Truths that he preaches, his Discourse will have the greater Efficacy; and he shall be in a better Condition to inflame others, if he goes immediately to the Pulpit from his Prayers, with a Heart full of Zeal and Charity (b).

In the 2d. Epistle of the 6th. Book, he wrote to *Petrus Mossellanus* against *Jacobus Latomus*, and some other Divines; who decry'd the Study of Languages and the *Belles Lettres*; and he ridicules a Monk, who had alledged that he looked upon the Scripture as a Fable, because he had translated the Greek Word *φαντασία*, by the Latin *Confabulantes*. He cannot endure that People of that sort, should make it to be believed, that all is lost, if but a Monkish Superstition be exposed; tho' no harm be done to the Reputation of any Person that is named; he says, that at *Louvain*, from whence this Letter is written, there was a Divine, who when he was preaching against the *Lutherans*, and calling them Hereticks and Antichrists, listed also under the same Names, those who apply themselves to the Study of Languages and ancient Learning: As if, says he, the Hereticks had been more eloquent than the Catholics; and he observes, that the Authors of the last Separation, had neither Eloquence nor Readiness in speaking, and that *Luther* had not defended his Opinions that way, but by scholastical Niceties. He rallies two Preachers, who had publicly inveighed against him, because he had altered the Terms of the *Pater Noster* and the *Magnificat*; he mentions others, who after they had spoken much against his Works, had confessed that they had never read them (i). He mentions two *Englishmen*, who had declaimed from the Pulpit against the Study of the Greek Tongue, and were not able to give any good Reason for the unreasonable things they said against it, and were therefore laughed at. The 3d. Epistle of this Book is that which *Luther* wrote to him, endeavouring to bring him over to his Party, that is dated the 28 of March 1519. We have, in another place, given an Account of it, and of *Erasmus's* Answer to *Luther*, which is the 4th. Epistle of this Book.

In his 8th. Epistle addressed to *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, he approves of the Book which that Bishop had written against *Faber*, to prove that there was but one *Magdalene*; that is to say, that the Sister of *Lazarus*, *Mary Magdalene*, and the Sinner, are but one and the same Woman. He says, that *Faber* ought to think himself happy, in having so excellent an Adversary, and that he envied his good Fortune, because those who appeared against his own Writings, were only such as thought to purchase a Name to themselves by blackening the Reputation of others, being incapable to recommend themselves to the World any other way. He complains especially of those, who would have persuaded *Fisher*, that he had no great Opinion of him: He assures him, that he not only puts him in the Rank of those whom he ought to treat civilly; but that he considers him as one, whom he ought to honour and admire. That he respected him as his Master and Patron, and as one who deserved to be as highly esteemed for his Learning, as for the Dignity of his Place, but above all for the Holiness of his Life, in which he was equal to the primitive Bishops. In this Epistle there is a good Expression concerning the new Reformers: He says, that he was afraid they would follow the Example of some Physicians; who by drenching too much the Body of the Patient, whom they have undertaken to cure, bring his Life into Danger. The

12th. Epistle addressed to *Henry VIII.* King of *England*, is an admirable Character of that Prince.

The 9th. Epistle of the 11th. Book is addressed to Pope *Leo X.* upon the Approbation which that Pope had given of *Erasmus's* Version of the New Testament. In it he writes against those Divines, who declared themselves Enemies of the Study of good Learning, and aspersed and persecuted those who endeavoured to make it flourish; and to make it serviceable to Divinity. He confesses, that he is one of those, who endeavour to take Men off from those useless Subtleties that were so frequent in the Schools; and to ingage them in the Study of a purer, and more serious kind of Divinity. That this was the Design which had created him so many Adversaries: But being resolved to spend his Time and his Labour for advancing the Honour of Jesus Christ; and being encouraged by his Holiness's Approbation, and the Testimony of his own Conscience, he had always contemned the Clamours of his Enemies. That he had consecrated the small Talent he had to the Service of Jesus Christ, and of the Church of *Rome*, and of the sovereign Bishop. That if he had pleased, he might have treated of other Matters, and have been preferred to high Stations, and have acquired a great Estate: But that he had reckoned it his greatest Advantage to promote the Honour of Jesus Christ, rather than his own; and that all his Life-time he had taken care to write nothing that was impious, obscene, or seditious. That if he took some little Liberty in what he wrote in his younger Years, yet it did not suit with the Age he was then of, to write any thing but what was devout and serious. That his Writings had never yet corrupted any body; that never any Man had become less pious by reading them, or had thereby been excited to Sedition; that how great soever the Malice of his Enemies was, yet nothing should be able to make him alter his Conduct. That it belonged to others to take account of what any Author wrote; that for himself he would not judge any Man: But that he was extremely sorry, that the Tranquility of Studies, and the Peace of the Christian Church; was troubled with the hot Debates that were among some Authors, who did not contain themselves within the Bounds of a regular Dispute; but endeavoured to run one another down with bitter Reproaches; and published their Invectives and satyrical Writings; so that by slandering and backbiting, the whole Dispute was turned into Rage and Fury: That every Man is liable to Faults, but we ought either to conceal the Escapes of others, or to answer them calmly; whereas there were many who delighted to put a bad Construction upon things that had a good Meaning: That some Men who would have been reclaimed by Christian Meekness, were by these reproachful Discourses exasperated in their Minds: That many who might have been kept in the Communion of the Church by gentle Treatment; were provoked to leave it by being treated with too much Rigor: That the Name of Heresy is always in the Mouths of some People, who give it to all the Opinions that differ from their own: That it is often seen, that those Differences, which in the beginning are thought inconsiderable, do at length degenerate to a great Flame; and that an Evil which at first is looked upon as nothing, does at last put all *Christendom* in danger of being shaken: That the Kings of *France* and *England* had by their Authority wisely put a stop to these Debates: That *Germany* being divided among many Princes, and the Emperor being at a great distance from it, it was impossible to make use of the same Remedy there. That

[(b) This Letter was written to *Justus* (or *Jodocus*) *Jonas*, then a Student at *Erford*, who afterwards went to *Wittemberg*, where he was one of the principal Assistants to *Luther*, as long as he lived. It is dated June 1. 1519.]

[(i) He mentions also our two *English* Universities, *Cambridge* and *Oxford*: In *Cambridge*, says he, the Greek Learning flourishes well under the Direction of Bishop *Fisher*, who is a

learned Man, and leads a Divine Life. But in *Oxford* when a very learned young Man thought to have introduced the Study of the Greek Language, which he began to profess with good Success, he was exposed for it in the Pulpit as a Heretick. But King *Henry VIII.* hearing of it, ordered Sir *Thomas More*, and Mr. *Paice* to send them word, that it was his Pleasure that Greek should be professed at *Oxford* without Molestation.]

his Holiness would do a very acceptable Service to Jesus Christ, if he would command Silence, as to those Debates, and hinder those who have no skill in speaking, to declaim against Classical Learning and the Study of Languages.

In the 17th. Epistle of this Book, *Erasmus* tells us, that the Reason that made so many Divines his Enemies, was, because they imagined that he maintained *Luther's* Doctrine, tho' he did not so much as know him, and had never read his Writings; that they were now become sensible of their Mistake, but were ashamed to own it.

In the first Epistle of the 12th. Book, he complains to Cardinal *Campegius* of the Calumnies that had been invented against him, in calling him the Author of some Books which he never wrote. He assures him, that he is not the Author of a Dialogue between *Julius* and St. *Peter*, tho' it was ascribed to him: He says, some ascribed it to a *Spaniard*, others to *Faufus* the Poet, and some to *Hieronimus Balbus*. He knows not who is the Author of it, but he looks upon him as a Man void of common Sense, and thinks that the Publisher ought to be punished: He is surprized that some People alledge, that the Style of it is his, tho' it differs very much from it. *Campegius* writes him an Answer, by which he approves of his New Testament, and uses many Expressions, which testify the Esteem and Respect he had for him.

In his Tenth Epistle addressed to the Archbishop of *Mentz*, he vindicates himself fully from the Charge of being inclined to *Lutheranism*: He assures him, that he was not of *Luther's* Acquaintance, and that he was sorry his Books had been published. That he had admonished him to write nothing that was insolent against the Pope. That he was neither his Accuser nor his Defender, that if he was innocent, he wished he might not be crushed by the Faction of his Enemies; and if he was guilty, he wished heartily he might be recovered from his Errors, and that he might not perish. That some People had charged him with being the Author of *Luther's* Writings, tho' he never wrote so much as one word of them; yet they had taken occasion from that to exclaim against him. He blames the Divines, who were so earnest to have *Luther* ruined by what means soever. He wishes that the Causes of those Evils were removed; 'The World (says he) is burthened with human Constitutions, with the Opinions and Tenets of the Schools, it is oppressed with the Tyranny of Mendicant Friars, who being the Soldiers of the See of *Rome*, are become so powerful, and so numerous, that at this time they are formidable to Popes and Kings; that when the Pope is for their Interest, they extol him above God, but when he does any thing against that Interest, they have no longer any Esteem for him.' He says, that he does not condemn all of them, but that many of them deserved the Character he gave of them: That when they begin to speak of Indulgences, they reason about them after such a manner, that even Idiots are not able to bear with it: That he believes it was this that first gave occasion to *Luther* to oppose their Doctrine; that if he was in the wrong to call Indulgences into Question, yet they had given him too much ground to do it, by defending them after such an unaccountable manner: That he had not written with so much Temper as he ought to have done of the Pope's Power, but they upon the other Hand had screw'd it up to an excessive height. That he had despised the Authority of *Thomas Aquinas*, but the *Dominicans* had made no scruple to prefer him to the Gospel: That he had raised some Scruples concerning Confession, but some Monks had made use of it to perplex the Consciences of People: That if he undervalued some Decisions of the Catholics, it was because his Adversaries laid too much Strefs upon them: That devout People were sorry to see the sacred Scriptures and

the ancient Authors laid aside; and that almost nothing was preached concerning *Jesus Christ*, but only concerning the Pope's Power, and some new Questions: That *Luther's* Rage ought to be imputed to those who had fallen into these Faults: That all those who favoured the Doctrine of the Gospel, were favourable to the Pope, who is the chief Preacher of it, the other Bishops being Preachers of it also as well as he; because they are all Vicars of *Jesus Christ*, though the Pope be the first of them: That we ought to believe that he has nothing so much in his thoughts as the Glory of J. C. and that he accounts it his greatest Honour to be his Minister; and that those do him wrong, who by flattery attribute to him some Privileges, which he himself does not claim, and that it is not needful for the Benefit of Christ's Flock that he should have them: That those who are the Authors of those troubles, do not set out of any Zeal for the Holy See; but that they abuse his Authority to support their own Interest and Tyranny. There are several other things in this Epistle against those, who under pretence of condemning *Luther*, fell foul upon Men of Learning, and would impose their own Opinions as Articles of Faith. Then he assures him that he was not concerned in the Case of *Reuchlin*, which was carried to *Rome*, nor in that of *Luther*, which was remitted to the Universities: That tho' Sentence should be pronounced, yet it could not reach him; that he had always taken care not to write any thing that was obscene, seditious, or contrary to the Doctrine of *Jesus Christ*: And that he should never propagate any Error, or be the Author of any Disorder.

The Twelfth Letter, which is from *Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus* to *Erasmus*, is a Satyr against *Edward Lee*, who had written against *Erasmus*; who in the following Epistle returns him an Answer modest enough.

In the Fifteenth, he laughs at one *Standish* a *Franciscan* Friar, a Bishop, * who preaching publicly at *London*, had very passionately declaimed against him, because in his Translation he had these Words, *In principio erat Sermo*, instead of these, *In principio erat Verbum*, as if by this, Religion had been at Stake and ready to be overturned: That not being able to make good what he had alledged in a private Company, he had had his recourse to the King and Queen of *England*, and had conjured them to order that *Erasmus's* Books might be suppressed: That the King having asked him, what ill things he had found in those Books? He had answered, that *Erasmus* denied the Resurrection, contemned the Sacrament of Marriage, and was of unsound Principles as to the Eucharist: But when he was put to it to prove these Accusations, he brought as a Proof of the first of them, the Change that *Erasmus* had made in some Words of the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, where instead of these Words, according to the vulgar Latin, *We shall all rise again, but we shall not be all changed*; he has put these. *We shall not all sleep, but we shall be all changed*. Some Person who took part with *Erasmus* told him, that it did not at all follow, that he had denied the Resurrection, because he had made that Alteration in that Passage: That there were many other places in St. *Paul's* Epistles, where he spoke clearly of the Resurrection. That the Explanation that *Erasmus* had given, was authorized by the Ancients, and especially by St. *Jerome*. Upon this, *Standish* exposed himself to be laughed at, by saying, that St. *Jerome* had made that Change in the *Hebrew* Text; as if St. *Paul's* Epistles had been written in *Hebrew*. *Standish* being laugh'd at for this Answer, said nothing as to the other two Points: *Erasmus* vindicates himself from the second of these, by saying, he was so far from being an Enemy to Marriage, that he had been accused for having spoken too much to the Advantage of it, in an Oration which he made

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Erasmus.

* Of St. Asaph.

made at *Louvain*; that the Question which he had discussed, whether Divorces may be allowed in any case is not in the least against the Honour of Marriage. As to the third, he says, that he cannot imagine what *Standish* meant by it; and protests that he never so much as harboured one thought against that holy Mystery; so far was he from having spoken or written any thing that was against the Faith of it. Then he gives account of some other such like Calumnies of his Adversaries, which were all founded upon Spite and Ignorance.

In the 18th. Epistle, he complains to the Rector of the University of *Louvain*, of some Preachers in that City, who had railed against him in their Sermons; and shows, that it is very unworthy of a Preacher to prophane the Sacred Ministry of God's Word so far, as under pretence of serving the Ends of it, to calumniate his Neighbour. He complains particularly of one *Egmondanus* a Preacher, who while he was preaching upon the Conversion of St. Paul, had said that he wish'd, that as St. Paul had of a Persecutor become a Doctor of the Church, so *Luther* and *Erasmus* might be converted. He declares, that he never approved of *Luther's* Doctrine, that he had always had a good Opinion of the Disputes which the Divines of *Louvain* had published against him, and especially of the Writings of *Johannes Turenhoutus*, who had written learnedly and without passion upon that Subject. In the Beginning of this Letter, as to what one *Phrysius* a Preacher, had accused him of for reflecting upon the Monks in some Passages of his Writings, he says, that he has always abstained from charging them with those gross Scandals that had been divulg'd against them, and were commonly talk'd of; that he had always been tender of their Names and their Orders; that when he complained of a *Dominican*, for having treated a Gentleman very uncivilly, he did not thereby accuse the whole Order: That St. *Jerome* made no scruple of reproving the Vices of the Monks and the Religious Persons of his time, tho' he was a Monk himself; that if it be not allowed, that we should reprove the Monks for their Faults, then neither ought it to be permitted, that any Man should reprove Priests or Courtiers, for theirs; and yet there were no sort of People that railed so bitterly against these as they, who were offended if any Man spoke a Word against the Practices of themselves.

In the 30th. Epistle of the 13th. Book, after having spoke highly in praise of *Johannes Faber*, a *Dominican*, he says, that he had agreed upon some Measures with him for suppressing the *Lutheran* Tragedy; which (says he) if proper methods be not taken, may be of direful Consequence to the Church. Some would have had it suppressed by the most rigorous Methods, and *Faber* would have been for that way, but that he was afraid it would not have had the desired Success. *Erasmus* thought it necessary to carry on this Design in such a way, that while they defended the Pope's Authority, they should not do any thing to the Prejudice of the Truths of the Gospel: And that they ought not so much to consider what Treatment *Luther* deserved, as what was necessary to be done for the publick Interest of the Church and of Religion. That they ought to make a prudent Choice of those whom they imployed in such a Design, and of the Remedies that were proper for such a Distemper. That some People who concerned themselves in it might fester the Sore, and increase the Distemper; because they had nothing in their view but their own Interests, and to disparage the Study of Languages as well as *Luther*. That the Methods they took had made many Men of good Parts go over to *Luther's* Party, which otherways they would never have done. That the *Germans* are of such Tempers as to be sooner gained by calm and gentle Methods, than by Force and Violence. That the Court of

Rome was hated, because there were some People in it who managed this Affair in such a way, as made rather for their own interest than of that of the Holy See: That the Business has been very ill managed on both sides: That tho' *Luther* had had the best and Justest Cause in the World, yet he had writ in such a strain, that he could never be successful: And that his Adversaries had also proceeded in a way that was prejudicial to the Merits of that Cause which they defended. He does not approve of the Bull which the Pope had granted, and was afraid it might do more harm than good. He concludes with the Advice that *Faber* had given, that it was necessary it should be managed by Men of undoubted Integrity, no ways inclined to Superstition, and who thoroughly understood the Business. *Erasmus* approves of this Advice, and writes an account of it to *Peutinger* the Emperor's Counsellor, that he might encourage it in the Diet of *Worms*. This Epistle is dated the Fifth of November 1520.

The first Epistle of the Fourteenth Book is address'd to Cardinal *Campegius*. *Erasmus* complains in it of those who always exclaimed against him, because he maintained the necessity of studying Languages and polite Learning.

The *Dominicans* were those, who inveighed the most bitterly against him, and some *Carmelites* joined with them, being exasperated because he had sometimes censured the Faults of the Monks. He observes, that Monks ought no more to be exasperated upon that account, than the Priests are, when he censures the Faults of Priests; that St. *Jerome* had made Satyrs against the Monks of his Time; that as for himself, he had never writ any thing against the Order of Monks, nor any thing to the Reproach or Dishonour of any particular Monk: But that they looked upon him as their Enemy, only because he declared in favour of the Study of Languages and Philological Learning, against which they had an implacable Hatred: And upon that account, they designed to fix a Guilt upon him, as if he had been one of *Reuchlin's* and *Luther's* Accomplices; that he had always declared, that he had not any Correspondence with them, and that he did not so much as know *Luther*, and would not defend his Opinions. That they had published two of his Letters, the one written to *Luther*, the other to the Cardinal of *Mentz*, to show that he favoured *Luther's* Doctrine, whereas those very Letters demonstrated the Contrary. That in his Letter to the Cardinal, he had commended what he himself thought good in the Reformation, and had censured *Luther's* too passionate Proceedings, and the too little Respect that he had shewed for the Pope: That he had only said, that it was not fit to suppress him by mere Violence, but that he ought to be refuted by solid Arguments, that he might be rather reclaimed than quite ruined: That in the Letter he had written to *Luther*, he had given him good Advice: That at that time he could not write to him any other way, or refute him with Sharpness of Style, because he had not read his Works; that he was the first Man that had suspected the Design of *Luther's* Books; that he hindered the Printing of them at *Basil*: That he had blamed nothing in his Adversaries but their Passion; that all their Invectives against him, had only served to make his Books sell better than otherwise they would have done. That Men of Learning and true Sense should have refuted his Books by solid Arguments before they had come to the last Extremities. That the Pope's Authority is of great weight, but the more considerable it is, the greater Care should be taken not to expose it. That if the Pope pleases, he may bring any Man to ruin, and thunder out Excommunications against him; but an Empire that is founded only in fear, cannot be of long Continuance; that God himself prefers Mens Loves to their Fears: That

That they ought to proceed warily, and use great Moderation in this Matter, so much the rather because it is of so great Importance, that many of those who themselves condemn *Luther*, were not well satisfied that he had been condemned in such a manner: That there were only two Universities which had censured some Paradoxes in his Books, and they had not waited for the Judgment of the University of *Paris*; which has always had the first Place among all the Universities, as the See of *Rome* has the Primacy of the Church; that the Pope's Bull had been thought too severe; but yet those who put it in Execution had proceeded with far greater Rigor; that no Body had approved of what *Silvester Prierias* had written against *Luther*: That *Johannes Turenhoutus* had disputed against him, and had written a Book on this Subject with greater Solidity and Moderation than others had done: That no Man had been at greater Pains than himself in publishing that Book, which was a convincing Proof that he was no Favourer of *Luther's* Principles: That he had no Correspondence with him, and how was it possible, that he could be of his Party against the Truths of the Gospel, or against the Church of *Rome*, which he believed to be the Catholick Church, or against the chief Bishop, since he had always avoided Disputes even with his own Bishop? That he was not so impious as to entertain any Opinions that were contrary to those of the Church; nor so ingrateful not to be devoted to the Service of Pope *Leo X.* who had given him so many Marks of his Favour, nor so imprudent as to have any Design to resist Princes: That if the Corruption of the Manners of the Court of *Rome*, did call for a speedy and present Remedy, yet it was not for him nor any of his Station, to undertake the Reformation of it. That he had rather things should continue in the State they were in, than that he should be the Cause of new Disorders: And in a Word, that he would never wilfully teach an Error, or be an Author of Sedition, or accessory to it. That he was only displeased with those, who hated good Learning and the Gospel, and who were fed and enriched by the Follies of the People. In the Close he assured Cardinal *Campesius*, that he had always been, and would always be most affectionate to the Holy See, and that he look'd upon those who opposed it, as his own Enemies.

He saith the same things to the Pope in the 5th. Letter of the same Book; he assures him that he was not of *Luther's* Acquaintance, and that he had never read more than some Pages of his Writings; that what he had read of them had made him think, that it would be very convenient to explain the Holy Scriptures after the manner of the Ancients; that he did not approve of any thing in him but what he thought was good; that he was the first who conjectured that his Writings might create much trouble; that he had hindred *Frobenius* at *Basil* to print them; that in writing to *Luther*, he had given him some Advices, and prescribed him some Rules how he ought to behave himself; that he had never defended his Doctrine; that 'tis true he had never refuted it, because he had never read his Works, and thought it too great an Undertaking for him to engage in: And besides, he did not think it proper to prevent the Universities, before whom the Matter lay.

His 13th. Epistle is address'd to a Person of great Quality, who desired of him a sure Rule, for his Conduct in Religion, assuring him, that he would rely more upon his Advice than upon a solemn Decision given by the Pope himself. *Erasmus* explains his own Thoughts about Religion very fully; but withal he tells that Person of Quality, that the Argument he made use of, was so far from engaging him to do what he desired of him, that it made him more unwilling to adventure upon it. 'For what am I (says he) that I should prescribe Rules about

another Man's Faith, or give Decisions different from those of the catholick Church? God forbid that I should take upon me to determine any such thing, all my Design is to make Men more in love with polite Learning, and to bring back the Study of Divinity, which is degenerated into nice Questions and useless Subtleties, to the first Fountain. I have always abstained from giving positive Definitions, and from being dogmatical in any thing, especially in opposition to the Opinions that were commonly received in the Church; tho' I confess, the Divines have determined some things which without any prejudice to Religion, might have been left undetermined; but all my Business is, to wish, that some things were done, for I will not give Orders in any thing: I could wish then in the first place, that all those of your Country were united, both among themselves, and with all other Christians, in the Bonds of true Christian Charity.' He says, that he knew that the People of that Country did generally detest the Sect of the *Nicolaitans*; that they should rather re-unite the *Picards* to the Communion of the Church. That the best way of doing this, was to make choice of wise and moderate Men to instruct them. That nothing had contributed so much to *Luther's* Reputation, as the Rage of his Adversaries: That those were yet more intolerable, who provoked the Pope by their Reproaches, or defamed him by their Invectives. That *St. Peter* had reason to reprove those who despised Dominion; how much more do we owe Respect to him, whom all Churches have invested with the chief Authority? That he does not dispute from whence that Authority is derived to the Pope; that it is sufficient, that it has been found convenient to chuse one Bishop to be Sovereign among the rest, not only to prevent the Growth of Schisms, but also to restrain the Tyranny of other Bishops and Princes: That he knows well enough the Complaints that are ordinarily made against the See of *Rome*, but as it is a great Folly to give credit to popular Reports, so it is a great Injustice to charge the Pope with every thing that is done in *Rome*. That however, if instead of Reproaches and bitter satirical Writings, they would make use of Prayers, modest Complaints, and solid Reasons, they might hope to be much more successful. That he should not be sorry, that *Luther's* Books were published in his Country, provided People would read them as he read them; that is to say, that they would take whatever is good in them, and reject whatever is amiss. That he would not give fuller Accounts of his Thoughts of that Man, but that he may say, that the greatest part of that Tragedy was occasioned by the too great Passion of some Divines who wrote against him, and especially of the *Dominicans* and *Carmelites*. That as for himself, he was neither *Luther's* Patron, nor his Friend, nor his Judge. That he neither wrote the same things that *Luther* did, nor after the same manner. That he wished he were more modest, and that he disapproved very much of his being transported with Passion, as well as of his Adversaries, who might be charged with the same Fault. That the Bull published against him, had not had any great Effect: That his Enemies joined him with *Luther*, and declaimed against him, because he said in his Writings, that they did not well to apply themselves only to scholastical Niceties; and because in his Notes, he was sometimes of a different Opinion from *Thomas Aquinas*, and said that young Children ought not to be solicited to engage in a Monastick Life, before they knew what it was, and understood the Nature of Religion. And because he admonished them that true Devotion did not consist in external Ceremonies, but in the inward Motions of the Soul; and lastly, because he defended polite Learning, against which they had declared War. The Person of Quality to whom he writes this Letter, had exhorted him to join with *Luther*, and he answers that he was very ready to do it, provided

Luther

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Erasmus. Luther were of the Church Party; and that he would always be of that side where he found the solid Rock and evangelical Peace (k).

In his 14th. Epistle, written to *Cheregatus* the Pope's Nuncio, he complains also of the Preachers, who exclaim'd against him, and tells him, that they were but an ignorant Set of Men, transported with Passion, who did great prejudice to the Holy See; he assures him, that if he had pleased to have been in Luther's Interest, his Party would have been much stronger than it was: 'But God forbid (says he) that I should entertain any such Thoughts: I have not hitherto preached any thing but what is for the Peace and Quiet of the Church: I have laboured only for Jesus Christ: And my Life being near an end, I shall take care not to alter my former Conduct, nor to lose the Crown and the Recompence which I hope for.'

The 20th. Epistle of the 14th. Book, is from a *Moravian* (l), who represents to *Erasmus* the State of Religion in his own Country; he says, that the Marquitate of *Moravia* was at that time divided into three Sects (besides many *Jews*, a great number of *Epicureans*, and some *Nicolaitans* who lived there) that the first was composed of those, who honoured the Pope, and obey'd him in every thing, and acknowledged him to be the true Vicar of J. Christ, as the *Germans* did, and all other Nations that belonged to Christ's Flock: That the most part of the Nobility and Gentry were of this Number, and some Royal Towns with the Monasteries, which were formerly rich, but were then almost quite ruined, That the second Sect was of those who distributed the Eucharist to the People under both Kinds; that there were some few of the Nobility, many of the Gentry, and near 30 Royal Towns, who were of that Party; that these retained the Sacraments and Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*, and differ'd from it only in these two things, that they had Communion in both Kinds, and that their Priests did celebrate the Mass, and read the Epistles and Gospels in the Language of that Country; but that they obstinately adhered to these two Practices, and said, that this Liberty was granted them in the Treaty that was made with them at the Council of *Basil*; tho' Pope *Eugenius* did not confirm it, because he would not approve of the Decrees of that Council. That however they would not observe the Condition upon which the Council had granted them the Liberty of communicating under both Kinds; which was, that the Priest should declare before he administered the Sacrament to the People, that they ought not to think, that a Man received less under one Kind than under both. That on the contrary they maintain'd, that J. Christ having instituted the Sacrament under both Kinds, and the Church having observed that Custom for many Ages, it ought not to have been altered. The 3d. Sect was that of the *Picards*, who took their Name from one who deserted his own Country of *Picardy*, and came into *Bohemia*, at the time when *John Ziska*, who was a wicked and profligate Man, made War upon the Ecclesiasticks; this *Picard* joined with him, and infected his whole Army with his pernicious Doctrine. These considered the Pope, the Cardinals, the Bishops, and all the other Clergy, as Antichrists; they laid the Church of *Rome* was the Whore and the Beast spoken of in the *Apocalypse*; that all they do are Abominations and Curses, instead of Blessings of Holy Things; they made choice of ignorant and rude Laymen to be Bishops and Priests, and who had Wives and Children; they called one another Brothers and Sisters; they undervalued both the ancient and modern Doctors; their Ministers had no Priests Habits when they celebrated the Mass, and said no Prayers but the Lord's

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Erasmus. Prayer: they had little or no Faith in the Sacraments, and put as little Trust in them. They re-baptized with pure Water, those whom they received into their Number; they used neither Salt nor Holy Water, nor consecrated Oyl; they did not believe the real Presence of Christ's Body in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and believed there was nothing there but Bread and Wine; which represented and figured to us the Death of Jesus Christ; they charged all those with Idolatry who adored it; for according to their Principles, our Saviour instituted this Sacrament only that it might serve for a Memorial of his Passion. They believed, that Intercessions and Prayers for the Dead were unprofitable and ridiculous, as well as auricular Confession, and the Penances that were enjoined by the Priest. They called the Observation of Fasts and Vigils an hypocritical Practice; they said, that the Feasts of the blessed Virgin and of the Saints, were nothing but the Inventions of idle People; and they observed no Holydays but *Sundays*, and the Feasts of *Christmas*, *Easter*, and *Pentecost*. The Author of this Epistle observes, that if the two first Sects were re-united, this last might soon be suppressed. This Letter is dated 11th. October, 1519.

In the Epistle which *Erasmus* writes in answer to this, he begins with bewailing the many Errors and Mistakes to which Men are liable, and reckons up a great many foolish and impertinent Errors, which have been maintain'd by ancient and modern Hereticks: He then expresses his earnest Wishes that those three Sects which were in *Bohemia*, were re-united. He says, that Mens Passions and Interests are the great Hindrance of that Union; that of those three Societies, the first is the only one that ought to continue; that the Hierarchy and the Primacy of one sole Bishop, is necessary in the Church; that the second Sect is more to be blamed for rejecting the Authority and Customs of the Church of *Rome*, than for believing that it is an Act of Piety to communicate in both Kinds; that it were to have been wished, that Pope *Eugenius* had upon that occasion had a greater Regard to the Peace of the Church, than to his own Interests and Humours: But that yet he would advise the *Bohemians* rather to obey, than to oppose a Custom that was already received throughout a great part of *Christendom*: But that to speak his Thoughts freely, he wonders why such a Custom was introduced, and that the Reasons that are given for it, are not of sufficient Importance. That it is no wonder, that the Faction of the *Picards* have yet less of the Spirit and peaceable Temper of the Gospel, since they had so profligate a Man for their Author: That if the Pope were Antichrist, because sometimes there are Popes who have no Religion; or if the Church were become an Harlot, because there are Cardinals, Bishops, and other Clergymen who are vicious in their Lives, then we ought not to obey any Bishop, or Pastor, or Prince: For if this were once allowed, every Man would call all those impious, whom he was not pleased with. That *St. Augustine's* Opinion is far better; that the bad Practices of Ministers do not hinder the Graces which God confers upon us in the Sacraments, tho' they ought to be very severely punished, who by their scandalous Lives, make the adorable Name of Jesus Christ to be contemned among the simple and ignorant People: That if those *Picards*, having lost all Shame, should continue in their disorderly Practices, there would be a Necessity to reduce them into Order; but that no private Man, nor the whole Body of the Laity had any Right to molest them; that it was not convenient to take up Arms against them, lest if such an Example were once given, the Innocent might suffer instead of the Guilty: That their

[(k) The Person of Quality to whom this Letter is addressed is not mentioned, *N. Viro Prapotentis*, is all the Inscription. It is plain by the Letter that he was a *Bohemian*. The Letter is dated January 28. 1521.]

[(l) *Du Pin* is here mistaken; for *Johannes Slehta*, who wrote this Letter, says in the very Letter, that he was a *Bohemian*; but setting that Mistake aside, the Abstract is very just, and his Account of the *Picards*, whom the Writer of the Letter is pleased to vilify, and of their Doctrine, is very exact.]

way of electing their Ministers came near to the Custom of the primitive Church, that St. *Nicholas* and St. *Ambrose* were elected by the People, before the canonical Form of Elections was in use; that the Tumults that fell out at those Elections, were the cause of entrusting the Choice to a few Persons. That the Choice they made of ignorant Men would be more supportable, if they would but supply their want of Learning by the Piety of their Lives; that it was a double Evil to make such a Choice as they did, of Men that were both incapable for want of Learning, and immoral in their Practices; that for the Name of *Brothers* and *Sisters*, which they gave to one another, there was no Harm in it. That he could have wished, that that Mark of mutual Charity were still in use among Christians; that tho' it was very probable, that Jesus Christ and his Apostles celebrated the Eucharist in their ordinary Habits, yet it was an impious thing to despise what since that time was instituted by our Fathers for a good End. These are Ceremonies (says he) but these Ceremonies make the People have a greater Veneration for the Divine Mysteries: And why should they differ from others in a thing which they may observe without any trouble? Unless the Pope would allow them to make use of their own Rites and Ceremonies, as he has allowed the *Greeks*, and the Church of *Milan* to retain theirs, tho' they be very different from those of the Church of *Rome*. That it was a great Folly in them not to make use of any other Prayer but the Lord's Prayer; that their Opinions concerning the Sacraments were absurd and impious; that he wondered with what Confidence they could despise moderate Fasting; but he confessed that the Number of the Festivals were too much increased. That many poor People were thereby reduced to Beggary. That it was convenient they should be allowed to work after Divine Service was over: But that it belonged to the Bishops to give Orders in that Matter, and the People ought not to shake off the Yoke of Obedience, which they ow'd to the Bishops Orders. After this, he says, that the Letter which he was answering, did fully discover the Evil, and it was to be wish'd that a sure and efficacious Remedy could be found for it; that he did not think that that was altogether impossible, if good Men would but set about it, especially at that time when they had an Emperor, *Charles V.* who was so zealous for Religion, and Pope *Leo*, who was of so mild a Temper, and so easy to be intreated; that in order to a Re-union, it was necessary, that each Party should yield something to another; that as to Ordinations and the Sacraments, no Opinions ought to be allow'd, but those of the Catholics, but that they might part with some Opinions of the modern Divines, and might tolerate some particular Rites and Ceremonies; tho' it would be more convenient that all Christians had the same Customs, and observed the same Ceremonies; that it would do much good, if Articles of Faith were not so much multiplied; that then Men would not be ashamed to make this Answer to several Questions, *God knows after what manner that is, but it is enough for me to believe that it is.* 'As for Instance, (says he) I know that the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ ought to be received with pure Intentions, but it is a Matter of no great consequence to explain how the Bread is transubstantiated into the Body of Jesus Christ, and how his Body can be comprehended within such a narrow compass, or be in so many different places at the same time. I know that I shall rise again from the dead, but I am not concerned to enquire with Curiosity, what kind of Body I shall have after the Resurrection, and after what manner this Body that is so often changed, does continue the same Body.'

In the last place, he says, that if Princes, and especially the Pope, would avoid all appearance of Tyranny and Avarice, it would be a most prevailing Motive to persuade Separatists to return to the Com-

munion of the Church, because Men take check when they see that they are like to be treated as Slaves, and that their Salvation is not the thing those aim at, who invite them to Devotion and Church Communion; but is only a pretence, by which they think to cheat them into a compliance, that they may make them a Prey to their Avarice: But if on the other hand, they see that their Governors do not design to do them any Hurt, but are ready to do them all the Good they can, they will much more readily trust themselves to their Conduct.

In the 5th. Epistle of this Book, he gives the Reasons why he would not write against *Luther*: He says, that he could not approve of the Conduct of those, who had publickly exclaimed against him, before they had refuted him: That he would not concern himself in a Debate which others had given rise to. That it was more reasonable, that those who had begun it should finish it. That besides, there was no Reason why he should write against *Luther* rather than others: That it was more reasonable, that those who had so bitterly inveighed against him in their Sermons and Writings, should also write against him: That it seemed hard to him to fall upon a Man who was already condemned, and whose Writings were burnt. That he did not think it would be for his Advantage to provoke so keen a Man, who only sought for occasions to do his Adversaries Mischief, and who was supported by many Princes of *Germany*: That he thought it would be a rash thing in him to concern himself with a Commission, with which he was not charged: That some perhaps would say, that he took an impertinent way to raise his own Reputation, by fighting against a Man who was already laid on the Ground. That it was not for a Grammarian, such as he was, to treat of a Matter that was only proper for Divines; that his Judgment could not be of any weight, after the Decrees of the Pope and two Universities; that if he should undertake to refute *Luther*, it would be necessary for him to read over his Works at least once or twice; but he could not spare so much time to do it, having scarce time enough to revise his own Works. That *Jacobus Latomus*, and *Johannes Turenhoutus*, ought rather to publish what they had written against *Luther*. He then mentions the extravagant Passions of some *Dominicans* against himself, and he wonders that the Monks of that Order should be so well pleased with these kinds of Tragedies, and to be the Authors of continual Troubles: That it was well enough known what Commotions they had raised about the immaculate Conception of the blessed Virgin: That *Savonarola* had caused Disturbances at *Florence*; that they had likewise been the Authors of some Commotions at *Bern*: That *Jacobus Hogostratus* had made a great deal of impertinent Noise against *Reuchlin*, and the Count de *No-vaquila* (m). That they had made some seditious Discourses against himself, tho' he had never offended the whole Order, unless they took Offence, because he had said some things in general of the Lives of Monks; for which they might with as good Reason, exclaim against St. *Augustine*, St. *Jerome*, and St. *Bernard*, who had spoken after the same manner, of the Way how they ought to live.

The 14th. Epistle is written in commendation of *John Colet*, and *Johannes Vittravius*; this last was of the Order of St. *Francois*; *Erasmus* describes him as a Monk of great Learning, impartial in his Judgment, of a clear Understanding, and of excellent Qualifications, and who had brought himself into trouble only because he was not willing to trade in the Matter of Indulgences. *John Colet* was born at *London*, 1467. and was the Son of a Lord-Mayor of that City. From his very Infancy he applied himself to Studies, he afterwards travelled into *France* and *Italy*, where he studied the ancient Fathers: When he returned into *England*, he publickly explained St. *Paul's* Epistles. He had not as yet taken his Divinity Degrees in the University, tho' he was

[m] It should be Novena-ri.]

as well qualified for them as any Man, and his great Learning recommended him so effectually, that the Degree of Doctor was conferred upon him, tho' he did not ask it. He was afterwards made Dean of the cathedral Church of St. Paul's, London. *Erasmus* describes his great Love for Learning, his Modesty in his Garb, his Charity to the Poor, his founding of St. Paul's School, and his Death, which happened 1520. He commends his Temperance in eating and drinking, his great Abstinence, and his great Candour and Sincerity: As to his Opinions, he lays, that lest he should give any Scandal, he seemed to comply with the Opinions of others; but that in his own Thoughts, he did not go along with that which was commonly received. That he said, the *Scotists*, who were generally reputed a very subtle sort of Men, were nothing but so many stupid Beasts, who had no Wit; for (said he) that Man's Fancy must be very barren, that amuses it self with carping at every thing that other People say, and in distinguishing and subdividing every thing that is proposed: But he had yet a worse Opinion of *Thomas Aquinas* than of *Scotus*, because he had blended too much Philosophy with Divinity. He says, that *Colet* had a great Love for Christian Devotion, but he had no great Opinion of the Monasteries, as they were at that time, because of the Disorders that were in them: Not that he hated the Orders of Monks, but that he thought the Monks did not live suitably to their Profession: That he could not endure those Bishops, who did not acquit themselves as they ought to do in that sacred Function, or whose Conduct was unworthy of their sacred Character: But he was not of the Opinion of those Men, who pretended, that the Sacraments which were administered by Ministers of immoral Lives, were not valid. He approved of Confession, and was persuaded that there was not any Practice in the Church, by which People were so much comforted and encouraged, as by it: But he did not love to have it too scrupulously exacted, or too frequently repeated. He contented himself to say Mass on *Sundays* and *Holydays*, either because he had not Leisure from his Studies, and other Occasions, to say it every Day, or that he found that he celebrated the Mass with greater Fervour and Devotion when he did it not so often: Yet he did not blame those who attended every Day at the Altar. He was well pleased to see Divine Service performed with Splendor, and commended that Custom extremely. There were some Differences betwixt him and his Bishop, who informed the Archbishop of *Canterbury* against him, that he had preached that we ought not to worship Images, and that the Apostles were under no Obligation to feed their Sheep by giving them Temporal Relief, because they themselves were poor; and that he had indirectly affronted his Bishop, by laughing at those who read their Sermons: The Archbishop of *Canterbury* who knew *Colet's* Merits, had but little regard to these Accusations, and therefore the Bishop sought Redress from the King of *England*, and employed two *Franciscans* to speak to him against *Colet*: The King was so far from hearkning to their Complaints, that he highly commended *Colet*: and exhorted him to continue in his way of Preaching, which he did with great Success.

In the Fifteenth Epistle, *Erasmus* advises Sir *Thomas More* to slight the Pamphlet that *Brixius* had published against him under the Title of *Antimorus* and not to vouchsafe it an Answer; or if he resolved to answer it, that he would defend himself without returning the abusive Language that *Brixius* had given him: And he promises to have every thing that was checking in that Book against him, suppressed. Sir *Thomas More* answered him in the

Epistle that is next to this, that he had already writ an Answer to *Brixius*, and that it was printed too by the Advice of his Friends; but that to satisfy him, he himself had bought and lock'd up all the Copies of it, and that they should not be dispersed till he saw how *Brixius* used him.

In the Fourteenth Epistle of the Sixteenth Book, he declares, that he thinks the Opinion of those who hold the immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, is the most probable. And he takes notice, that *Thomas Aquinas* condemned those of Heresy, who denied that the Bread was changed into the Sacrifice of the Body of Jesus Christ, by the pronouncing of these Words, *Hoc est Corpus meum, this is my Body*.

In the 19th. he reproves *Hogestratus* for writing in such a manner against *Capnio*; he also vindicates himself from what *Hogestratus* had alledged against him, that he should have asserted, that the Bonds of Marriage were wholly dissolved by Divorce. He assures him, that he had never said, that Divorce was allowed of, and that he had only expressed his Wishes, that it were allowed of, out of compassion to those who are miserable by unhappy Marriages: That he was not to take upon him to set Bounds to the Church's Power: That tho' she cannot alter any thing that is established by the Law of God; yet she may interpret it favourably as she interprets God's Commands concerning Homicide and solemn Oaths: That as to this particular Case, the Church admits of many Reasons for Divorce, which were not given by Jesus Christ: That she has distinguished betwixt Marriages that are contracted and those that are not; that she has made Laws concerning the Validity and Nullity of Marriages, and that the ancient Canons relating to this Subject, do not at all agree with one another.

The two first Epistles of the Seventeenth Book, are writ on occasion of the Books, which *Edward Lee*, wrote against *Erasmus*, and of the way that he took to publish them. He gives an historical Account of them, free from all Passion; and shows, that *Lee* had dealt very unjustly by him.

After which are some Epistles, which give account of several particular things relating to the Learned Men of that Age.

In the 18th. he reproves the Bitterness of Spirit, which *Luther* shows in his Writings, and says, That the Spirit of the Gospel is accompanied with Prudence, Civility, and Meekness: That Jesus Christ himself did adapt himself to the Humours of the *Jews*. That the Apostles treated them with Condescension and Gentleness, and accommodated themselves to the weakness of Mens Capacities: That they did not with hard Words frighten those away to whom they preached the Gospel: That they took the most effectual Methods, and used the most proper Arguments for gaining them: That gentle Remedies are more effectual than those that are violent: That it seem'd *Luther* did all he could to make People believe, that his Doctrine was very different from that of others: That while he endeavoured to remedy some Evils he gave occasion to far greater. He adds, that his Enemies had collected some things out of his Books, which seemed to agree with some of *Luther's* Opinions; But he takes notice, that Truth and Falshood do often resemble one another, and he shows the Difference between his own Sentiments and those of *Luther* (n) "I have said perhaps somewhere (says he) that we ought not to make any rash Vows and that I do not approve of those who leave their Wives and Children, and go in Pilgrimage to St. James, or to Jerusalem. *Luther* condemns all kinds of Vows, in general: I complain sometimes, that Confession

[(n) *Erasmus* here in giving an Account of *Luther's* Opinions, ushers them in with an *ut aiunt*, which softens his Assertions much: And there was a necessity of so doing, for he had owned before that he had never read over *Luther's* Books, so that he could only speak by hear say. And indeed he affix-

es Opinions here to *Luther*, which at that time for certain *Luther* did not hold. For he did not absolutely condemn either Confession or Vows, only he would not have the one so rigidly exacted, nor the other so rashly undertaken, as was commonly done in the Church of Rome.]

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is become an insupportable Burden, by too many Scruples of Conscience that are brought into it; *Luther* rejects all kind of Confession as pernicious. I say, in some Passages, that we ought to read good Authors, and that the Books attributed to *St. Dionysius* are not so useful as the Titles of them promise. *Luther* says, that the Author of those Books is a Fool; and not worthy to be read: Yet to speak ingeniously, if I could have foreseen what has since happened, I would not have written any thing to such purposes, or I would have made use of other Terms; for the thing I most desire is, that I may do good to all Mankind, without offending any Man.

At last he exhorts *Justus Jonas*, to whom he writes this Letter, to endeavour an Accommodation, and to speak of it to *Philip Melancthon*, and to endeavour by their Prudence to put an end to the Schism, and to all the Troubles of the Church that *Luther* had occasioned. This Epistle is dated in May 1521.

In the two and twentieth Epistle, speaking of the Edition of *Tertullian*, which was published by *Rhenanus*, he gives a Character of that Father. This Author (says he) writes in a Style peculiar to himself, which perhaps was very well approved by the *Africans*, though to us it seems too rugged, as *St. Jerome* acknowledges; yet we cannot but admire the Vivacity of his Genius, the Vastness of his Knowledge in the Holy Scriptures, and the Readiness of his Memory in an Age wherein there were no Schools, no writers of Dissertations, no Interpreters of the Holy Scriptures, no publick Professors of Divinity; though he is liable to that Fault which *St. Jerome* takes notice of in *Origen*, which is, that sometimes he wreits the Sense of some Passages of Holy Scripture, and does it with greater Boldness than *Origen* himself, who proposes things by way of Dispute and Doubt, whereas *Tertullian* is confident, and determines positively. Tho' he cannot be excused for leaving the Communion of the Church, yet *St. Jerome* lessens his Fault; and it must be confessed, that amongst the Hereticks, those who out of an Excess of Zeal, required too great Austerities, are the least criminal. Such as those were, who required, that they who were once baptized, should live such pure and blameless Lives, that none of them who fell into any enormous Crime, should ever be received into the Communion of the Church; that by this severity of Ecclesiastical Discipline, others might be frightened from all sorts of Vice: For, as far as I can judge, they were not of Opinion, that those who were debarred from the Communion of the Church, were thereby excluded the Kingdom of Heaven: But they only design'd, that they should do Penance all their Life-time; and they thought this was necessary and useful, to oblige others to a strict Performance of their Duty. Those Ancients, were also against second Marriages, nay, and enjoined Celibacy. Some of them absolutely condemned War; these are the most excusable Excesses, which take Men off from Vice, and carry them to that Extreme that is most opposite to it: And such, for the most part, were the Errors of *Tertullian*, which were of a quite different kind from the monstrous Opinions of the first Hereticks.

In the 24th. Epistle he laughs at one, who endeavoured to re-establish the Honour of the *Mendicant* Orders, by saying, that it was the Spring of the Earthly Paradise, from whence went forth the four Rivers, which are the four *Mendicant* Orders; and to prove the Necessity of Confession from the Books of *St. Augustin's* Confessions.

In the 4th. Epistle of the 18th. Book, which is addressed to *Pistorius*, he assures him, that he never favoured, nor ever would favour any Heresy that was condemned. That he had always adhered to the Ecclesiastical Constitutions; but that we ought

to distinguish between the Decrees of General Councils, the Edicts of Bishops, and the Orders of the Court of *Rome*. That among the Synodical Constitutions, there are some which were designed to last for ever, and others which were designed to continue only for some time. That some of them are founded upon the Gospel, and are inviolable, others of them may be altered. That 'tis true, he did at the Beginning of that Rupture which then troubled the Church, believe that it was necessary for the Peace of the Church, to make some Alterations; but only in those Laws which are alterable in themselves. That the *Italians* have some Opinions that he would not defend. That he did not see any Inconvenience, tho' the Church should allow the Eucharist to be administered under both kinds, as was once allowed by the *Bohemians*. That he was never for permitting Priests to marry, nor for dispensing with the Vows of Monks; but that he was always of opinion, that it was Cruelty to constrain People of either Sex to take Vows upon them, before they were of sufficient Age to understand them.

In the 13th. Epistle, *Erasmus* rallies at *Luther* for marrying one that had been a *Nun*, but had quitted the Convent some Years before, and because he had parted with the Philosophers Cloak and Beard. He says, that his Business was to refute the *Lutherans* and *Zuinglians*, yet his Enemies would make him pass for a *Lutheran*, and were continually exclaiming against him. In the next Epistle he complains of the same thing.

In the 20th. Epistle of this Book he makes the same Complaint to Pope *Adrian VI.* and justifies himself fully against the malicious Aspersions of his Enemies; and excuses himself for having written against *Luther*. He acquaints the Pope, that he had thought deliberately of the Means how to put an end to those Troubles, which Heresy had occasioned. That gentle methods would be more effectual than if it should be attempted by Violence: And that it would be a very difficult matter to re-establish Peace, if Men would be led by their own private Interests, if Divines would adhere to their own Opinions, and Monks would yield nothing of their Pretensions, and Princes would remit nothing of their Rights. He thought that to gain those who had separated from the Church, it would be necessary to assure them of a Pardon for what was past, to put a stop to any farther Innovations, to suppress all defamatory Libels, and to give the World hopes that there would be a Change made in all those things, of which the Yoke seem'd insupportable. That the very Name of Liberty would persuade many to return. That it ought to be procured as much as was possible, without doing hurt to Religion, and without abasing the Authority of Princes, and Bishops; he thought that for removing the Causes of all those Evils, and for considering what Changes or Alterations should be made, it would be necessary that out of all Countries there should be such Persons chosen, who were proof against all kinds of Temptations, prudent and calm in their Tempers, endued with the Spirit of Meekness, and capable of giving good Advice.

In his twenty third Epistle he complains, that *Oecolampadius* (to whom it is addressed) had in the Preface of his Commentary upon *Isaiah* called him *Our Great Erasmus*. This Character, which was nothing to his Purpose, served only to render *Erasmus* still more odious to his Superiors, and might make the Publick believe, that he was of *Oecolampadius's* Principles, which he takes very ill, and tells him how highly he resented it. This Epistle is dated 25 January, 1525.

In the 25th. Epistle he describes those Evils, which *Luther's* new Reformation had occasioned. The very name of the Gospel had awakened many People out of the Sleep and Lethargy which they were in before: *Luther* at first made his Cause seem plausible

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plausible even to good People, by magnifying the Authority of the Sacred Scriptures, by preaching that it was necessary every Man should put all his Confidence in God, and that he should not have any Confidence in his own Strength, and by promising that gospel Liberty which was so earnestly wished for. What he said against the Court of Rome, against the Bishops that depended on that Court, against the Tyranny of Monks, which was become insupportable, and against Sophistical Divinity, gained him also a great Applause. His adversaries made his Cause more favourable, by exclaiming against polite Learning and the Study of Languages, and because they were already odious to Men of Probity and Learning. This Evil increased still the more, the more it was opposed; and the burning some People alive, was so far from stopping the Progress of it, that it was thereby cherish'd and spread it self farther. He adds, that he had admonished *Luther* privately, to write better things, and with more Moderation. That according to his Advice *Luther* had composed some Treatises which were better received, as his Treatises upon some Psalms, upon the Lord's Prayer, upon the Fourteen Visions. But that afterwards it was not in his Power to hinder him from publishing some Pamphlets that were still more and more violent. That he was very much offended at his Arrogance, and at the itching desire he had to Buffoonry, without sparing even crown'd Heads, and those who ought to be respected. He hopes, that God will turn those Evils to the Advantage of his Church, and make the Gospel and Truth of *Jesus Christ* triumph, and raise up Evangelists, who without going astray either to the right Hand or to the left, will preach the Gospel with Prudence, and in the Spirit of Charity and Meekness.

In the 47th. Epistle written to the Bishop of Rochester, he tells him that on the one side, he had the Monks and Divines to encounter with, and they design'd his Ruin; and on the other the *Lutherans*, who fretted at him, because he retarded their Triumphs, as they pretended, and would not openly profess *Luther's* Doctrine. He says, there were some things in that Doctrine which he did not understand, and some things which he doubted of and some things which his Conscience would not allow him to maintain: And he wished that the Disorders which *Luther* had raised, might be as a bitter and violent Potion, which might purge the Church.

The first Epistle of the 19th. Book is directed to Pope Clement VII. and written upon his Accession to the Papal Dignity. *Erasmus* assures him, that neither the Sollicitations of Princes, nor his Friendly Correspondence with Learned Men, nor the Hatred which the Monks and Divines bore against him, should engage him to be of *Luther's* Party, and to conspire with him against the Holy See: That if there were any thing in the Writings which he published before *Luther* appeared, that might be taken in an ill sense, he would not have written it, if he had foreseen what fell out afterwards. That he had alter'd those Passages in the last Edition of his Works, and that he was always ready to alter other Passages, if he should be charitably admonished to do it. That he had always submitted himself to the Judgment of the Church of Rome, and that he would never do any thing in Opposition to it, even tho' it should not determine in his Favour, but that he had so much Confidence in his Holiness's Justice, that he was persuaded that he would not suffer him to be made a Sacrifice to the implacable Hatred of a small Number of his Enemies. In the Close of this Letter, he wishes it may be the good Will of God, that Pope Clement may be the Restorer and Defender of a new Golden Age: And he adds by way of Postscript, that his Holiness would excel his Predecessors, and acquire a greater Fame and Reputation than they,

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if he would put an end to all those Troubles and Disorders that had been occasioned by the Wars, and by Differences in Opinions. That the first might be done if he would favour all Princes equally, and the last, if he would give Men ground to hope, that he would alter all those that might be altered without doing Wrong to Religion. This Letter is dated from Basil the 13th. of February 1524.

The Second Epistle of this Book is from *Melanchthon* to *Erasmus*; he tells him, that he had reason to complain of some of those, who made Profession of *Lutheranism*, and he confesses there were some among them, who had forgotten both Humanity and Religion: Who raised Tumults by their seditious Sermons, who were Enemies to polite Learning, who did not observe any Rules of Civility, and who only sought to bring all Men under their own Tyranny. He says that *Luther's* conduct was quite different from theirs, that he bewail'd those Abuses, that he was sensibly touched with them; but that he did not think, that upon that account he ought to abandon the Interests of the Gospel. He could wish that *Erasmus* had a better Opinion of *Luther's* Doctrine, he assures him that *Luther* was far from having any ambitious Designs, and from the cruel Temper of some new Preachers, he tells him that he was persuaded, that his Doctrine was true, and that his Conscience would not allow him to condemn it. He does not take it ill, that *Erasmus* had written against him, concerning *Free-Will*; and he puts him in hopes, that *Luther* will answer him with Calmness and Moderation.

In the next Epistle, *Erasmus* writes him an Answer and tells him, that if he saw what past in his Country, he would yet more frankly confess, that he had reason to complain of those, who made a wrong use of the Name of the Gospel. That *Luther* did well not to be satisfied with it, because they disgraced his Party. That he would not pass a Judgment concerning *Luther's* Motives, or constrain *Melanchthon* to change his Opinion, but that he could have wished, that *Melanchthon*, whose Genius seemed to be fitted for Learning, had applied himself only to it, without engaging himself in these Debates about Religion. That he was offended at many things in *Luther's* Doctrine, and especially, that when he had undertook the Defence of any thing, he did it with a fervency of Passion that was without all Bounds, and without End. That he stretched every thing too far, and when he was advertised of it, he carried it still farther. That a more moderate Liberty would have been more effectual to have engaged Princes and Bishops in the Reformation; he says, that *Oecolampadius*, *Pelicanus* and *Hedio*, were exactly of *Luther's* Temper, that they thought they did great things, when they persuaded some Monks to lay aside their Frocks, and some Priests to marry: That *Luther* took every thing wrong, and that while he thought to rectify Abuses, he occasioned greater Mischiefs. That his Doctrine had been the Cause of Commotions and Seditions in several places. 'Is it very agreeable (says he) to Christian Piety, to preach to the People, that the Pope is Antichrist; that the Bishops and Priests are Shadows; that Human Constitutions are Heresies; that Auricular Confession is a Plague; That it is Heretical to speak of good Works, Merits, or Endeavours: And to assure us there is no such thing as Free-Will; that all things happen by Necessity; that it is no matter of what kind our Works be'. He adds, that of old the Gospel made Men better, but that this new pretended Gospel made them much worse: He also blames *Oecolampadius*, *Carlostadius*, and some of *Luther's* Disciples, that they did not agree well among themselves. These two Letters were written in the Year 1524.

In the next Epistle, which is written in the same Year to a Physician, he speaks of the *Lutherans* and *Zuinglians*, much after the same manner, and in a

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Postscript to that Letter, he gives this following Description of them. ' This new Gospel has produced a new Generation of obstinate, impudent, hypocritical People; who are Revilers, Liars, Deceivers; and who do not agree among themselves, and are very uneasy to others, who are seditious, furious, given to cavilling, and with whom I am so much dissatisfied, that if I knew any Town where none of them were, I would go thither and chuse to live in it.

In the 29th. Epistle, he gives a pleasant Account of the little Arts and Stratagems, which the Monks made use of in several Places to disparage his Works.

In the 31st. which is of the 24th. of March 1529. he gives *Johannes Vergara* an Account of the Changes that were made in Religion and Worship in the Town of *Basil*, and says, that there was not so much as one Image left in the Churches: That the Mass, and all the Ceremonies of the Church were entirely abolished, that the People thought it enough, if they had heard a Sermon, and if after that was ended, the Women and Children sung Psalms, translated into German Verse: And that sometimes Bread was distributed as a Symbol of the Body of Jesus Christ, that they had obliged the Monks and Nuns to lay aside their Habits, and to leave the Town. That it was true, no Houses were broke open, nor was any Person killed; but that it was to be feared, all this would be done, because many Towns of *Germany* and *Switzerland* had entred into the Confederacy. That if they should once take Arms, he was resolved to retire: That tho' the Princes were powerful enough, yet they would find but few Soldiers, who would venture their Lives for the Rights of Priests: In a word, he did not think that any human Succours could remedy these Evils, but they ought to have their Recourse to God: That in the meantime, he had done his Duty, by declaring openly that he would not in any thing desert the Communion of the Church, and by attacking *Luther* three several times, tho' he lived in those Parts of *Germany*, where his Opinions were followed, which no other Man had done before him. That the Divines of *Paris* were not within the reach of their Adversaries, when they wrote those Articles which were laughed at in *Germany*; that it would have been safer for him to have written in *Brabant*; but that he had other Enemies to grapple with there. That he should be necessitated to remove from *Basil*, yet at that time he did not know what Place he should chuse to go to; that he foresaw, that his removing from that Town, would do prejudice to his Health, but if he should stay in it, it would look as if he approved of the Alterations that had been publickly made there.

Alphonfus Fonseca, Archbishop of *Toledo*, solicits him by his Letter, which is the 32d. of this Book, to write against *Luther's* Heresy; but in the next Epistle, *Erasmus* begs to be excused from such an Undertaking, and tells that Prelate, that he did not think himself sufficiently qualified to maintain the Church's Cause by himself; that it was quite another thing to write in Defence of those Tenets, on which the Preservation or Ruin of Religion depended, than to write *Scholia* on *St. Jerome's* Works; that he was not to be compared to those many Divines, who had signalized themselves in that Controversy; yet that he might not be altogether an unprofitable Servant, he was retired to *Basil*, that he might write some things which might be serviceable to the Church; that what he had already published, was a sufficient Evidence, that he had not been idle; that since he came to live in that City, he had not been a mere Spectator in the Debates betwixt the Catholics and the *Lutherans*; that by his Letters, and his Converse, and his Books, he had been instrumental in reducing many People to the Communion of the Church; or retaining them in it, or at least in making them more moderate; that tho' he lived in a Country where *Luther's* Principles were more

favoured than at *Wittenberg* it self, yet he had appeared against him. Notwithstanding which, his Enemies reviled him more than ever; that tho' he wrote in opposition to those Errors, which contradicted the catholick Religion, yet the greatest part of the Divines were not satisfied, unless he would also approve of all those Opinions which they had introduced into the Schools, and would make use of the same Terms that they did. That this was the Reason why their Books of Controversy were contemned, and that they have not been so successful as he could have wished they had been. That as for himself he had done all that was in his Power. In this Letter he complains several times of the false Aspersions and Persecutions, which he suffered from his Enemies; and in the Close he tells him of the Alterations that were made in Religion at *Basil*, and in many other Towns.

In the 38th. Epistle, written to *Ludovicus Berus*, he tells him how uneasy he was, that he had not had any *Alleluiah* or joyful Festival at *Easter*; he compares his Circumstances to those of the *Israelites*, when they were under the *Babylonish* Captivity, and he says, that waiting patiently till he should be delivered from that Captivity, and might offer up Sacrifices publickly unto God, his Chamber was instead of a Church to him: He bewails the Unhappiness of the Times he lived in; and observes, that God permits such Times to happen, that he may try his own Elect: He says, that for himself, the Persecutions which he had suffered were so far from abating his Courage, that they had made him more stedfast in his Principles: He gives an Account of those which he had suffered, and which he was daily suffering from his Enemies, and he assures *Berus*, to whom he writes this Epistle, that all those Evils were never able to tempt him to ingage in any Sect, and that he was resolved to lose both his Reputation and his Life, rather than to separate from the Communion of the Church. He then gives an Account of his Conduct and his Faith. ' I have, says he, made some progress in the Knowledge of Languages and polite Learning. I have exhorted the School Divines to quit their little Questions, which have a tendency rather to make Men conceited of themselves, than to advance true Piety; and that they would apply themselves to the Study of those Books, from which all true Divinity ought to be derived, that is the sacred Scriptures, and the ancient Doctors of the Church. I do not pretend, that scholastick Divinity ought to be abolished, but I wish it were purer and more serious than now it is. I have exhorted the Monks to be what they profess to be; that is, Persons who are dead to the World, and that they would not rely so much upon external Performances, but that they would apply themselves more seriously to attain the true Piety of the Soul. I have condemned those who take Vows upon themselves rashly and inconsiderately, and those who make use of Tricks and Artifices to engage others in those Vows; but I have never approved of those who quitted the monastick Life without good Reasons, and without the Consent of the Pope. I have often wished, that the Popes, Cardinals, and Bishops, would lead apostolical Lives; but I never was of the Opinion, that any of them ought to be driven from their Offices and Places. I have always had a respect for all the Sacraments of the Church, tho' some of the Ancients doubted whether Marriage was of that Number. I never doubted but that sacramental Confession ought to be practised, and I never adventured to approach the Holy Table, till I had confessed to a Priest. I never had any design to abolish the Mass, and I could never persuade my self that God has suffered his Church, to continue very long in such a dangerous Error, as to adore a little Piece of Bread instead of the Body of Jesus Christ. I have had some Difficulty concerning the Words of Consecration; but

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in those kinds of Scruples, I am always disposed to submit my self to the Judgment of the Church. I think the Opinion of those very foolish, who allow to every Man the Power of consecrating, absolving, and ordaining. I have always had a particular Indignation against Sects and Schisms. I have not engaged in any Party, tho' I have had many and strong Motives to do it. I never endeavoured to make my self the Head of a Party, or to engage others to be my Followers; what Principles I ever had, I have given them to J. Christ. He then comforts himself as to his own Misfortunes, with the Hopes that Death would soon ease him of them, and as to the Calamities of the Church, that God in his Mercy would calm that Tempest.

The 45th. Epistle of the same Book is directed to the Assembly of the *Swissers* met at *Baden*. It is written against a Pamphlet, of which Copies had been given to several People some time before; the Title of it was, *The Opinion of Luther and Erasmus concerning the Lord's Supper*. He disowns those Opinions which the Author of that Pamphlet charged him with, and declares, that they were not to be found in any of his Writings, and that he had never advanced any Opinions concerning the Eucharist, but what were conformable to those of the Church.

In the 71st. Epistle, written to *Franciscus a Vitoria*, a *Spaniard*, who was a Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, *Erasmus* complains of the ill things that were done against him in *Spain*, *France* and *England*. He is particularly offended with Doctor *Bedda*, whom he accuses of Ignorance in the Languages, and of making very unfaithful Collections out of his Writings; he shews, that we ought not always to understand the Terms of a Proposition in a strict and rigorous Sense; that we ought to consider the Sense of the Author, and for this he brings some Examples out of the Holy Fathers, 'St. *Jerome*, says he, exhorting the Clergy to contemn Riches, says, *That he who possesses any other thing than the Lord, cannot have the Lord for his Portion*. If any Man should maliciously interpret this Passage, would he not say that he forbids the Clergy to possess any Goods in property? And what is there more odious, than what the same Father says of Marriage? *What kind of good can that be, that is only approved of, in comparison with something that is more sinful?* If any such thing were to be found in my Writings, with what Blasphemy should not I be charged? When St. *Basil* exhorts the Rich to give Alms to the Poor, he says, *That the goods which they possessed belonged to others*, What could be more seditious, if these Words were taken according to the Rigor of a dogmatical Proposition, and not according to the use which is made of them in an Exhortation? He then shews, that nothing had done more harm to the Pope's Authority, than the excessive Height to which the Monks had screw'd it up; he exhorts the Faculty of Divines at *Paris*, to employ all their Interest and their Authority, against the Enemies of the Church. He tells them, that they ought to serve Jesus Christ, and not the Passions of some particular Men. That they ought rather to combat against those, who have openly written against the Principles of the Church, than against a Man who was fighting for them, and in the same Field too. He confesses, that possibly when he decried some impious Principle, he may have run into the other Extreme; but he says, that if at any time he has done so, it has been thro' Mistake or Negligence, and not thro' any malicious Design. That if any Man would let him understand wherein he was mistaken, he should be the first who would dash out any thing that was amiss, or explain what had not been well enough understood. That in this manner his Books might be corrected, without transgressing the Laws of Charity, and to greater Advantage, and even to the greater Honour of the Faculty.

The 72d. Epistle is directed to *Bucer*, in which he declares, that Conscience had chiefly hindered him

from embracing the Principles of *Luther's* Reformation: And if he had believed, that this Reformation had been the Work of God, he would have engaged in it. He adds, that there were many People among them, who had nothing of that Sincerity which the Gospel required: That he had known some of them, who were Persons of great Integrity, before they betook themselves to that Party, but who afterwards had proved stark naught; and that he had never known any who became better by it; and a third Reason why he would never join with that Party was, the Divisions which were among the leading Men of the Reformation. 'For not to say any thing (*says he*) of *Prophets* and *Anabaptists*, are there any Writings, in which there are greater Transports of Passion, than those which *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, and *Osiander*, have written against one another?' He declares, that he does not approve of the Cruelty of Princes, but that the Conduct of some Reformers had provoked them to it. 'What made *Luther* (*says he*) write a Satyr against the King of *England*? And yet *Luther* is the chief Man in the Reformation; I was not so much concerned at the ill Treatment he gave to my self, but I can never forgive him for betraying the Cause of the Gospel, and for incensing Princes and Bishops, and the counterfeit Monks and School Divines, against very good People, and for making that Servitude heavier, which was already intolerable.' He then describes the disorderly Practices of those, who had embraced the Reformation, and the Evils which it had occasioned: 'Those (*says he*) who have left off to observe the canonical Hours of Prayer, do not pray at all: Those who slight the Orders of Bishops, give no Obedience to the Laws of God: And those who will not abstain from Meats, plunge themselves into all sorts of Debaucheries.' At last he expresses his Dissatisfaction against those who had abolished the Mass, because some Priests abused it; they ought for the same Reason, says he, to have taken away Sermons.

The 73d. Epistle is that which he wrote to the Parliament of *Paris*, intreating that Court to put a stop to the Censure of his Works by the Faculty of Divines, which *Bedda* undertook to procure.

The 77th. is written to *Bedda* himself, wherein he advises him to moderate his Passions, and at the same time offers to do every thing that was necessary on his part, in order to a Reconciliation; and even to beg his Pardon, if he had written with too much Passion against him. This Epistle is written in the Year 1527. There are in the same Book four other Letters from *Erasmus* to *Bedda*, the 82d, 91st, 97th, and 106th.; but they are dated *Anno 1525*. before he had begun to request a Censure of *Erasmus's* Books.

In the 82d. Epistle address'd to the Faculty of Divines at *Louvain*, he complains that a Book which a *Carmelite* Friar had written against him, was allowed to be sold publicly at *Louvain*: And that *Latomus* did all that was in his Power, to make the World believe he was a Heretick.

The 91st. written to *Bedda*, gives a long History of what *Erasmus* had done for the Church, and of the Persecutions that had been raised against him, and of the Adversaries whom he had contended with, and of the illustrious Men who had approved of what he had done.

The 95th. Epistle is to *Conradus Pelicanus*, who had spread a Report, that *Erasmus* had acknowledged to him, that he was of his Opinion concerning the Eucharist. He accuses and convinces him of Calumny, by declaring that he never believed, that there was nothing but Bread and Wine in the Eucharist; and that he was always persuaded, that it was the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. In this Letter there are many things very remarkable against the *Sacramentarians*, and particularly he refutes an Objection founded upon this, that the Name of the Thing signified, may be given to the Sign. 'It may

may be said of a Picture, this is *Hector* who killed *Patroclus*; but every body knows, that the Picture is not really *Hector*, whereas we have good Reason to believe, that what Jesus Christ has assured us of, is real and true: And besides, it is a pitiful way of reasoning to say, that the Words of Jesus Christ are capable of a figurative Sense, therefore they ought to be understood in that Sense. To what purpose do they cite so many of the Ancients? They may force, perplex, and darken such and such Passages as much as they please, but they will never find any one in which it is said distinctly, that the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are not in the Eucharist. The Fathers exhort People to communicate spiritually of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, and no wonder, since it is the spiritual Communion by which we receive the greatest Benefit, and without which the Communion of his Flesh is the Cause of Damnation: But does that oblige us to quit that Doctrine which the Church has taught for so many Ages?

The 99th. Epistle is an Epitaph on *Dorpius*, and the 101st. is in praise of *Vives*.

The 107th. is addressed to Prince George of Saxony, and contains several Reflections upon *Luther's* Undertakings. He writes his Mind freely to that Prince; that when *Luther* appeared, the World was lulld asleep with scholastick Opinions and human Constitutions; that nothing was heard of but Indulgences which were exposed to Sale, and the Power of the Pope; that supposing those things were undoubtedly true, yet they did not contribute much to establish the Force of the Gospel, or to quicken People to a Contempt of the World, and to the Love of heavenly things: That we ought not to despise the Pope's Authority, but that all his Glory ought to be subservient to that of Jesus Christ: That some of those who did not mind the things that belonged to Jesus Christ, but who loved the things of this World, bore great sway and advanced their own Interest, under cover of those Opinions; that it was necessary to awaken the World out of this Sleep, and to stir up the remaining Sparks of evangelical Fire: But that *Luther* had not observed those Rules of Moderation that he ought to have done. That the School Divines, who had written against him, had inflamed the Sore and increased the Distemper. That *Luther* had advanced many things that were insufferable, but that these Divines had also maintained Opinions which Men of Learning and Probity could not approve of, and which might do prejudice to the Piety of the Gospel; that the Bull of Pope *Leo X.* had no other Effect, but to make the Conflagration spread further; that the Emperor's Edict, how rigorous soever it was, had made no change in Mens Minds. He excuses himself that he did not write against *Luther*, and that some People suspected him to be the Author of the Book, which the King of England had written against him. He declares, that he had no hand in that Book, and that that Prince was very capable of being the Author of it himself. He promises at last to employ all his Parts and Strength in defence of the Faith, and for the Re-establishment of Unity among Christians.

In the 113th. which is written to *Melanchthon*, he blames the Conduct of those who were the chief Men in the Reformation, and shews the Difference that was between the Opinions of *Zuinglius* and *Melanchthon*. We may there see several Particulars relating to the Reformers.

The 20th. Book of *Erasmus's* Epistles contains nothing remarkable, he treats in it after his usual manner of his own Conduct, of his Disposition for Religion, of the Enemies he had, of the Books he had written, and of some Points of Criticism and of Learning.

In the 3d. Epistle of the 21st. Book, he complains to *Hedio*, that he had supported *Scot* the Printer, who had printed some Satyrs against him. He there

also exclaims against the Monks who quitted their Habits in order to marry.

In the 7th. which is addressed to Prince George of Saxony, he repeats what he had written in many other Letters of the Causes of the great progress of *Luther's* Schism, and of the Protestations he had so often made, that he had never favoured that Party.

In the 30th. he justifies his Translation of that Passage of *St. Luke*, *Gloria in excelsis Deo, Pax in Terrâ, Hominibus bona voluntas*, 'Eudoxia.

The other Epistles contain several very curious Particulars concerning the learned Men of that Age.

The 19th. Epistle of the 22d. Book is addressed to the Faculty of Divinity at *Paris*, which he calls *Collegium Sorbonicum*, and is written in defence of himself, against the Undertakings of *Bedda*; he begins by protesting, that he was very far from being guilty of any Heresy, or of any Schism: And that he had written against *Luther*, and the *Lutherans* had written against him. That *Ludovicus Berus*, who was his particular Acquaintance, could give a Testimony of his Faith. That he had never had a Quarrel with any one whole Order: That he had always taken care, not to offend a Society, whose wise Judgment had always been of great Authority. That when he wrote his Answer to *Bedda*, he did not think that the whole Society would have thought themselves concerned in it. That at first he had written to him, that the Matter might be treated of among them with Christian Moderation; but that *Bedda* had published a Book against him full of Calumnies, Lies and Blasphemies: That he had been excited to it by *Edward Lee*, who had dispersed thro' France and Spain many Copies of a Book against him, much like that of *Bedda's*. That *Petrus a Victoria*, whole Brother *Franciscus a Victoria*, was a Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, had declared himself his Enemy at *Burgos*, and had raised a great Storm in that place. That the same *Lee* had also instigated some Doctors of the Faculty of *Louvain* against him. He tells the Faculty, that he hop'd for Justice from them, and that they would not be led aside by *Bedda's* Passion; that they would not condemn so great a Number of Articles, without reading his Answers, and examining the Passages in the places where they were to be found, and taking notice of the Persons whom he introduces as speaking, and comparing every thing that was taken from thence, with the Contexts both before and after: And then he conjures the *Parisian* Doctors not to ruin poor *Erasmus*. He confesses they could easily do it; but he assures them, that such a Triumph would not make much for their Honour, and that the Truth which he defends will prove always invincible. He afterwards produces some Examples to let them see, that some Propositions, separated from their Contexts, might be taken in a very bad Sense; whereas in the place out of which they are taken, they have a very good Meaning. He intreats the Faculty, that, if it was possible, the whole Business might be so managed between him and them, that they might give him charitable Admonitions: And he promises to mend whatsoever was amiss, by correcting his own Writings; but if that cannot be done, he intreats the Doctors not to be led away by the Passions of a particular person, but to have a charitable Opinion of him, and to read the places from whence *Bedda* had taken those Passages, which he had laid before the Faculty, and that they would vouchsafe to read his Answer.

In the 29th. Epistle *Erasmus* makes his own Apology, by reckoning up the Services which he had done the Church; first by the Editions of the Fathers, which he had published; 2dly. By what he had written on the Holy Scriptures, which was approved of by the Popes; 3dly. By what he had taught in his Writings. 'This is what I have always done, 'in my Works (says he) I declaim against the Wars 'which have troubled *Christendom* for so many years; 'and whereas School Divinity was degenerated into
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An History of the Lives, and an Abridgement of the Works of the Authors of the former Part of the sixteenth Century.
Erasmus.
 nice Sophisms, I have endeavoured to reduce it to its first Origen and its ancient Simplicity. I have restored the Holy Doctors of the Church to their natural State, so that from them the Truths of Religion may be drawn as from their Fountains. The Classick Authors, which were formerly all Heathens, have been made use of to do Honour to Jesus Christ: I have done what was in my Power to make the Languages flourish. I have delivered Men from many dangerous Prejudices. I have awaken'd the World which was slumbering, nay and quite lulled asleep with Jewish Ceremonies, yet without disapproving of those of the Church. In these things I have proceeded with all the Moderation that was possible, not only without doing Prejudice to any Order of Men, but even without wounding the good Name or Reputation of any private Man, without making my self of any Party, and without raising any Sedition. He adds, that he never condemned Monastick Orders, but that he took notice of the Abuses and disorderly Carriage of some Monks. That tho' he spoke more freely against the Behaviour of Princes, Cardinals, Popes and Bishops; yet none of them ever declar'd against him: That only the Monks, who ought to be the most patient of all Men, reviled him for the good Advices he had given them.

The Thirtieth Epistle contains an Apology for his Opinions in several Articles. He says, as to Pilgrimages, that he had only taught, that People ought to take care not to fall into Superstition. As to Confession, that he had always approved of it, tho' he was not sure that it was instituted by Jesus Christ: That in his Book concerning the manner of confessing, his design was to teach People so to confess, that they might reap Advantage by it; and he could not forbear to take notice of some Inconveniences in Confession, which he did not attribute to Confession it self, but to the Fault of the Confessors, or of the Penitents: That he had exhorted People to honour the Saints, especially in imitating them; but there was so much Superstition in the Worship which they paid to them, that it was necessary to admonish them of it; that he had never condemned Ecclesiastical Ceremonies, but had taught the manner how they ought to be used. As to Abstinence from certain Meats, that he had already given an Answer upon that Subject to *Natalis Bedda*; and that every Man that was truly pious, wished that the Laws relating to that Practice were changed into simple Counsels or Exhortations: That he was not the only Person who disliked the excessive Number of Festivals, especially at a time when there were scarce any Days on which more Sins were committed, than on the Festival Days. That he approved of a moderate Number of Holy-days, but that he wished those Days were spent in Exercises of Piety. That Religion did not at present depend upon working of new Miracles; and that it was well enough known, how many false Opinions had been introduced by pretended Miracles. That there were at that time some People endeavouring to revive this old Artifice, and he gives some Examples of it, and among the rest a very pleasant one of a Curate, who had put a good number of Cray-fish in the Church-yard, and had tied lighted Wax-Candles to them: The Cray-fish creeping in the Night-time over the Graves, were a frightful Spectacle to the People; next Day the Curate preached, and said, that they were the Souls of the dead, who came to beg the Prayers of the Living, that they might be delivered from Purgatory: The People would have believ'd it, had not some of them found some of the Cray-fish in the Church-yard, with the Wax-Candles still tied to them. He confesses that Monks ought to be revered: "Give us true Monks, (*said he*) and we shall respect them, but where are they to be found?" As for the greatest part of the Monks

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of our time (for I except some few of them,) what have they of the Monk but the Habit and the Tonsure? Let the greatest part of the Monasteries be visited, and how little shall we find of true Christian Piety? Nothing, or but very little of Learning or Spiritual Vigour, especially among such of them as are concerned in worldly Business. Must all the Monasteries be ruined on that account? No: But they ought to be reformed; and this ought so to be done, that they may be as so many Schools of Sobriety, Chastity, Modesty and true Piety. He believes, that to make them such it would be necessary, First, to make Laws prohibiting the Monks and Nuns to engage young Boys or Girls by their Flattery or Threatnings to enter into Convents. 2. To appoint some Persons of Consideration and Probity, who might take Care to direct them, and to instruct them in the Word of God, and not suffer them to spend their time in Sloth and Laziness. 3. Perhaps it might not be amiss to take away the great Variety of Orders, Habits and Rules. 4. They ought to be obliged, to renounce the Bulls with which they armed themselves against their Bishops, their Magistrates and the People, and to acknowledge the Authority of their Bishops, as the first Founders of their Orders did.

In the next Epistle *Erasmus* defends himself against the many ridiculous Accusations, which had been framed against him, and shows the Malice and Disingenuity of his Enemies.

The Second Epistle of the 23d. Book is addressed to Pope *Adrian VI.* and then there are two obliging Letters from the same Pope to *Erasmus*. In the first of which two Letters he tells him, that he had given no Credit to the Accusations of one or two Persons who had informed against him; and he exhorts him to write against the new Heresies. In the second he intreats him to give him his Advice, which were like to prove the best Methods, by which those Evils might be remedied.

In the fifth, he treats of sudden Death. "People (*says he*) are usually more afraid of it than of any thing else, and they look upon it as an immediate Judgment from God; yet it is common to the good and to the bad. But the thing they ought to be afraid of, is not lest they should die suddenly, but lest they should die when they are in an evil State. Those who are so much afraid of sudden Death, would do much better to pray to God for Grace to live better: For what can be more stupid, than to put off our Conversion, till the Approach of Death? How few People are converted by a long Sicknes? 'Tis true, we ought never absolutely to despair of any Person; but 'tis to delay till it be too late, to learn the Laws of Christianity, when a Man is no longer in a Condition to practise them. 'Tis very late to make use of the Remedy of Confession, when a Man is upon the point of rendring up his Soul. Grant me, say some of them, in addressing to St. *Barbara*, a true Contrition, and a good Confession when I come to die. What is it they pray for when they address themselves in such Terms, but that they may be allowed to live in Wickedness, and yet to die happily? Otherways they would address themselves to Jesus Christ, and not to St. *Barbara*, and would say, Grant that from this time I may hate my Sins, and be religiously sorrowful that ever I committed them: That I may reflect upon them with bitterness of Soul, and may so confess for once, that I may not need to confess any more. Some beg of God such a particular kind of Death, and that they may be so long sick before they die: Yet 'tis much more Christian, not to be any farther concerned; but to live so well, that when that last Day shall come, it may not surprize us while we are unprepared, and to leave the rest to the good will of God, who knows what is convenient for every one of us."

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us. All Men come into the World after the same manner : But they go out of it after an infinite Number of several ways. He who has lived well cannot die ill, but if a devout Christian were allowed to chuse such a kind of Death as he himself pleased, I think there is no kind ought to be more wished for than that of a sudden Death ; which breaking the Course of our good Works here, carries us streight to Heaven. A sick Man, who is oppressed with bodily Diseases, is no more in a Condition to do good Works : He cannot any more study, or teach, or preach, or visit the sick, or work with his hands for the Relief of the poor ; on the contrary, he himself is a Charge and Burthen to others'. Erasmus then gives several Examples of sudden Deaths, which are very edifying. He adds many other Examples of Illustrious Persons of his time who died while they were young.

The sixth Epistle contains several Particulars of Erasmus's Life.

The seventh is the Preface of his *Christian Soldier's Manual*.

In the Eighth he justifies his Translation of a Passage, in the 7th. Chapter of St. John's Gospel, and some other Passages of his Works.

The ninth is an Elegy and Epitaph upon Frobenius his Printer, whom he highly commends for his Skill in his Employment, and for his Generosity and Candour.

The thirteenth gives us the History of an Anabaptist.

The first Epistle of the 24th. Book is addressed to *Hermanus*, Archbishop of Cologne, to whom he gives an account of the Temper and Moderation, which he wished had been observed in the Reformation of Ecclesiastical Discipline. That Prelate sent him a very obliging Answer, which is the next to this Epistle.

The fourth describes the manner of *Lewis de Berquin's* Death, of which we have already given an Account.

The fifth is that which he wrote to *Grunnius* the Apostolical Secretary, for obtaining a Dispensation from his Vows ; in which, under the Name of *Florentius*, he gives the Reasons, why he asks that Dispensation.

In the fifteenth Epistle, after having repeated what he had often said of those Abuses, which as he thought, ought to have been reformed, and of the too great Forwardness of the new Reformers, he gives a List of the Adversaries he had in France, Spain, Flanders and Italy.

The first Epistle of the 25th. Book is addressed to Cardinal *Cajetan*, who had advised Erasmus what Measures he should take, to remove the Suspensions which some People had entertained against him, and to take away all grounds of Accusations, that he might live and study in Peace and Quiet the rest of his Days. Erasmus acquaints him, that he had already done some part of what he had advised him to do, by remarking and correcting many Passages, where there were any real Faults, whether they were his own or the Printers. As to the Moderation which he recommends to him, he assures him that he had already made it appear, in his Answer to the Censures of the Divines of Paris, which were published some little time before, under the Name of the Faculty, tho' they were only the Work of one single restless Man, whom the rest suffered, but with much uncauseness, to be of their Society. He adds, that he was ready to do with his Works what St. *Augustin* did with his, provided they would agree upon the Passages, where they found any Errors, or any thing that could probably be the Cause of Scandal : But that he could not do any thing with the Passages which his Adversaries did not understand, or upon which they had maliciously put a bad Construction, or which they had applyed to Persons and Times, to which they did not relate ; that the greatest part of the things with which they reproach'd him were of this Nature ; that there were some People so

perverse in their Opinions, that if he were obliged to follow their Counsels, he should be forced to dash out of his Books some things which some Men of true Learning and Piety thought very good. He despairs, that he should ever be able to stop the Mouths of all those who did not wish him well, but he would think himself happy enough if he did but satisfy good Men, and were able to acquit himself of what he owed to *Jesus Christ*.

In the Eleventh Epistle, Erasmus, upon occasion of an Exposition of the 93d. Psalm, written by *Paul Sadolet*, and of what had been written by the same Author on the 85th. and 22d. Psalms, treats of the Ancient Commentaries upon the Psalms. Sadolet had spoken to him of *Hesychius's* Commentary, which he esteemed ; Erasmus says, that he knew nothing at all of that Author : And he adds, ' We have St. *Hilary's* Commentary, but it is not entire, and the whole of it is taken out of *Origen*. What St. *Jerome* has written on the Psalms has been basely corrupted by some malicious Impostor. S. *Augustine* has handled this Subject with Exactness, but he was obliged for the Instruction of the People, to intermix many things in his Work that are not very necessary, and which are even troublesome to a learned and diligent Reader. *Cassiodore* has chosen rather to make a Collection of every thing he could find, than to say a little with Exactness, we have the short Commentaries of *Bruno* upon the Psalms, which are more to be commended for their Piety than their Learning. The Explication of *Arnobius* is sometimes shorter than the Psalm.' He then answers the Admonition that Sadolet had given him, that he had not done well to tax whole Orders of Men in his Writings, or Persons who were in eminent Stations. He says, that he never had any design to offend any Order, but only to make them understand what they ought to do, and what they ought to avoid, if they would acquire Reputation and Authority. ' It is for the Honour of Divines (says he) that their Lives be suitable to their Profession, and that they treat of Theological Subjects with Prudence and Veneration, without insinuating upon frivolous Arguments. It is for the Honour of the Monastick Orders, to show by an entire Mortification of Humane Passions, that they far surpass the rest of Mankind in sincere Piety and true Devotion ; it is becoming the Majesty of Princes, not to let their Power degenerate into Tyranny ; it is for the Honour of Bishops, that they should imitate as much as they can the Virtues of *Jesus Christ* and his Apostles. Now a Man who gives such Advice as this, and reproves only those who dishonour their Profession, is so far from shocking any whole Order, that on the other hand he takes care of the Honour and Interests of every Order ; and least what I say against some Persons, who degenerate from the Holiness of their Profession, should be taken as a Reproach to the whole Order, I have often intreated the Readers not to think, that what I say of some few scandalous Wretches ought to be applyed to the whole Body : Perhaps it may be said, that I speak too often, and with too great Earnestness against these Disorders ; but if that were true, then they might find fault with the Sacred Scriptures, which give me often occasion to do it ; but if I have been in the wrong, by giving too many and too severe Admonitions : Yet they are much more in the wrong who being often admonished, are so far from becoming better and wiser, that they grow still worse and worse, and never think of justifying themselves, but only of aspersing the Man who has given them these Advices'.

Sadolet answers him, that though it may be sometimes necessary to exclaim against those, who are as it were lulled asleep in Vice ; yet it ought to be done in such a manner that it may not be suspected, that this Reproof is the Effect of Choler or Vexation.

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tion. He advises him also to flight those who writ against him, or to answer them with Paternal Charity: At last he tells him, that there are some things which naturally have a show of Devotion, and in which there is nothing to be found fault with, unless it be the Excess; as the worshipping of Saints, and the great number of Images, and that it is not fit in such things to strive against the Inclinations of the People; not but that it were far better to put our whole Trust in Jesus Christ; but these things are not consecrated to our Faith, and every Man has not a Capacity for comprehending the most sublime things.

Erasmus replies to *Sadolet* in the 24th. Epistle, that he did not deny but that he may have been in some measure faulty, in speaking of some things that were not contrary to true Piety, and in refuting his Adversaries with too much Severity; that he was endeavouring every Day to help those Faults, by correcting his Writings and qualifying all those Expressions; that there were certain false Imputations raised against him, in things which concerned Faith and Manners, which he could not let pass, and was obliged to say something to them; that in the Writings which he published in his own Defence, he always endeavoured to observe all possible Moderation; that he had written many Apologies, but never one Invective. As to the other point, he says, that there is nothing in his Books against the worshipping of Saints, or the use of Images. That sometimes he finds fault with the Superstitions, or ill ordered Worship that is sometimes paid to Saints; and he gives an Instance of a Soldier, who when he was going to rob, fell down on his Knees before the Image of St. Barbara, and said over some superstitious Prayers to her Honour, being persuaded that she would preserve him. That he was never of Opinion that Images and Statues ought to be abolished: But he wished, that there were none of them in Churches but such as were worthy of that place; that the Invocation of Saints, and the Adoration of Images, had occasioned a great Controversy: That though he did not believe there was any Passage in Scripture, commanding the Invocation of Saints, yet he did not dislike it, provided no Superstition were mixt with it, as in begging every thing from the Saints, without addressing to Jesus Christ: Or in addressing to them, as if they were more easy to be intreated than God himself: Or in asking a particular Grace from such a particular Saint, as if St. Catherine could do any thing that St. Barbara cannot: Or lastly in praying to them, not as to Intercessors, but as to the Authors of those good things which God alone gives us. As to Images, he rejects the Opinion of *Scotus*, that the same Worship ought to be paid to them, that is due to those whom they represent. He seems not to approve of so great Respect being paid to them, lest People should be induced to think, that they were to be adored, much less does he think, that any Confidence should be put in one Image rather than another; yet he says, that he no more condemned the worshipping of Images than the Invocation of Saints.

The Epistles of the 26th. Book contain several Particulars of the Life and Works of *Erasmus*, and of the most Learned Men of his time.

The 34th. which is written to *Augustinus Eugu- binus*, is one of the most remarkable of them. He therein makes many Observations upon that Author's Book, who in some part or other of it had used him ill.

The 27th. Book begins with a most obliging Letter from *Julius Pflugius* to *Erasmus*: he magnifies the Obligations which the Christian Commonwealth owed him, and tells him, that the World expected great Matters from him for the Peace of the Church, and the re-uniting of Christians. He hopes it might be done if Catholick Princes were once persuaded, that they might remit something of the severity of Human Constitutions: And if on

the other hand some Men of Temper and Moderation, such as *Melanchthon* was, would persuade those of their Party, to allow for the sake of Peace some things which they thought were not insupportable.

Erasmus answers him in the next Epistle, that for procuring the Peace of the Church, it was necessary that the Princes on both sides should agree to re-establish Evangelical Piety. That then there should be chosen a Hundred or Fifty Persons, out of all the Nations of *Christendom*, commendable for the Holiness of their Lives, for their singular Learning and for the Soundness of their Judgment. That their Opinions should be digested into Order by a lesser number of Persons chosen for that purpose; that many Questions of School-Divinity should be let alone and left to be debated within the Schools; and that they should not suffer Opinions and Conjectures to pass for Articles of Faith. That they should abolish some Ecclesiastical Laws, and change them into Councils or Exhortations; that Ministers should be chosen, who were instructed in the Word of God, and qualified to teach and exhort, to comfort and rebuke the People, and to refute Errors. He says, that from the first beginning of the Debates concerning Religion, he had been of Opinion, that the matter ought to be treated with Moderation, and by Men of Learning; that for that end he had done his utmost Endeavours, with the Emperor and with the Chancellor *Garinara*; that Pope *Adrian VI.* having asked his Advice, he had given it; but had not received any Answer. That *Melanchthon* had endeavoured at *Augsburg*, to do what *Pflugius* wishes in his Letter he would do now; that he himself could not go to that Conference, but if he had been at it, he would have joined with *Melanchthon* in his Endeavours for the Peace of the Church; but that there were some Men of Reputation and Authority, who treated all those as Hereticks who had any Correspondence with *Melanchthon*. That in such a Conjunction, a Man could hardly attempt a Reconciliation between the two contending Parties, without making both the one and the other his Enemies.

In this Book there are two very elegant Letters from Sir *Thomas More*, after he had quitted his Office of Chancellor of *England*, which are the 9th. and 10th.

In the 19th. Epistle *Erasmus* protests, that he was never willing to declare his own Thoughts, concerning the Divorce of King *Henry VIII.* of *England*.

In the 28th. he bewails the Misfortunes of the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and Sir *Thomas More*, who were arrested by Order of the King of *England*.

Besides these, there are in this Book many Letters from eminent Men to *Erasmus*, and some familiar Letters from *Erasmus* to his Friends.

The 28th. Book of *Erasmus's* Epistles is composed of his Prefaces, upon several ecclesiastical and profane Authors. The first is his Preface to St. *Augustine's* Works, whom he thus commends;

'The Christian World has nothing more precious or more august than this excellent Writer. His Words seem not to be the Work of Chance, but by divine Inspiration; his Wisdom is extraordinary, and the Perspicuity of his Eloquence and the Justness of his Thoughts deserve to be admired. The other Fathers have every one of them their good Qualities, as the Holy Ghost has been pleased to distribute his Gifts to them. In St. *Athanasius*, we admire that Perspicuity accompanied with Gravity and Exactness which is proper for instructing the People. In St. *Basil*, besides his Subtilty, we love his Eloquence, which is full of Sweetness and Piety. In St. *Chrysostome*, we acknowledge a Flood of Eloquence, which always runs in great plenty. We honour in St. *Cyprian*, a Spirit worthy of Martyrdom. In St. *Hilary*, we admire his sublime Eloquence, suitable to the high Matters

of which he treats. St. *Ambrose* stings us, though sweetly, and his Modesty is worthy of a Bishop. In St. *Jerome* we have reason to commend that rich Magazine of Holy Scriptures. In St. *Gregory* we find pure and unaffected Holiness, without any Disguise. In a word, the Holy Ghost has bestowed upon every one of the Fathers particular Gifts; but I do not know any Doctor of the Church, upon whom he has bestowed his Graces in greater abundance, than upon St. *Augustine*; as if he had designed to represent in one Picture, the Image of a compleatly well qualified Bishop, in whom nothing was wanting. He then magnifies St. *Augustine's* Virtues, his Sobriety, Vigilance, Industry, Purity and Charity, the Sweetness of his Temper, and his Impartiality. Then he proceeds to his Method of instructing People in Religion, and says, 'That we have not any Author, either among the *Greeks* or the *Latins*, whom we can compare to him in this: That he was one of the most happy Genius's in the World, whether we consider the Sharpness of his Wit, by which he could penetrate into the most obscure things, or the Vastness of his Memory, or the Soundness of his Judgment; the Difficulty of Questions did only entertain and awaken him; he was always ready to teach, and did it always with a singular Gentleness of Temper, and with an admirable Clearness: It was by this Sweetness of Behaviour, and his continual Sollicitations, that he converted many Hereticks, and put the rest to silence; that he abolished the Remains of Paganism in *Africa*, and made only use of the Sword of the Spirit and of apostolical Armour; for accomplishing all these things, having always preached and practised Christian Mildness to all Mankind. Tho' he was Bishop only of one City, yet he had the Charge of all the Churches of *Africa*, and instructed all other Bishops by his Books, and by his Letters. He bestowed as much time as he could upon composing his Works; but without neglecting the Duties of Charity. Before his Death, he made a Collection of all his Works, and put them into order and revised them: In a word, never was Man more concerned for, or loved with great Tenderness, the Beauty, Splendor and Peace of the House of God; insomuch, that all his Writings flame the Heart as much as they inform the Judgment; for in them Learning is accompanied with universal Charity. He was zealously in love with the Doctrines he taught, and he was dexterous in teaching the Doctrines he loved. This is the Effect which the reading of his Books produces in those who apply themselves to it.'

The 3^d. Epistle is his Preface before the Works of St. *Ambrose*, of which Father he gives this Judgment. 'Among the ancient Doctors of the *Latin* Church, I do not think there is any one, whose Works ought to be more search'd into than those of St. *Ambrose*; I speak this with Sincerity, and without doing an Injury to any Person. St. *Jerome* shews more Skill in the Languages, and more Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. St. *Hilary* is more polite, St. *Augustine* more subtile in the Resolution of difficult Questions; the other Fathers were excellent every one of them in his own kind; but where is there any of them that has explained the Scripture with so much Integrity? Who has more carefully avoided all kinds of Doctrines that are doubtful and suspected, who maintains better the Character of a Christian Bishop throughout all his Works, who shews more true paternal Charity in every thing he writes, and who joins so well together the Authority and Gentleness that ought to accompany the episcopal Office? Any Man may see, that he has been affected with every thing he says, and that all his Discourses have an agreeable Modesty and Piety in them.' Then he commends St. *Ambrose* for declining the episcopal Dignity, and for the undaunted Courage with which he reproved the Emperor *The-*

odosius, and his Constancy in opposing *Justina* the Empress. He observes, that his singular Moderation made all People love him, and that he never had any Enemies: Yet St. *Jerome* did not speak very favourably of him. 'It must be confessed, that St. *Ambrose* has taken almost every thing that he has written out of the *Greek* Authors; but has left out whatever was not consonant to the Purity of the Catholick Doctrine, or what related to controverted Points. His Style is not weak or low, he is severe when the Subject requires it, but his Sharpness seems rather to proceed from a Chearfulness of Spirit, than from such violent Motions as St. *Jerome* and *Hilary* were oftentimes animated with. His whole Discourse is frequently composed only of Sentences, he is full of agreeable Variety, he repeats the same thing but in a different manner, and he understood very well how to express himself clearly and in few Words.'

The 4th. Epistle is a Preface upon St. *Chrysostome*, he calls him *Concionatorem Melitissimum*, who is deservedly named the *Golden Mouth*, because of his wise Eloquence, and his eloquent Wisdom. He then speaks of his Version, and to his other Observations, he adds the Life of that Saint taken out of the *Tripartite History*.

His Preface before St. *Irenaeus* makes the 5th. Epistle; he says, that the Writings of this Father have in them the ancient evangelical Vigor, and that his Expressions discover, that he was fully prepared for Martyrdom: 'For (says he) the Expressions of Martyrs are grave, fervent and masculine.' He then speaks of this Saint's Life, and of the subject of his five Books against Heresies.

His 6th. Epistle is a Preface before St. *Cyprian*. This Father alone (says he) is worth several others, in what respect soever he be considered, whether with relation to his Eloquence or his Doctrine, or as having his Heart inflamed with the Energy of his divine Spirit, or on the account of the Glory of his Martyrdom. Tho' *Africa* produced many excellent Persons, famous for their Eloquence and for their Doctrine, among the first of whom may be reckoned *Tertullian* and St. *Augustine*, yet we shall hardly find another besides St. *Cyprian*, who was so happy as to write *Latin* purely (I speak of ecclesiastical Authors, otherways I must except *Lactantius* also). Tho' *Tertullian* be full of Points, yet his Style is hard and obscure, and has little Politeness in it: And in St. *Augustine*, the Reader meets with some things that are perplexed and obscure. *Lactantius*, St. *Jerome*, and St. *Augustine*, have all praised St. *Cyprian* for his Eloquence. *Erasmus* who had formerly preferred St. *Jerome* to all the other Fathers for Eloquence, says, that after he had read St. *Cyprian*, he knew not which of them he should prefer to the other. 'As *Demosthenes* (says he) excels among the Orators, because his Style is most simple and natural, and far from all appearance of Declamation; so St. *Cyprian* surpasses St. *Jerome* in this, that his Style was more grave and less affected. St. *Jerome* and *Tertullian* were addicted to Raillery, and made too many Digressions, and were full of profane Learning: But St. *Cyprian*, tho' he had all these Qualities, yet he slighted or neglected them. There is nothing to be found in his Writings, that serves only to make a shew of Wit, or that has the Air of Fineness and Subtilty: Which is sometimes St. *Jerome's* Fault. In all he says it may be perceived, that it is a Bishop that speaks, and a Bishop too destined for Martyrdom.'

Next to this high Commendation of St. *Cyprian*, follows the Life of *Origen*, with a Character of his Doctrine and Writings.

The 7th. Epistle is his Preface to the *Greek* Edition of St. *Basil*, whom he calls the Christian *Demosthenes*, a heavenly Orator, who touches Mens Hearts by the force of that Holy Spirit which animated him, and that speaks by his Mouth. He then

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 compares him with the other Greek Fathers of his time. St. *Athanasius* (says he) is very proper for Instruction. St. *Gregory Nazianzen* wrote in a florid and elegant Stile. St. *Chrysostome's* Eloquence answers to his Name; but he has too many and long Digressions. St. *Gregory Nyssen* affected a pious Simplicity; but *Philostorgius* so far prefers St. *Basil* to St. *Athanasius*, as to say, that this last is but a very Child in comparison of the first. St. *Gregory Nazianzen* would have been equal to St. *Basil*, but that he has some Failings among a great many Ornaments, especially in affecting too much the Pagan Learnings, and imitating too much the Stile of *Isocrates*; but I know not (says he) what the severest Critick can find fault with in St. *Basil*. For from his devout Heart free from all human Passions, there flow plain and natural Discourses. he does all that Art can wish, without affecting any Art; you shall there find the Knowledge of a Philosopher of this World, without any Ostentation; you shall find him very learned in profane Sciences, but he has no other use for them, than to make them subservient to Religion; and when he cites Passages of Scripture, he adapts them so justly to his Discourse, that you would say they are Pearls not sowed in, but interwoven into the Purple Stuff. It is not only in some one kind that he excels, but he is happy in every thing. In the Explanation of the Scripture, he is instructive, exact, wise, perspicuous, and natural. It is thought his greatest Talent was in preaching; and 'tis true, that he knew so well how to accommodate his Discourses to the Capacity of his Hearers, that he appears clear to the Illiterate, and is admired by the Learned. In disputing against *Eunomius*, tho' he shews a wonderful Subtily, yet he loses nothing of his ordinary Clearness, and he contents himself to defend catholick Truths; without digressing into Reproaches, which make nothing for the Interest of his Cause. His Treatise concerning the Holy Ghost, dedicated to *Amphilochius*, falls nothing short of his other Performances: In a word, whatsoever Subject he treats of, his Stile is always chaste, agreeable and natural, without any thing of Affectation. He has a majestick Air, accompanied with great Politeness: He declaims against Immoralities in such a manner, that he is beloved even by those whom he reproves, and his Life was agreeable to his Writings. The Bishop *Eusebius* was once his Enemy; but he gained his Friendship by his prudent and wise Conduct; of which he gave also a Proof, when he despised the Count *Modestus* with so much Stedfastness, that even that impious Wretch was forced to admire him. His great Prudence and Resolution appeared also, when he beat down the Courage of *Eusebius* Governor of *Pontus*, and yet assisted him after he had thrown him down. He gave likewise another Evidence of it, in withstanding the Emperor *Valens*, when he would have entered into the Church, and he afterwards prevailed with him to give over his cruel Designs, and discovered to him the Errors of the *Arian* Heresy. His Heart was so prepared for Martyrdom, that he wish'd for it as for the greatest Blessing that could befall him. There is no Passion appears in his Writings, and he writes nothing in vindication of himself. In a word, there is something in his Writings for which I cannot find a Name: There is something in them so becoming and taking, that the Reader is never tired, but always desirous to read.

The 8th. Epistle is his Preface to St. *Hilary*. He says, that he had taken great pains to correct the Text of St. *Jerome*, but much greater to correct that of St. *Hilary*, who writes in such a manner, that when he is treating of things that are plain and easie in themselves, it is difficult to understand him, and easie to corrupt him. From this (says he) it may be judged, what great pains it has cost, seeing the things which he treats of, are not only difficult but inexplicable. Then *Erasmus* gives an account

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 of what he himself had done, and declares against those who make any Additions to the Text, or Alterations in it, upon simple Conjectures; and says, that it is a kind of Rashness not to say Impiety, to make any Alterations in what is found in ancient Manuscripts. Speaking of St. *Hilary's* Books of the Holy Trinity, he shews, after this Author, that it was Necessity and not Choice, that engaged the ancient Fathers to treat of those incomprehensible Mysteries, and blames the Moderns for debating some useless Questions without any kind of Necessity. He shews, that this Curiosity has proceeded from Philosophy; he condemns also those who would make problematical Opinions pass for Articles of Faith. He approves the Judgment that St. *Jerome* made of St. *Hilary*, when he says, that he raises himself up to the tragical Stile of the *Gauls*; and he thereupon observes, that the lofty Stile which he calls *Grandiloquium*, was peculiar to the *Gauls*. That *Sulpicius Severus* has something of it as well as St. *Eucherius*, but this last is more correct. He adds, that *Budeus* wrote in the same Stile, and that in reading him, one would think he heard rather the Sound of a Trumpet than the Voice of a Man: That the *Africans* have a certain affected Eloquence, which is something stiff. Then *Erasmus* enlarges upon St. *Hilary's* Works, and makes many Observations upon the Opinions and Terms that were peculiar to that Father: And he observes of Ecclesiastical Authors in general, that sometimes, when they dispute against an Error, they fall into the opposite Error, or at least come near to it, and their Expressions seem to favour it.

In the 9th. Epistle to Pope *Adrian VI.* which is a Preface to the Commentary of *Arnobius* upon the *Psalms*, *Erasmus* being persuaded (tho' it was a great Mistake in him) that this *Arnobius* was the same with the Master of *Lactantius*, endeavours to make some Apology for the Solæcisms that are in his Book, saying, that he had accommodated himself to the Capacity of the People; and compares it to certain Writings that St. *Augustine* composed for the Use of the meaner sort of People, in a barbarous and coarse Stile, very different from the ordinary Stile in which that Father wrote: Besides he commends the Commentary, because it is short and plain, and sets the true meaning of the *Psalms* in a clear Light. He adds, that he was not cold and insipid, but that he furnishes the Reader with many Thoughts, and makes many good Impressions upon his Mind: That he is not languishing; but that he rather refreshes the Reader with the Agreeableness and Liveliness of his Expressions and Thoughts: *Erasmus* pretends, that there is nothing in this Commentary that favours of Heresy; and he justifies some Passages in it. He concludes this Epistle with a Character of Pope *Adrian VI.* and with a Commendation of the *Psalms*.

The tenth Epistle is a Preface to the Book, which *Algerus* wrote concerning the Eucharist; *Erasmus* says, that the greatest Blessing the Church enjoys, is to be naturally and substantially united to Jesus Christ by his Body and Blood: And there is nothing more efficacious for a perfect and indissoluble Union among his Members, than to eat the same Body and to drink the same Blood; and to be united by the same Spirit in one living Body, which has Jesus Christ for its Head. Yet (says he) we see, that by the Artifices of the Devil, that which was given for a Bond of Union among Christians, did occasion many Divisions formerly in the Church, which have lately been revived, some maintaining that there is nothing in the Eucharist, but the Symbols of the Body and Blood of our Lord. Others acknowledging, that Jesus Christ is there present; but consubstantiated with the Substance of Bread and Wine: And the greatest part believing that by the Words of Consecration, the Substance of Bread and Wine is annihilated, and that the Substance of our Lord's Body and Blood comes into the place of it. Others fancy, that Jesus Christ is made Bread and Wine; as if

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it had not been enough, that he was made Man : There have been some *Stercoranists*, who deserved that Name, and Greece produced some *Fermentarians*, who did not believe that it was Lawful to sacrifice with any Bread but what was leavened. Unto these succeeded the Debate, whether it was necessary to receive the Eucharist under both Kinds. There have been some who have alledged, that if the Priest who performed, this Office was a wicked Man, there was no Consecration ; and that wicked People did not receive the Body of Jesus Christ. All these Errors have only served to confirm, and more clearly to instruct the Church in the Knowledge of this Mystery. How many Pens have been employed against the impudent Error of *Berengarius* ? The Writings of *Guillemundus*, who of a *Benedictin* Monk was made Bishop of *Aversa*, have been lately published : And here you have those of *Algerus*, a Monk of the same Order. *Guillemundus* writes with great Sharpness of Style, and with more Heat and Eloquence, *Algerus* with more Temper and Devotion : Both of them are very good Logicians, and very good Philosophers, though without Ostentation ; both of them are well skill'd in the Books of the Holy Scripture, and in the Writings of St. *Cyprian*, St. *Hilary*, St. *Ambrose*, St. *Augustin*, St. *Basil*, and St. *Chrysostom* ; whose Books do still favour of an Apostolical Spirit. Each of them has as much Eloquence as is necessary in a Divine : At least, they show a Sharpness of Wit, and Solidity in reasoning ; they make use of solid Proofs, and do not take up as some do the greater part of a Volume, in Wranglings, Personal Reproaches, or Sophistical Arguments. These great Men lived before the times of St. *Bonaventure*, *Thomas Aquinas*, *Scotus*, *Albertus Magnus*, and even before *Peter Lombard* : But some more Modern Writers, who are much inclined to the Peripatetick Philosophy, have a Style that is more dry in Imitation of their Philosopher, who always preserved the Elegance of Discourse, while he neglected the Passions and Ornaments of it, in which these Men have not followed his example. For my part, I think it for the Honour of Religion, that these Mysteries be explained suitably to the great Importance of them, and in a pathetical Manner : For by this means, the Reader not only learns what the Author knows, but he is also engaged to love what he loved. It is said in the Gospel, *This is my Body, which is given for you* ; and St. *Paul* says, *I have received of the Lord that which I have taught you* : And he that shall eat and drink the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ unworthily, shall be guilty of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. This is our Foundation that cannot be shaken. Some of the Ancient Doctors of the Church seem to have spoken sometimes obscurely, and sometimes differently of this Sacrament. Their Obscurity ought to be attributed either to the Depth of the Mystery, or to the Precautions which they took ; for when they were often speaking before a mixt Assembly of *Jews*, *Gentiles* and *Christians*, they would not give that which was Holy unto Dogs. The seeming differences that are found among them proceeds from this, that the Sacramental Species are sometimes called *Symbols*, sometimes the *Communion*, and that even the Body of Jesus Christ may be called the *Symbol* of it self, or of something else : Besides, because the Body of Jesus Christ is hid under those Signs, that which belongs to the Signs is attributed to the Body, as to be broken and bruised. The Body then which is in the Sacrament is the same in Substance with that which was nailed to the Cross : But it is not the same as to its Qualities, because it is Glorified and Spiritual. The Ancient Fathers seem to those who do not thoroughly consider them, to contradict themselves, when they sometimes say it is the same, and sometimes deny it, tho' upon the whole Matter there is not any Contradiction in what

they say about it. In a Word, by the Body of Jesus is sometimes meant his natural Body, which was born of the Blessed Virgin, and sometimes his Mystical Body, which is the Church ; which has made some Readers through Inadvertency believe, that the Fathers said somethings that did not agree together : But having so positive a Testimony from *Jesus Christ* and St. *Paul*, and being assured that the Ancient Fathers, to whom the Church has with good Reason ascribed so much Authority, have unanimously acknowledged, that the true Substance of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ is in the Eucharist, and the constant Authority of Councils, and the unanimous Consent of Christians being joined to these, let us unanimously agree about this Divine Mystery, and let us here under this *Enigma*, take the Bread and the Cup of our Lord, till we eat and drink it in another Manner in the Kingdom of Heaven. And would to God that those who have followed the Errors of *Berengarius*, would imitate his Repentance ; and that their Obstinacy would happily yield to the Truth which is taught in the Gospel. There are an infinite number of Questions concerning this Sacrament, as how Transubstantiation is wrought. How the Accidents remain without their Subject : How the Colour, Smell and Taste, can fill the Stomach or make People drunk, or nourish them as the Bread and Wine can do before Consecration. At what Instant of time the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ begins to be under the Species of Bread and Wine, and when they cease to be : Whether when the Species is corrupted, any other Substance does succeed. How the same Body can be in a great many Places at the same time ; how the whole Body of a Man can be contained within the narrow Bounds of a little piece of Bread, and several other Questions which may be treated of modestly among the more subtil sort of Wits : But it is sufficient for the ordinary sort of Christians to believe, that the true Body and Blood of Jesus Christ is there : That they cannot be divided nor subject to any Accident, whatsoever may happen to the Species. Christian Piety obliges us to treat the Species with all kind of Respect and Veneration ; yet as God is by his Essence in the most infamous Places, without being polluted with them, just so is the glorified Body of Jesus Christ. In a Word, we ought to satisfy all the Difficulties that can arise in our Minds, by having Recourse to the infinite Power of God, to which nothing is impossible, and to which every thing is easy. In the next place, we ought to consider the Qualities of a glorified Body, and particularly those of the Body of *Jesus Christ*. We have nothing to do but worthily to solemnize that Mystery according to our Faith, and to make it appear by our Actions that is our Faith : For how do we express that great Purity of Heart, that Veneration and Fear which this adorable Mystery calls for ? Or who can imagine that those do truly believe it, who in the midst of the great Solemnity, go prating through the Church, or are standing at the Church-Door ? It was anciently the Place where the *Catechumens* and the Penitents stood. There are many who immediately after the Celebration go from the Church to the Tavern, and leave the Church empty : But what a shameful Custom is that ? If you be at the acting of a Farce, you'll stay till all be done : Yet you cannot have the Patience to wait to the end of these Holy Mysteries ? The Angels are round about this Holy Table, and he whom all the Heavenly Host does worship is present in the Mystery : But you are soon weary, as if nothing but an empty insignificant Show were represented to you ; fall a discouraging, or your Thoughts are wandering, or you go to drink in a Tavern. I take notice of one Custom which is introduced in most places, which cannot be said to be an impious one, because it proceeds from

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from a good Motive, though it be only Human ; but it is contrary to the ancient Custom of the Church, and not very convenient : And that is, that while the Priest is sacrificing, the Choire sings a Hymn in Honour of the Blessed Virgin, with a long Prayer. Is it decent to invoke the Mother of God while her Son is present ? If we would follow the Ancient Custom, no Persons Voice should be heard in the Church during all that time : But the People lying prostrate upon the Ground, should with silence give thanks to God the Father, who delivered his Son to Death for the Salvation of Mankind. It is this the Priest exhorts us to, when addressing to the People, he says, *Lift up your Hearts, let us give Thanks to our Lord God ;* for nothing agrees better with these unspeakable Mysteries, than silence, and the best manner of praising the wonderful love of Jesus Christ towards us, is by silence, which speaks much : When a Man stops the Sounds of Human Words, and having his Body prostrate on the Earth, lifts up his Soul to God, that he may speak to him only. The Lives of Priests contribute much to make the People have a due Veneration for this Mystery : Anciently, when the Church was flourishing, there was only one Mass every Day said by the Bishop. Devotion has since that time brought in a great number of Priests, and the desire of Gain has also augmented that number : At last the Matter is come to that pass, that many learn to say Mass as other People learn an ordinary Trade. The Mass is to them only a thing they are to live by. 'Tis indeed very just, that he who serves at the Altar, should live by the Altar ; but in this Mystery we ought to abstain from every thing that has the appearance of Traffick, and the Ministers of this adorable Function ought to support the Honour of it, not only by countenancing it outwardly, and chiefly by their Habits and Discourses, but also by such a Conduct in their Lives as is suitable to the Dignity of their Ministry. It cannot be expressed what Obligations they lie under to live soberly and chastly : What Purity does their Character require ? And how much ought they to despise the Ordinary Pleasures of this Life ? What love ought they to have for the Divine Writings ? How unworthy is it for a Priest, after he has celebrated this Holy Mystery, to pass the rest of the Day in Feasting, or at the Play House, or Gaming, or Hunting, or Walking, without allowing some part of his time for reading the Holy Scriptures, or meditating on Heavenly things ! Let Priests reflect upon the Dignity of their Profession ! When they are at the Altar they have the Angels for their Assistants, and when they go from thence, they make no scruple to be the Companions of the very Dregs of the People, not to say worse. Let not the Lives of those whose Function is above that of Angels, give occasion to Hereticks to entertain impious Thoughts of this unspeakable Mystery ! Let them honour their Ministry, that they may be honoured by God and by Men : But what do I insist upon this ? *Algerus* and *Guitmundus* will exhort them better than I can. I confess I have received great Advantage by reading them. I never doubted of the real Presence of Christ's Body in the Eucharist : But the reading of their Books has confirmed me in that Opinion, and has begot a far greater Veneration in me for that Mystery. This is a Translation of that Epistle, which seemed to me to contain things of so great Importance, that I thought I ought not to omit any part of it.

The Eleventh Epistle is a Preface to *Haymo's* Commentary on the *Psalms* : This Author was a Monk, an Abbot, and a Bishop. In the Opinion of *Erasmus*, he has explained the *Psalms* with wonderful Brevity and Clearness : His having been a Monk gives occasion to *Erasmus* to observe, that for some

Agess the Monks who studied, applied themselves to make Abridgments of the Writings and Sermons of the Ancients ; that those who were otherways employed, and were but moderately learned, might reap Advantage by them : He says, that such an Employment became their Profession, which requires, that every thing that is needless and superfluous should be cast out, and the rest made plain and easie. He wonders that the Monks since that time, have embraced a Doctrine, that is so far removed from that Simplicity, and perplexed with useless Subtilties. He commends the Monks and exclaims against such of them, as by their vicious Lives had made their Order become odious. Who would not love those Men (says he) who being truly dead to the World, are wholly consecrated unto God, and whose Lives and Conversations are such, that no man sees them and converses with them ; but is much better for them, and from whom no Body fears any Injury ? For needs any Man be afraid that he shall be cheated by those who value Money no more than they do Stones, and who give all they have to the Poor ? Or that they will be revengeful who continually pray for their Persecutors ? Who love their Enemies, and return Good for Evil ? Can Chastity be in any Danger among those, who are pure both in Body and Mind ? Can any Man suffer by the Pride of those, whose Humility is so great that they do not prefer themselves to any, or envy the greatest, or despise the meanest of their Brethren ; and who the nearer they come to Perfection, have the meaner Opinion of themselves ; who being the Pearls and Flowers of the Church, call themselves the Dregs and the Dirt of it ; who extenuate or interpret favourably the Faults of others, while they censure their own Faults severely ; who magnifie all the Good they receive from others, and modestly diminish the Value of every good Office, which they themselves do to other People ; who flatter no Man, who are civil to those who are present, and speak no ill of those who are absent ; who speak nothing but what they think, that is nothing but Words of Charity, or of Consolation, or of reasonable Admonition, or of giving of Thanks ; their Civility is real and unfeigned, proceeding from a good Conscience. In a word, they give us a true Picture of the Heavenly City, and of the Choirs of Angels, whither in singing continual Praises to God, or by being transformed in their Minds, and having overcome and laid aside all carnal Passions, or by their living together in perfect Peace and unity, or by being as the Angels are, Messengers betwixt God and Men, in recommending to God the Prayers of his People, and in obtaining Blessings from God by their devout Prayers, both for them and the Publick : And if the Gift of prophesying accompanies these Vertues ; if without any reward they teach the People sound and pure Doctrine, whether by Sermons or by Writings ; How highly then ought they to be esteemed ? Can we too much commend those who mortifie the Flesh by their Fastings, Watchings and Austerities, that they may supply as much as in them lies, that which is wanting in the sufferings of Jesus Christ, and who sacrifice themselves (if I may so speak) for the Salvation of the People : But it will be said, that many Monks are far short of the Portraiture I give of them ; but if on that account we should hate the Monastick Orders, then on the same account we ought to hate all Orders of Men : What then must we do ? We ought to love their Persons, and put a favourable Construction on that which is doubtful, and shut our Eyes upon their lesser Faults, and endeavour to remedy the greater, without provoking them too much, and always retain a Respect for the Monastick Order and Profession ; and if the Monks will on their part take pains to reform

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reform themselves, then that Honour and Esteem which People had for them in former times will be revived, and will stop the Mouths of those who revile them; so that they shall not only be acceptable to God, but shall be also loved and esteemed by Men, and shall live happily and pleasantly. For no sort of People live with greater Ease and Contentment than those do, who are truly Monks, and there are no People more unhappy than such of them, who in their Lives degenerate from that sacred Character. A Monastery is a kind of Paradise for those, but a kind of Hell for these; but it depends upon themselves to change their Hell into a Paradise. He then returns to *Haymo's* Commentary, and says, that we ought not to condemn him for the Simplicity of his Style, but to esteem him for the Piety of his Thoughts: And he adds, that he gives this Advice, because he was afraid there were many People of the same Temper that he had once been of himself, who did not relish any thing that was not set off with the Flowers and Ornaments of Eloquence. 'But then (says he) I was but a Child in Jesus Christ, and I thought as a Child, and would to God, that at this time I could say, that I have put away all childish things.'

All the other Epistles of this Book are Prefaces to profane Authors, except the 24th. which is on St. *Chrysostom's* Sermon concerning *Babylas*, of which he says, that 'tis so eloquent, that a better Pattern cannot be given to young People of the manner how they ought to compose a Discourse. 'For (says he) what is there in *Aphthonius*, *Lyfias*, or *Libanius*, that can be compared, I do not say, to the Piety of his Thoughts, which are altogether peculiar to himself, but even to the Elegancy of his Style, the Fineness of his Reasonings, and the great Variety of Words and Expressions in this Discourse.' He blames those, who do not relish any Treatises, but such as have nothing of Christianity in them; he would have publick Professors to read profane Authors in private, without reading or explaining them to their young Scholars. At last he shews the Necessity of studying the *Belles Lettres*, and Languages.

The 29th. Book contains the Epistles dedicatory of *Erasmus's* Works: We shall not here give an Abridgment of them, for tho' they be all very excellent in themselves, yet there is little or nothing considerable in them that concerns Religion; and if there be any of them that deserves more to be considered, we shall speak of them when we give an Account of those Works before which they are placed.

The 1st. Epistle of the 30th. Book, is a Defence of his Version of the New Testament, against *Stunica's* Notes.

The 2^d is likewise an Answer to some Observations upon some Passages of his Version and Notes upon the New Testament.

The 3^d. is a Letter of Exhortation to some *Franciscan* Nuns, of a Convent near *Cambridge*, of which we shall speak among his other Treatises of Devotion.

The rest of the Epistles of this Book, and the greatest part of those of the next, are familiar Letters upon several Subjects.

The 42^d. Epistle of the last Book, which is addressed to *Dorpius*, is in defence of the little Treatise he had written in *Praise of Folly*, and there is a great deal of Learning in it. In this Epistle *Erasmus* shews, against the Opinion of *Dorpius*, that a Man may leave the vulgar *Latin* to follow the original Texts.

In the 43^d. he commends Fasting, and Abstinence from Meat, as a Practice very proper for mortifying our Lusts, and for appeasing God's Wrath. He adds, that in the first Beginnings of Christianity, the Christians fasted every day, tho' there was no Law to oblige them to it; and that the most part of them, instead of eating Meat, lived only upon Pulse: That when the Zeal of the Christians began to wax cold,

this Custom, was by the Authority of the Bishops, and particularly of the Bishop of *Rome*, fixed to such and such Days: That it was an established Law, which ought to be observed, and that it could not be violated without causing trouble: That in the most indifferent things, such as the not singing *Alleluiah* in *Lent*, every Man ought to follow the Customs of the Church. He shews, that those who would shake off the Obligation of Ecclesiastical Laws, under pretence of Evangelical Liberty, have nothing less than the Spirit of the Gospel. He wishes, that Christians were not overburthened with so great a Number of Ceremonies, and that the Bishops themselves would remedy this Inconvenience, and would retrench the Number of Holy-days, and take pains to reform the Clergy and the Monks, and that they would not put any into Holy Orders, but only those who were of good Learning and good Morals. He is not averse from taking off the Obligation that is upon the Clergy to live unmarried; yet he detests such as marry by their own Authority, without a Dispensation from the Pope: He wishes also, that they would abolish some of the Fasts, and that they would not be so nice in the Matter of Abstinence from Meats. He observes, that oft times a Man feasts better upon Fish, than upon Flesh; that he takes greater Pleasure in it, eats more of it, and is better nourished by it. He then objects against what he himself had said, that every Man who finds this Abstinence from Meats inconvenient, may obtain a Dispensation from the Pope; but says he, every body has not Leisure and Money to procure a Dispensation; so that the Rich, who are most obliged to fast, are now exempted from doing it: And it is only the Poor, who are under a necessity of obeying this Law. In his Opinion, it would have done much better, to have entrusted the Parish-priests with the Power of granting these Dispensations; because they could have better Accounts of the Health, Riches, and Inclinations of their Parishioners: For since Authority is given to them to preach the Word of God, to administer the Sacraments, to hear Confessions, and to absolve Penitents, why should they be denied the Power to allow those who stand in need of it, to eat Meat upon Days of Abstinence? It were to be wished, that no Money were given for those Dispensations, and that no Dispensations were given but for good Reasons. He then makes several Reflections upon the Laws for Abstinence from Meats, which are too long to be set down here.

The 47th, and 48th. Epistles are Satyrs against the false *Gospellers*, whom he charges with ill Conduct Malice and Passion. He complains particularly of *Vulturius*, to whom the first of them is written.

The 58th. is a publick Protestation against the Book which *Oecolampadius* had published, intituled, *The Opinions of Erasmus and Luther concerning the Lord's Supper*. He shews what great Difference there is between *Luther's* Opinions and his, concerning that Article and many others. In this and the next Epistle, he refutes the Opinions of the *Sacramentarians* relating to the Eucharist: In the last of these two, he exclaims against the disorderly Practices of those who were called *Evangelici*, and reasons strongly against their Conduct, and against their Opinions, and justifies the Practices of the Church; he therein describes many personal Encounters between himself and the new Reformers. In a word, he stoutly maintains every thing he had said against them in his Works. This Epistle deserves to be read; for it informs us of the Artifices and Disorders of these first pretended Reformers.

The *Christian Soldier's Manual* is the first of *Erasmus's* Books of Devotion, which are contained in the fifth Tome. He wrote it in the Castle of *Tournehout*, about the End of the sixteenth Century, at the Request of a devout Lady, who had desired from him some Treatise that might be useful for the Conversion of her Husband. He revised it, and finished it at *St. Omer's*, *An. 1501*. It was approved by

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by *Adrianus Florentius*, who was afterwards Pope, by the Name of *P. Adrian VI.* and printed at *Louvain*, An. 1502. It was afterwards printed at *Basil* in 1518, with a Preface prefixed to it, in which *Erasmus* justifies himself, for not having made use of School-divinity in it.

This Preface is addressed to *Paulus Wolfius*, Abbot of a Monastery in the *Low Countries*. It is an excellent Preface, and contains many things that are very remarkable: He says, that he had formerly composed that little Treatise for his own Use, and the Use of one of his Friends, who had no Learning, and that he began to be pleased with it, when he found that it was approv'd of by *Wolfius*, to whom he writes this Preface; and by many other Persons of great Merit and Judgment: That there was only one thing that afflicted him, which was, that it had been once wittily observed by one of his Friends (and he wishes the Observation had not been true) that there appeared more of Piety in the Work, than in the Author of it; that his Grief was still encreased, because the Gentleman for whom that Treatise had been written, was so far from quitting his sinful Practices that he was become worse than ever. He adds, that notwithstanding all this, he should not repent of the Pains he had taken in composing it, if he should find, that the reading of it would ingage many others to be in love with Piety: Then as for those who undervalued this Treatise, because it had nothing of Learning in it, nor any of the theological Questions of *Scotus*, he answers them in these Words. 'Tis (says he) no matter whether this Book be full of subtile Questions, provided it be full of Piety. I never designed that it should make Men fit for the *Sorbonne*, but only that it should teach them how to live truly peaceable and Christian Lives. I shall be satisfied, tho' it be of no use in theological Disputes, provided it be subservient to a divine Life. To what purpose should I treat of that which every body treats of? Almost every Man now publishes Lectures of Divinity; what is there else taught in all the great number of Schools? The Commentaries on the Books of *Sentences* are almost as numerous as the Names of Divines. How many Authors of theological Sums are there, who copy from one another, and who give us new Books out of the Works of the Ancients, who either divide one Book into two, or reduce two into one? How many Volumes are there upon Restitution, Confession, Scandal, and many other Subjects? They descend to Particulars, and determine every possible Case, as if they distrusted all Mankind, and even the Goodness of Jesus Christ, by endeavouring to determine precisely what Punishment every Sin deserves, and yet they do not agree among themselves; and when we consider them narrowly, we find they do not explain their Thoughts clearly, so great is the Difference that is betwixt their Fancies and the Circumstances of things: But tho' all their Decisions were just and judicious, besides that their way of treating of those Subjects is cold and dry, who can have the Leisure to read so many Volumes? But it is the Duty of all Mankind to live well, and it has been the good Will of Jesus Christ, that it should be easie for every body to do so; not by ingaging themselves in a Labyrinth of insuperable Difficulties, but by a sincere Faith and unfeigned Charity, accompanied with a Hope that *makeeth not ashamed*. In a word, let the learned Rabbins, who are like to be but few in number, exercise themselves in reading these great Volumes. Some Assistance must be also given to the ignorant People, for whom Jesus Christ died; and whoever inspires them with the Love of Piety, teaches them the principal part of Religion.' Then he blames those who make the Sciences they profess obscure and difficult; and he finds fault with the impertinent Disputes of the Schools, upon knotty, and inexplicable Questions, as about *Instances, Formalities, Quiddities, Relations, &c.* 'What would

the *Turks* think of our Religion (says he) if they heard our Doctors dispute with so much Heat about these kinds of Questions? If when they were to learn our Religion, one should recommend to them to read the *Oecams* and *Durandus's*, the *Scotus's* and the *Biel's*? If they knew that our Divines could not agree about the Terms, in which they ought to express themselves when they spoke of *Jesus Christ*? What would they say, if they saw that the Lives of Christians were not more edifying than their Disputes? If their Contests among themselves should discover their Ambition? If they knew the Covetousness, Lewdness, and Cruelty of those who profess the Gospel? With what Confidence could any Man recommend to them a Doctrine, which is wholly different from these Manners? The most efficacious means to convert them, were to let them see that our Lives shone with all those Virtues that *Jesus Christ* has taught us, and of which he has given us himself for an Example: And to shew them that we do not seek their Empire or their worldly Goods, but only their Salvation and the Glory of Jesus Christ.' He bewails the Corruption of Manners among the Christians of his Time, and prescribes some means for reforming them: He enlarges upon the Duties of the Clergy, of Princes, and of Subjects, and of their most ordinary Vices: He takes a great Liberty in reprovng them, and forgets not the Vices of the Monks, and the ill use that was made of Church-ceremonies: Yet he observes, that we are obliged to obey Princes and Bishops, even when they guide us ill, provided that which they command be not impious and contrary to the Law of God.

As for the Book it self, it is composed of very wholesome Instructions, which for the most part are taken out of the Holy Scriptures. He shews in the first Article, that the whole Life of a Christian is a continual Warfare: That the Devil, the World, and his own Lusts, are the Enemies he has to fight against: That he is encouraged to maintain this Fight by the Reward that is proposed to him, if he be victorious, and by the Punishments he must suffer, if he be overcome: And lastly, that he ought to be confidently persuaded that he shall be victorious, seeing he is supported by Jesus Christ who has overcome the World. The Weapons of this Warfare of which he treats in the 2d. Article, are Prayer and Knowledge. In speaking of this last, he recommends the Study of the Holy Scriptures; and among those who have written Commentaries on them, he recommends such as take the least notice of the literal Sense; such as *Origen*, *St. Ambrose*, *St. Jerome*, and *St. Augustine*: And he blames the modern Commentators, who insist only upon the Letter of Scripture, and some captious Niceties, without unfolding the Mysteries that are hidden under the literal Sense; that Peace is a flying from fighting; that it is Wisdom that gives us this Peace, and true Wisdom consists in knowing our selves. Then he describes to us the inward and the outward Man, and after *Origen's* way, considers three several things in him, the Spirit, the Soul and the Body. He describes the Properties and Functions of these three Parts. He then gives some Rules for curing the Plagues of Original Sin, which are Blindness, carnal Desires, and natural Infirmities; Blindness is overcome by being instructed in Good and Evil, and carnal Desires are remedied by loving that which is good, and shunning that which is evil, tho' we lust after it: And our natural Infirmities are strengthened by fortifying our selves in good Practices, and by a continual Perseverance in them. Faith is the only Gate by which we enter into the Way of Salvation: When a Man is once entred into it, he must go forward in it, without all Fear, and with a matchless Undauntedness, being ready to part with every thing, even with Life it self, for the Honour of Jesus Christ. He must despise all those Chimæras of Difficulties and Terrors which serve to frighten him from his Duty: But that he may the more assuredly attain

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attain to eternal Salvation, he ought not to propose any other End to himself, nor any other Pattern but Jesus Christ, imitating his Charity, Simplicity, Patience and Truth; and in a word, practising all that he has taught. He says there are three sorts of Objects, good, evil, and indifferent: These last ought not to be sought after for their own Sakes, but only as they bring us to Christ, who ought to be the chief End of all our Actions: A Man ought not to desire Knowledge, but only that he may know and love Jesus Christ; or Riches, or Honours, or any other Goods, but only that he may employ them for the Honour of Jesus Christ. Fasting (says he) is a good Work, but a Man that fasts only that he may save his Money, or appear more pious, has no good Design in it. In the same Article, he speaks against some Superstitions, and in the next, he establishes this for a Rule, that true Piety consists in raising our Thoughts and Desires above all visible things, which for the most part are imperfect or indifferent, and in fixing them on those things that are invisible and intellectual. Then he again finds fault with superstitious Customs, and makes the greatest Respect we can pay to Saints, to consist in imitating them, or rather in imitating Jesus Christ in them. He chiefly recommends Charity, as the very Soul and Perfection of all pious Actions: He then again prescribes this for a Rule, that we should propose Jesus Christ as the only Pattern of a truly religious and devout Life, without adhering to popular Opinions and Practices. In this Article, he gives some Instances of the false Notions which the World has of many things; and he rectifies them by the Ideas which Jesus Christ has given us of them. The next Article contains several Christian Maxims, which may serve for Instructions: He advises the Imperfect, who cannot yet raise themselves to spiritual Things, to begin with that which is least perfect, and to abstain from gross and scandalous Vices; to resist Temptations, and to watch continually over themselves, and to pray for Trust and Confidence in Jesus Christ; not to look upon any Sin as too small to deserve their pains in striving against it, nor despair when they yield to a Temptation, but be animated by the Fall to rise again with greater Courage; to meditate upon the Cross of Jesus Christ, and consider the Deformity of Sin, and compare the Goodness of God with the Malice of the Devil, and eternal Life and Happiness with eternal Death and Damnation, and reflect upon the Uncertainty of our Lives, and the small Number of true Penitents. In the last place, he prescribes particular Remedies against carnal Lusts, and reduces them to two principal Rules, 1. To shun all occasions of Temptation; and 2. To shun Idleness. He prescribes Remedies also against Avarice, Ambition, Pride, Anger and Revenge, and ends with an Exhortation to him, to whom this Book is inscribed.

It cannot be denied, but that this Book is full of excellent Maxims and very useful Instructions: Yet the Archdeacon of *Placentia* decried it as heretical. *Ludovicus Coronellus* Doctor of Divinity, undertook the Defence of it; *Charles V.* read it in *Spain*; the Copies of it sold very well, and it was soon translated into the *Italian, French, Spanish* and *German* Languages. There have been some who did not find all that Union in it, which is to be desired in a Book of Devotion. *Masseius* tells us in the Life of *St. Ignatius Loyola*, that that Saint found his Devotion cool when he read this Book; and one of the great *Ascetics* of our Age, *Monsieur de St. Cyran*, was of the same Opinion. It must be confessed, there are some things in this Book which do not very well agree with Books of Devotion, which are composed for the more illiterate sort of People; yet it cannot be denied, but there are also some things in it which are very proper for instructing them in their Duties, and for preserving in them a Spirit of Piety.

Erasmus's Method of studying Divine Piety. The Method of true Divinity was composed by *Erasmus*, An. 1518. and dedicated to Cardinal *Albert*,

Elect of *Mentz*. He had formerly treated of this Subject in his Preface to the New Testament, but a Work of that kind would not allow him to enlarge upon it; he therefore resolved to write fully of it in a Treatise by it self. The first thing he requires for the Study of Theology, is Integrity of Life, and a Tranquility of Soul, free from all Passions. He would have those who undertake the Study of Divinity, prepare their Hearts for receiving the Instructions of the Holy Ghost: That they have the single Eye of Faith, which sees nothing but heavenly things. That they have a great Zeal for this Study: That they be neither proud, nor vain, nor obstinate, nor rash. He advises them to embrace with Respect, the things they can comprehend, and with a sincere Faith to adore the things that are above their Capacity: And if they shall meet with any thing, which they cannot well reconcile with the divine Nature, or that seems contrary to the Doctrine of Jesus Christ, they ought to take care, not to condemn any thing that is written in the Holy Scriptures, but rather to persuade themselves, that they do not well understand what they read, or that the Words must be taken in a figurative Sense. The great End which a Divine ought to propose to himself, is to be converted, ravished, and inspired by what he reads and learns, and as it were transformed into it: That he ought to think he has profited much, not when he finds himself fitter for disputing, but when by the Study of divine Things, he finds a Change wrought in himself, when he finds his Pride brought low, his Passions abated, and that he has less desire for the Things of this World and the Pleasures of this Life; in a word, when he finds his vicious Inclinations mortified, and his Devotion encreasing every Day. *Erasmus* prescribes a Rule for Moderation in Disputes, that they ought to be so managed, that they may look rather like Conferences than Debates. He advises Divines to interrupt their Studies by Prayer, that they may ask from God the Assistance of his Holy Spirit, and may thank him for any Progress they have made. He observes, that the Manners of some Divines make the Study of that sacred Science to be contemned among some People, who see that those who have made the greatest Advances in it, are more unsociable, more ambitious, sooner provoked to Anger, more Satyrical, and more uneasy in their Conversation, than those who are altogether illiterate.

The first thing to which a Student of Divinity ought to apply himself, is the Study of the three Languages, *Latin, Greek, and Hebrew*. *Erasmus* represents the Necessity of knowing these Languages, for consulting the Originals, and for having recourse to the original Texts of the Old and New Testament. He recommends also the Study of humane Sciences, such as Logick, Rhetorick, Arithmetick, Musick and natural Philosophy, which fit and prepare the Mind for it. He does not think Logick so very necessary as Rhetorick, and shews of what great use this is to a Divine, who by his Profession is obliged rather to move the Affections of his Hearers, than to entertain them with subtle Notions: He gives for an Example the Writings of the Fathers, whose Style is very different from that of the Schoolmen; yet he does not absolutely condemn those Studies that were received in the Schools, provided they were studied with that Moderation and Caution that is necessary, and that a Student does not apply himself to them only. He thinks, that a Man who has betaken himself to Divinity, ought not to spend all his Life-time in the Study of profane Sciences, and he blames such as did little or nothing else as long as they lived, but teach Logick, or *Aristotle's* Philosophy. He says, that the chief Employment of a Divine ought to be, to explain the Scriptures with Prudence, to give an account of his Faith, rather than of frivolous Questions, to discourse gravely of Piety and Devotion, to draw Tears from the Eyes of his Hearers, and to inflame their Hearts with the Love

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Love of heavenly Things. He thinks, that a Summary of the Principles of Religion, taken out of the Gospels and the Epistles of the Apostles, ought to be recommended to those who begin to study Divinity: And accordingly he makes an Abridgment in this Book, of the Doctrine and Precepts of our Religion, contained in the New Testament: He then speaks of the Figures and Tropes of the Holy Scripture, and advises a Student of Divinity to make common Places to the Heads of which he may reduce what he reads. He approves very much of explaining one Passage of Scripture by another, and recommends the reading of the Holy Scripture, and thinks it were very convenient to learn it all by heart. He affirms it may be entirely understood without a Commentary, yet he recommends the reading of the ancient Commentators, such as *Origen*, whom he prefers to all the rest; and *St. Basil*, *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, *St. Athanasius*, *St. Cyril*, *St. Chrysostom*, *St. Jerom*, *St. Ambrose*, and *St. Augustin*: But he advises those that read them, to do it with Judgment and Discretion, tho' always with Respect. They were Men subject to Failings, they were ignorant of some things and mistaken in others, and many of the Works that go under their Names are supposititious. As for the Choice of Authors, he generally prefers the *Greeks* before the *Latins*: He observes, that some excel in one kind of Learning, others in another. He insists much upon the nice Questions that were debated in the Schools, and shews how useless most of those Questions are; he does not wholly condemn those, who profess to treat of Divinity after that manner, nor does he think that all the scholastical Disputes should be cast out of the Schools; but he wishes they were managed with Moderation and Choice, with Moderation, that all Questions that might be proposed should not be debated; and with Choice, that every Question that was presented, should not be indifferently handled: He observes, that some Universities began to be moderate in these Matters, particularly *Cambridge* and *Louvain*; notwithstanding which, those Studies still flourished in them. What a sad thing is it, says he, to see a Divine that is fourscore Years old, who knows nothing but Sophisms, and who spends his whole Life in arguing and wrangling? He says, that he knew several at *Paris*, who thought themselves in another World, when they were obliged to cite any Passage of *St. Paul's* Epistles: He advises those, who would be well instructed in Religion, that while they are young, they would study the Scriptures, which are the Fountains of it, and those Authors whose Writings are taken out of these Fountains.

This Treatise is followed with an *Exhortation to the Study of the Christian Philosophy*, which contains the same Principles. 'Every Sect (says he) pretends to understand perfectly the Doctrine of its Master; and we who are so many ways initiated, and bound by so many solemn Oaths to Jesus Christ, ought we not to consider it as a thing altogether shameful, that we should be ignorant of the Doctrines of Jesus Christ, which alone can certainly make Men happy? That we may learn them, 'tis not at all necessary that we should be so learned in all other Sciences. All that is necessary is, a devout and tractable Mind, and a simple and pure Faith. If a Man be of a tractable Temper, it is sufficient for making a great progress in this Philosophy. The Spirit that teaches it, does not communicate it self more willingly to any, than to those who are simple; it accommodates it self to the Capacities of all People, it condescends to the meanest of them, it feeds them with Milk, it supports and strengthens them, and it does every thing to make them grow in Grace and in the Knowledge of Jesus Christ. At the same time, it is admired by Men of the greatest Learning and Parts, and the farther a Man advances in this Science, the more is he amazed at the Majesty of it, it rejects no Age, or Sex, or Quality.' Here it is, that he explains his

Thoughts concerning the reading of the Holy Scriptures, which he wishes were put into the Hands of all the World; he requires of a true Divine, to shew to others by his Life, those Virtues which they ought to practise. He observes, that this Philosophy does not consist in Syllogisms, but in the Motions of the Heart, and in living well; rather than in disputing; that it is rather Inspiration than Study, and consists more in Conversion unto God, than in profound Reasonings. 'Few People (says he) can be learned, but all Mankind may be Christians; and every Man may be devout; nay, and I speak it with Confidence, there is no Man but may be a Divine: For which nothing is requisite, but to know what Jesus Christ has taught, and to practise it; and all that is necessary for learning it, is to read the Gospel. Men often repent that they have spent too much time in reading the Works of Men: But happy is that Man who is surprized by Death, while he is meditating on the Holy Scriptures. Let us then have a mighty Ardor for this divine Book, let us honour it, let us turn it over every Moment, let us die while we are reading it, let us be changed into it, seeing Studies do form the Manners of Men.'

The Treatise which *Erasmus* wrote, intituled, *Exomolegesis, seu modus confitendi*, or *The way of confessing*, is addressed to *Francis du Moulin de Rochfort*, Preceptor to the French King, *Francis I.* and great Almoner of France, whom the King, by virtue of the *Concordate*, nominated to the Bishoprick of *Condom*, but who yielded his Right to *Erardus de Grofsoles*, who was chosen by the Chapter. He says, in the Beginning of this Treatise, that he will not engage in that Question, Whether Confession was instituted by Jesus Christ himself? Tho' he inclined to the affirmative, and would be ready to defend it, when after having examined the Question, he should find sufficient Proofs for it; but he owns, that it is a very useful and sound Practice: That it ought to be retained, and that it was instituted by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost. He blames the Opinion of those, who do not think it necessary; and declares, that if he found himself guilty of any mortal Sin, he would not dare to approach the holy Table; and that he would not adventure to go out of the World, without being reconciled to God by a Priest, according to the Custom of the Church. Supposing then, that Confession is very useful, provided the Priest and the Penitent acquit themselves of their Duty, he undertakes in this Treatise to prescribe the means of reaping all the Advantage that is possible to be reap'd by it, and of thunning those Inconveniencies that may attend it by the Faults of Men: For there is nothing in this World so sacred, or so pious; nay, we may say too, or so divine, but what is abused by wicked Men: But he disapproves altogether of the Opinion of those, who are for abolishing good things, because vicious Men make a wrong Use of them, whereas they ought rather to reform those Abuses.

The first Advantage he finds in Confession is, that it is the best and most effectual means for abating the Pride of Man's Heart, which is the Original of all our Sins. As the Haughtiness of a Man's Mind, which persuades him to put all his confidence in himself, is the first Step to Evil, so Humility of Spirit, by which he comes to be displeased with himself, and to submit himself to God, is the first means for recovering himself. Now there is not any Act of greater Submission, than for a Man to throw himself at the Feet of a Priest, and there to discover to him not only his Actions, but his most secret Thoughts; especially when there are some of them, which he cannot declare without being extremely ashamed; and here he discourages most eloquently against that false Modesty, that makes some People unwilling to discover their Sins to a Priest. He adds, that the Ancients, in order to make Sinners the more humble, and to beget in others the greater Abhorrence of Sin, and to bring the Guilty to Repentance, did impose publick Penances; of which

which Custom, there were still some Remains in the Church: But the Love of Christians waxing cold, the Church had a regard to their Weakness, and remitted part of that Shame and Punishment, which used to accompany publick Penance; yet it was still necessary, that those who were true Penitents should by their deep Humility, and by the Contrition of their Heart, make up what the Church had remitted in the external Part of Penance.

The second Advantage is, by making the Penitent understand the Nature of the Sins he has committed, and by prescribing to him the best means for quitting and forsaking them. There are some People who do not think that the Sins they have committed are mortal: Others think they have committed Sins when they have not. There are some who are not sensible of the Danger they are in, and the Generality of People are ignorant of the true means of being delivered from it. There are some Vices hid under a show of Piety: Is it not then necessary on all such Occasions, to have recourse to a Spiritual Physician?

The third Advantage that arises from Confession is, that the Confessor may remedy two Evils that are contrary to one another. The one is detestable Security, when a Man glories in his Sins, and the other in Despair of obtaining Mercy: There are Sins in which Men glory in this World, and there are other Sins, the Heinousness of which casts some People into Despair. It is the Duty of a Confessor, to repress the Vain-glory of the first, by representing to them how shameful every Sin is, and to inspire into the others Hopes of Mercy from God, and trust in him.

The fourth Advantage belongs to those who are so scrupulous, as to think that the least Sins they are guilty of cannot be pardoned, unless they receive Absolution from a Priest. It is becoming Christian Humanity to have regard to their Weakness, till they have acquired a greater Strength of Mind, to which they ought to be exhorted. *Erasmus* blames those extraordinary Scruples about the smallest things, and the repeating again of one and the same Confession: Yet he acknowledges, that it is sometimes great Charity, to consent to the Weaknesses of some Penitents, by admonishing them to do their Endeavours to become more perfect, and to love more and to be less afraid, *plus amare, trepidare minus*.

The fifth Advantage is, that seeing it is impossible for a Man to obtain Remission of his Sins, without sufficient Sorrow, proceeding from a Principle of true love to God, and without a firm Resolution to abstain for the time to come from every thing that may offend God, Confession is of great use to us, to beget in us this Disposition: For as he who is to speak before a Judge, considers more seriously and more attentively upon all the Circumstances of the Action, than he would do if he were not to appear before that Judge; just so, he who thinks upon what he is to say to the Priest, considers more seriously upon the Greatness and Loathsomeness of his Sins, when he reflects how often he has fallen into them, and how long he has continued in this Impurity and Darkness, and of how many blessings he has been deprived, during that time whilst he was separated from God, and from the Communion of the Body of Jesus Christ, and condemned to eternal Punishments. These considerations create in a Man an Abhorrence of Sin, which sometimes proceeds from the Fear of Hell, and would cast him into Despair, were it not accompanied with the Hopes of Pardon, founded upon the infinite Mercy of God, and the Merits of Jesus Christ, who only once paid a Ransom for the Sins of all Mankind; and then unto this servile Fear there succeeds a Filial Love, when we are displeased with our sins, not only because they lead us to Hell, but because we have thereby offended so good a Father, who has bestowed so many Favours upon us.

The sixth Advantage is, that the Shame of laying open our very Consciences to a Man, obtains the remission of part of the Punishment, and hinders the Penitent from relapsing into the same Sins, so easily as otherways he would do.

The seventh Advantage of Confession is, that it makes a Man know himself; because it represents him to himself in a clear Light, in all the different parts of his Life, and obliges him to search into the innermost Recesses of his Heart, into his own Inclinations, and into the Occasions by which he is fallen into Sin.

The eighth is, that he who confesses to a Priest has the Benefit and Assistance of his Counsels, Consolations, Exhortations and Prayers.

The ninth is, that as we being delivered by Baptism from the Tyranny of the Devil, do become the Children of God and Members of the Body of Jesus Christ, which is the Church, so by Penance we are confirmed in the same Society: And though we were already delivered from our Sins by Contrition, yet it is certain, that by Confession we receive much Light and Grace.

From the Advantages that may be reaped by Confession, *Erasmus* proceeds to the Inconveniences that may happen in it by the Faults and Miscarriages of Men.

The first Inconvenience is, that it may pollute the Simplicity and Innocence of Mens Manners, if some Crimes were discovered, which it would be of greater Advantage not to have known. The second is, that Men are encouraged in their Sins, by comparing their Lives with those of other Men, which they learn by Confession. The third is, that it makes the Priests become proud and odious; proud, because they find themselves the Masters of the Secrets of other People's Consciences; and odious, because Men can hardly have a hearty Kindness for those who are acquainted with all their irregular Practices. The fourth Inconvenience is, that it sometimes happens, that People meet with very vicious Priests, who under pretence of Confession, do things that ought not to be spoken of, and who instead of doing any good to Sinners, become their Companions or their Masters in Vice. The fifth is the Imprudence of Priests, who in not keeping Counsel may be the Cause of Loss of Reputation, or of Life to the Penitent: And if the Penitents have this hazard to run, the Priests have no less, by being obliged to go into infected Places and to hear the Confessions of those who are sick of contagious Diseases. The sixth is, that it looks like a kind of Impudence for a Man thus confidently to declare all his Sins. The seventh is, that the particular Enumeration that People make of their sins in Confession, casts some of them into Despair, and into insupportable Troubles of Conscience. The eighth is, that on the other hand, there are some People, who without ever thinking of a Change of Life, or of renouncing their Sins, think it sufficient to confess and receive Absolution. The ninth is, that there are some who are Hypocrites in confessing only, that they may not be excommunicated or disgraced if they do it not.

The general Remedy that *Erasmus* brings to obviate these Inconveniences, is that both the Priest and the Penitent do acquit themselves conscientiously of their respective Duties; every Priest who is employed in this Work, ought to be learned, of a ready Wit, prudent and perfectly devout, and in the Performance of it, he ought to have nothing in his View but God: That the Bishops ought not to ordain any Priests, but those who are qualified for the Ministry; but they ought to be yet more careful, not to intrust the Flock of Jesus Christ to any but those who are capable of conducting it; and not to make choice of any for Confessors, but those who have all necessary Qualifications for the Discharge of that Duty. The Penitents ought also to look out for Confessors those who are able Men, and

and that lead devout Lives, and they ought not rashly to come to Confession, only through Custom, or for fashions sake; but when they prepare themselves for Confession, they ought to consider, that it is a most serious Action, and to endeavour so to confess, as if they were never to do it again in their whole Life time; for *Penance* is like another *Baptism*, and they who are baptized ought to vow, that they will never do any thing to stand in need of a second *Baptism*: And tho' because of the weakness of humane Nature, those who relapse into Sin, are received unto Confession, yet he who does *Penance*, ought to be in a Disposition to die, rather than commit again the Sins which he has confessed. Anciently, in the greatest part of Churches, those who had relapsed into a Crime after they had once done penance, were never again received unto publick Penance: So earnestly did the Church wish, that if it had been possible, they might never have relapsed into Sin. We ought first to confess to God, who well understands the Language of our Hearts; and when a Man has once seriously confessed to him, it will be very easy to confess to the Priest: That a Man may reap advantage by Confession, he ought to hate all Sins in general, from a Principle of Love to God. Now this principle of Love is a Gift of God, which we must obtain by Prayers and Tears, by Alms Deeds, and other good Works. *Erasmus* advises those, who by reflecting upon the Filthiness of their past Life, and by their Fears of Hell-fire, begin to detest their Sins, not to run immediately to the Priest: but to persevere for some time in Prayers and Tears, and to ask and knock, till they feel a Fear of another kind, and a firm Resolution to lead a new Life, accompanied with a Love full of Hope. When they feel this Spirit, which *St. Paul* calls the Spirit of Adoption, let them take care, not to ascribe it to their own Strength, let them acknowledge, that it is a free Gift of God, and being prostrate before his Divine Majesty, let them give thanks to his Goodness, and beg of him, that this Gift may be perpetual: They must not only entirely abandon their Sins, but they must also abandon all those things which lead to Sin. When a Man has once made this Progress, it will be no hard Matter for him to lay open his Conscience to a Priest, especially if he thinks that he is speaking to God in the Person of that Priest.

Erasmus says, that he could wish, that the Power of Absolving in all Cases, were not given to all Priests who confess Penitents. He thinks it would be very proper, that the Popes should revoke some Laws, which were anciently made for good Reasons, and that they should declare what Laws they would have to oblige People under pain of Sin. He does not approve of that scrupulous Exactness of confessing all the smallest Circumstances, or of the Apprehensions of those who think, that all the Sins they have committed are mortal. He would have the Penitent to abridge his Confession as much as is possible, and not to charge upon himself useless Circumstances of things: Yet he does not think that venial Sins ought to be neglected. He blames those who turn their Confession into Conversation, or who draw up a Form of their Confession. He does not approve of frequent general Confessions, 'It is enough (says he) to have once made an ingenuous Confession of our Sins to a Priest, and to have washed them away with our Tears; it is not necessary to be always in Heaviness, we must endeavour with Confidence and Chearfulness to lead a more perfect Life, if it happen that we relapse, it is sufficient to enumerate to the Priest those Sins we have committed since our last Confession, otherways Confession would come to be rather a Custom than a Remedy, nay it seems not fit to stir the Dirt so often: For the Sin by being too frequently confessed, may come to be less frightful to us, and a Penitent loses by little

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and little his shamefacedness, which is the surest way to preserve his Innocence.

He then treats of the Manner of confessing: He observes, that the Books which have been written in the vulgar Languages on this Subject, in which an Account is given of all the Sins that Men can be guilty of, may be read by Men of Age and Experience; but that it is dangerous to put them into every Body's hand. That what *Thomas Aquinas* has written of Vertues and Vices, is for Divines; that a plainer and shorter Method would do better for the Laity; that the Creed, the Decalogue, the hearing of Sermons, and the reading the Holy Scriptures, are the most ordinary Helps for Understanding, wherein any Man has offended. Faith and Charity towards God and our Neighbour are the general Vertues against which we sin; we ought to examine, whether we have those Vertues, and whether we discharge those Duties which they prescribe, as we ought to do; and whether we do nothing that is contrary to them. We may help our Memories, by reflecting on the Places where we have been, on the Employments we have had, and on the Persons with whom we have conversed; we ought not to accuse other People in our Confessions, or to tell any Circumstances which may make them be known. As to Circumstances, it is enough if we confess those which change the Nature of the Sin: Then he comes to the particular Sins of several Kinds, and enlarges especially upon Theft or Robbery, and the Obligations to make Restitution.

At last, he treats very briefly of Satisfaction; he distinguishes them into two sorts, publick and private; he wishes the Priests had Power to moderate publick Penances, or even to change them into secret ones. He says, that in those Penances which the Priests impose in private, they ought to imitate skilful Physicians, who do not prescribe the same Cures to all their Patients, but adapt them to the Diseases and the Constitution of the Person: He blames the Custom of the Generality of Priests, who without regard to the Sins that are confessed, give to all Penitents certain Prayers, as a *Miserere*, a *Salve Regina*, &c. He does not condemn these Prayers, but he says, it were much better to prescribe for Penance some Prayers that were proper Remedies against those particular Sins which the Penitents have confessed: He thinks it would be also useful to enjoin the Penitents to read such and such Books, or such parts of them as might beget in them a perfect Hatred of those Sins they have been guilty of, and to recommend to them to do this with Attention, and with a serious Resolution to amend their Lives. He says, that to young People who are debauch'd with Volensness, particular Studies, or Occupations, may be enjoined rather than Fastings and other Austerities, which may injure them in their Health; and that Alms-Deeds ought to be enjoined to those who are Rich. When fasting is enjoined to those who are of Age and Strength to undergo it, he says, they ought to be admonished to give the Poor what they save by their fasting. He does not altogether condemn the imposing of Pilgrimages in Penance, but he observes judiciously, that they ought not to be enjoined to those who have Wives or Children: And that it is not convenient to impose this Penance upon young Men or young Women, to whom those Journeys, may be occasions of Sin. He says, that Priests would do well to enjoin as Penance to those who have been injured, that they should pardon those who have injured them, and to prevent them in giving them Marks of their Friendship. In a word he thinks, that if a Priest impose any Austerities or Mortifications, he should do it so, that they may be accompanied with the Duties of Charity, and that they may not do any great wrong to Health. He does not undertake to dispute against those, who do not believe that satisfaction is any part of Penance, and upon that

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that account, reject Indulgences: He will not condemn them, but he confesses, that it is much better to hope for an entire Remission of all our Sins, from the Love and Mercies of Jesus Christ, than from the Bulls of Popes. But he adds, that if any Man will make use of them, he will not oppose him, provided he does not neglect the principal thing.

He then answers all the particular Inconveniences of Confession which he himself had proposed: And to the first he says, that the Bishops may remedy it by not intrusting Confession to any Priest, but those who are of Age and Experience, of known Probity and Prudence, and capable of a Secret; and by punishing those that should speak indiscreetly of Confessions, whether in familiar Conversation or in publick Sermons.

The Precautions which he advises Confessors to take, are to be sober, to pray to God before they go about the Performance of this Duty; not to exercise this part of their Ministry without Fear, not to ask any Questions but what are necessary for the understanding of the Nature of the Offence. As for the Penitent, if there be any Danger upon certain Occasions, for him to call his Sins to mind and to confess them, there would be yet greater Danger to be ignorant of them, or to forget them. The Silence and the Probity of the Priest will prevent the second Inconvenience: It is also easy for the Penitent to secure himself against the third, by chusing for Confessors, only such Persons as are truly grieved for the Sins of others, and are so far from being arrogant and insolent over those whose Sins they are acquainted with, that upon that very Account they humble themselves before God. Those who alledge the fourth Inconvenience, take it for granted, that there are very wicked Priests: It were to be wished that it could be denied; but supposing it is so, shall Physick be condemned because there are many bad Physicians? On the contrary, we ought with the greater Caution and Circumspection make choice of one upon whose Skill and Probity we may safely depend. The fifth Inconvenience being rare, ought not to be brought as an Example? For it is very seldom that a Confessor falls into such a Phrenzy or Fever, as makes him discover any Secret that is communicated to him in Confession: And a Penitent may confess to a Priest that does not know him, when his Crime is such, that if it be discovered, he is in hazard of losing his Life, by accusing himself. After all, the Salvation of the Soul is preferable to the Preservation of the Body. As for the Priests, they ought not to make any difficulty to expose their Lives, for the Salvation of Peoples Souls, and they may beforehand take Antidotes against any contagious Diseases. As to the sixth, it is certain that those who lose all Modesty by confessing their Sins, do not truly repent of them, and that it is necessary to represent to them the Deformity of their Sins, that they may be more and more ashamed of them, and to warn them that Confession is of no use without Contrition, which will hinder them from losing their Modesty. As to the seventh, it may be said, that too great Confidence or Presumption, endangers the Salvation of more People, than Despair; that a Man may examine his own Life, without those Scruples and extraordinary Vexations of Mind: Besides, that this Anxiety of Spirit is followed and rewarded with a wonderful Tranquility, when Love has once begun to drive out Fear. We have already given a Remedy to the eighth Inconvenience; as to the ninth, he confesses, that it is a lesser Fault to abstain from the Eucharist, when a Man does still retain an Affection for any mortal Sin, than to partake of it, provided he does all his Endeavours to get out of that sinful State: For otherways it is a piece of Paganism entirely to lose the Habit of receiving those Holy Mysteries, but it is not the same case with respect to Confession: And that Man ought not to be look'd upon as altogether impenitent, who goes to the Priest, not with a Design to mock him

or impose upon him, but partly in obedience to the Commands of the Church, and partly, that by this means he may conceive a greater Aversion to his Sins; for it is some kind of Repentance, when a Man is sorry that he does not repent enough of his Sins, and it often happens, that he who comes to the Priest with a Heart void of Sense, conceives an Hatred of his Sins, by his very confessing of them. Upon all which Accounts, we ought not to be frightened by those Inconveniencies from confessing our Sins, but ought rather to be thereby persuaded to confess them with greater advantage. If Confession seems hard to some People, let them consider the great Peace and Tranquility of Mind, which they get by this bitter Potion; and let them take more care for the time to come, not to fall into any Sin, lest they be again obliged to swallow this Pill. Let them so confess for once, that they may have no need to confess again, and that they may be well satisfied, that for once they were ashamed of all their Sins. That Man who has once conceived a perfect Hatred of Sin, will not easily relapse into it: The Lord will assist us in all our good Designs, provided we ascribe to his Grace all the Good we receive from it, and that we use our constant and sincere Endeavours to attain to higher Degrees of Perfection, rather by his Assistance than by our natural Strength, *till we all come to a perfect Man, unto the Measure of the Stature of the Fulness of Christ.* Eph. 4:13.

His Explications of the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 13th, 22d, 28th, 33d, 38th, 83d, and 85th. *Psalms*, are so many very large Discourses, in which *Erasmus* treats of several Points of Doctrine and Morality, as he has occasion, from the Words of those *Psalms*, as on the 13th. *Psalms*, he discourses of the Purity of the Church, and on the 28th. of the War against the *Turks*, wherein he shews what War against the *Turks* is lawful, and in what manner and by what Motives Christians ought to undertake it, and execute it; there we may also find very excellent Maxims, concerning just and unjust Wars. In his Explanation of the 83d. *Psalms*, he treats of ancient and modern Heresies, and of the means for extinguishing the Schism that divided the Church. For this end he thinks it necessary, that all Christians should live blameless Lives, and faithfully discharge the Duties of their respective Callings, and forsake their Sins. Secondly, that no Innovations be made, but that those Customs be followed, which have been received by Tradition from the Fathers. Thirdly, as to Doctrines, that concerning Free-will, no more be required, but only an Acknowledgment; that Man can do nothing by his own Strength, and that if he be enabled to do any thing, he owes it to the Grace of God; that much be ascribed to Faith, and that it be acknowledged, that Faith is a particular Gift of the Holy Ghost, whose Energy is much wider than is ordinarily believed. Let those who please, say, that it is Faith that justifies, provided they confess, that Works of Charity are also necessary: And let them maintain, that God owes not any thing to any Man, yet without rejecting the Terms of Merit and Reward, when they signify that God accepts of, and crowns the good Actions, which he himself works in us and by us. As to Prayers for the Dead, that it must be confessed, that it is piously to be believed, that the Prayers and good Works of the Living are beneficial to the Dead: But People ought to be warned, that those who out of a vain-glorious Design, leave Funds for Services and Masses, shall not receive any Reward; and that it would be much more to their Advantage, if while they are yet alive, they would bestow all that in good Works, which they bequeath by their Wills; that it is a religious thing to be persuaded, that Saints by their Intercession have power with God, but that it is not absolutely necessary to invoke them; and that a Man may address his Prayers only to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, provided he do not condemn those who without any Superstition do also invoke the Saints;

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Saints; that Images are useful, and that we are not forbidden to honour them by external Signs of Honour, as a young married Woman will embrace and kiss the Picture of her absent Husband. We ought to make the same Judgment of those, who kiss the Relicks of Saints. As to Confession, he gives an Abridgment of the Principles which he laid down in the Book which he wrote on that Subject. As to the Mass, he says, that there is nothing in that Sacrifice, but what is pious and venerable: Those who are offended with the great number of Priests, have no more to do but to retain such of them as they know to be of Merit and Ability, and to dismiss the rest. If they are not well pleased with the *Profes* (o) that are sung, they may pass them by, and they may also forbear to sing any thing during the Elevation of the Host. He blames those who neglect to give their Attendance at the divine Offices, and at solemn Masses. Seeing the ancient Doctors of the Church, made use of the Terms *Sacrifice* and *Immolation*, why should Men make any scruple to call the Mass by that Name? That Jesus Christ is dead once, and dies no more, is what we confess: But this only Sacrifice is continually renewed in a mystical manner, and is offered up for the Living and the Dead, when Prayers are said for them to the Father thro' the Death of his Son. In a word, seeing all Prayers, Praises, and Thanksgivings may be called Sacrifices, the Mass may be particularly called so, because all those things are comprehended in it in a more holy manner. There are some who desire, that People may communicate every Day at Mass, but it is not the Fault of the Priests that this is not done, it is the Fault of the Laity, whose Charity is become too cold. This heavenly Food ought not to be offered to those who will not receive it, or who do not relish it, and it is not denied to those who earnestly desire it: In a word, tho' there is not a Communion of the sacramental Signs betwixt the Priest and the Assistants, yet the People may always participate there, in Instruction, in Prayers, Praises, and Thanksgivings. What is alledged against Adoration is very unreasonable; for if Jesus Christ be entirely in the Eucharist, why should we not adore him in it? The Prelates will easily allow, that the great number of Holydays which have been established without any necessity, may be diminished: And as to Fasts and Abstinence from Meats, the Church has appointed them only for the Benefit both of Soul and Body. Those who by fasting receive any prejudice either to their Souls or their Bodies, may forbear it, and they cannot be blamed for so doing: He absolutely condemns the *Anabaptists*, who do not approve of that Baptism, which has certainly had the Approbation of the catholick Church, above 1400 Years.

His Discourse of the *Greatness of God's Mercy* is a most excellent Discourse, and contains the principal Passages, and the best Examples of Holy Scripture upon that Subject, and they are set in a clear Light, and in an admirable Order, and are accompanied with Reflections and Exhortations full of Life and Solidity.

There is likewise a great deal of Eloquence in that Discourse, wherein he states a Comparison betwixt Virginity and Martyrdom. It is addressed to the Monastery of *Maccabite Virgins* at *Cologne*: He there gives Virginity all the Praises it deserves, and makes this excellent Observation, that nothing was more rare than Virginity before the coming of Jesus Christ; but since the time that he consecrated it, there have been seen in the World, I know not how many Thousands of People who have made themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven: That since he died on the Cross, an infinite number of Men and

Women have suffered Death with Joy for the Glory of Jesus Christ. His high Commendations of Virginity are mixed with Exhortations, and all this Treatise is full of lively and spiritual Thoughts.

His Discourse upon the Child *Jesus*, spoken by a Child of *St. Paul's School*, founded by *John Colet* at *London*, tho' it favours more of a Declamation than the former, yet it contains also excellent Instructions.

There is more of Piety in the Epistle that he wrote to the *Franciscan Nuns* of a Convent near *Cambridge* (p); he takes for his Text these Words of *Isaiah*, *In Quietness and in Confidence shall be your Strength*, from which he brings very comfortable and useful Instructions, not only for those Nuns, but for all that are in Tribulation.

His Book, intituled, *The Institution of a Christian Marriage*, addressed to *Catherine Queen of England*, is a more considerable Piece than the former. Of all the things that concern this Life, Marriage is of the greatest Importance; the Pagan Philosophers have written of it, with all the Prudence that Reason could suggest to them: There have been an infinite number of Laws made for the Durableness and Sacredness of Marriages. It seems, the ancient Christians were more negligent of this, than of other things, because the greatest part of them were by a fervent Zeal, wonderfully inclined to *Celibacy* and *perpetual Virginity*. This is the Reason, that so many of them have made Panegyrics upon Virginity, and have prescribed Rules to Widows and Virgins how to live devoutly, and that few or none of them have done the same to married Persons: But it is happy for them, that Jesus Christ has prescribed to them the manner how they ought to live; *St. Peter* the Prince of the Apostles, and *St. Paul* the principal Doctor of the Church, have done the same after him. After this Preface, *Erasmus* divides his Book into three Parts; in the first, he treats of the Rules which ought to be observed in contracting Marriage; in the second, of the best means of living happily in a married State; and in the third, of the Education of Children. He defines Marriage with the Lawyers, to be a lawful and perpetual Union of Man and Wife, in order to the Procreation of Children, which includes a Partnership of Life and Goods. He says, that Procreation of Children being the end of Marriage, it cannot be said in proper speaking, that Marriages between Persons that are not capable of having Children, are true Marriages in this sense; yet he is satisfied, that the Church doth approve of them, and that they are in themselves lawful. He observes, that Divorces have been always look'd upon as odious things, even by those Nations that have permitted them. He speaks occasionally of the Ceremonies of the ancient Pagans, in their Marriages: He treats very fully of the Marriage betwixt Jesus Christ and his Church, of which, Marriage among Christians is a Sacrament or Sign. He says, that some ancient Divines considered Marriage only as a Sign, and did not acknowledge that it conferred Grace: And therefore, they did not place it in the Rank of those that are properly called the Sacraments of the New Testament; in which the Signs are efficacious by virtue of the Covenant, in which God has declared his Will. But that the more plausible Opinions of the modern Divines had prevailed; who taught, that in a Marriage lawfully solemnized, there is conferred, as in other Sacraments, a special Gift of the Holy Ghost; by which the Man and the Woman are confirmed in their Resolutions to live together in a perpetual Agreement, and are more enabled to bear with all the Hardships of this Life, and are made fitter for educating Children; but as in the other Sacraments, we do incur the Displea-

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[(o) *Profes* are part of the Office of the Mass, which are sung just before the Gospel, upon great Festivals. The French also call those rhythmical Hymns, *Projes*, which are sung in their

Offices in the Church of Rome, in which Rhime only, and not Quantity of Syllables, is observed.]

[(p) I suppose it was the Nuns of *St. Clare* in *Denny Abbey*, to whom *Erasmus* wrote.]

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sure of Heaven, if we do not receive them as we ought to do, so the same thing happens in Marriage. He confesses, that the primitive Christians had so great a Veneration for Virgins, that their Glory did obscure (if I may so speak) the Glory of Marriage: He condemns the Marriages of the Children of a Family, when they are made without the Consent of their Parents; he does not think that every Consent makes a true and lawful Marriage. It is necessary, that the Consent be given *per verba de presenti*: That it be free and voluntary, and according to the Laws. He relates many subtle Questions of Lawyers concerning this Consent, and treats very fully of the Obstacles of Marriage, as well of those which make it void, as of those which make it unlawful. He would have the Obstacle of spiritual Relation altogether suppressed: He is not very favourable to the common Opinion, that a Marriage solemnized, but not consummated, may be made void, if either of the Parties shall enter into a religious Order. After having treated very largely of the Obstacles of Marriage, he speaks of the necessary Qualifications both of Body and Mind, that those young People ought to have, who enter into a married State: Then he proceeds to the second part, and gives some Instructions to Husbands and Wives how to carry themselves so, as that they may live together happily and in Peace. The Wife's Friendship and Fidelity, her Love and Piety, and Submission to her Husband, and the Husband's Tenderness to his Wife, are the principal Grounds of this Peace. The last part is concerning the Education of Children: Good Parents generally have Children that are inclined to Good, and the Children of wicked Parents are inclined to Wickedness. It is therefore necessary, that the Husband and the Wife do learn to live so regularly, that they may wish to have Children who may be like to themselves in their Manners; Women with Child ought to take care to live very temperately. He recommends to Mothers to nurse their own Children, but if they be absolutely incapable of it, they ought to chuse Nurses who are regular in their Lives. He gives many Directions as to places where they ought to keep their Children, and how they ought to dress them. He is of Opinion, that the Parents ought to begin to instruct their Children when they are about three Years of Age, and to teach them to bow at the Name of *Jesus*, and to kiss the Crucifix: That they be taught good things in their childish Diversions, and gained by soft and gentle Methods; he blames those very much, who give them a Disgust to their Studies by too much Severity. He advises that they be instructed betimes in the first Principles of Piety and Religion, and accustomed to practise Christian Virtues: And he recommends particularly to Parents, to make a prudent Choice of the Person to whom they intrust the Care of their Children; he prefers the Education of five or six Children, under the Conduct of one prudent Tutor, to any other kind of Education: He speaks also of the Education of Daughters, which requires yet more care; and advises, that care be taken so to educate them, that they may not lose any thing of that Modesty, which is becoming their Sex. He does not at all approve of those, who devote their young Children to an ecclesiastick or monastick Life, and put them into Monasteries upon that very Design: He would have them first consult their Children's Inclinations, and if they find them inclining to those States of Life, they ought to prove them for a long time, before they suffer them to take any Engagements upon themselves. With this he concludes this long Treatise of Marriage.

What he does for married People in this Treatise, he does for Widows in the next. It is intituled, *The Christian Widow*, and contains a great many Precepts and Instructions for those Women who are Widows, and who continue in that State. It is dedicated to *Mary* the Sister of *Charles V.* and of *Ferdinand*, who had been Queen of *Hungary* and *Bohe-*

mia. *Claudius Espenceus* had so great an Esteem for this Treatise, that he made an Abridgment of it, as a Conclusion to what he had said of the State of Widowhood.

Erasmus's Ecclesiastes, or his Treatise of Preaching, is divided into four Books. In the first he treats of the Dignity and Vertues of a Preacher; in the second and third he applies the Precepts of Orators, Logicians and Divines to the Art of Preaching. The fourth is an abridgment of the Rules and Maxims which the Preacher ought to make use of, and shows the Passages of Scripture where they may be found.

He begins the first Book, by explaining the Word *Ecclesiastes*, which signifies in general, a Man who speaks publicly to an Assembly. Now as there are two sorts of Assemblies, one which treats of Matters of State or Civil Government, the other which treats of Religion; so there are two sorts of *Ecclesiastes*, the Profane and the Sacred. When the Office requires to make a political Discourse, concerning the Affairs of State, no Man will rashly assume that Task to himself, nor is every Man allowed to meddle in it: But out of a great number of Persons, one is chosen, who is thought the best qualified for it; he takes care to inform himself thoroughly of the Matter of which he is to speak, he takes great Care that nothing may fall from him that is disagreeable to his Prince's will, or to the Interests of the State; whereas many young Men, who are both ignorant and light in their Behaviour, are admitted, or rather suffered to intrude themselves into this Sacred Office of Preaching, as if nothing were more easy than to explain the Sacred Scriptures unto the People; and as if it were enough to be impudent, and to speak boldly whatsoever comes into their thoughts. The Source of all this Evil is, that those who are concerned in it, do not reflect seriously as they ought to do, upon the Dignity and Usefulness of this Office, or how difficult a thing it is for a Preacher, worthily to discharge his Ministry: Then he begins to show, that of all the Offices of the Church, this is the greatest and the most honourable. That *Jesus Christ*, who is the Word, is the first among the *Ecclesiastes*. That the Heart of a Preacher ought to be inspired, and his Tongue put into motion by the Holy Ghost; that so his Words may have a secret Virtue to change the Hearts of the People: His only Aim ought to be to teach the Truth, his Heart ought to be pure and inflamed with Love; filled with that powerful and overruling Spirit, that makes Men despise the Threatnings of wicked Men, and Afflictions and Honours, that they may freely and sincerely preach the Word of God. He ought to be upon his Guard against the Acclamations and Applauses of the People: His Reputation ought to be well established, and his Life and Conversation irreproachable: He ought even to abstain from all Appearance of Evil. In a Word, he ought like a faithful Steward, wisely and faithfully to dispense the Treasures of God's Words. He ought to prepare himself for this Sacred Function by Prayer and good Works, and ought not to neglect External Mortifications and Austerities; but while he exercises these, he ought to be aware of four faults, Vanity, Superstition, rash Judgment and Excess. Sometimes it happens, that too great Austerities make Men incapable of performing the Duty of an *Ecclesiastes*. *St. Chrysostom* observes, that the Monks who were called to the Episcopal Office, were least fit for Episcopal Functions; tho' that does not hinder, but that Monks may be taken out of their Monasteries; and promoted to Bishopricks.

Then *Erasmus* produces many Excellent Passages of Scripture, concerning the Dignity of the Office of Preachers, but he shows at the same time, that they ought to remember, that preaching is a Gift of God. He advises those who are designed for this Ministry, to study the Holy Scriptures from their Infancy. The chief Qualifications which he re-

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quires in a Preacher are, great Purity of Heart, great Stedfastness in the Faith, fervent Charity, and a continual Application to his Office. He explains in a Mystical way, the Precepts of the Law that were given to priests under the Old Testament, as containing the Duty of those under the New. Bishops are obliged to preach, but since it is impossible for them to do it, in all the Places of their Dioceses they ought to take Care, to furnish the Churches that are under their Inspection, with Pastors that are capable to instruct the People, and that they may be provided with a sufficient Number of them, it were fit in *Erasmus's* Opinion, that they should educate in their Universities a competent Number of young Men, who promised well, and who they had reason to hope, would do good Service to the Church: And that they should not put any Persons into Priests Orders, but those who were distinguished by their Merit. He adds, that Bishops ought to take so much the more Care, to chuse Persons well qualified for the Ministry, because they are accountable to God for them, and that they will not be acquitted before God's Tribunal, by pleading, that they committed that Care to their *Vicar-Generals*, and their *Officials*; because they are likewise answerable for their Probity. Upon occasion of this, he relates a remarkable Story of *David Bishop of Utrecht* the Son of *Philip the Good*. He was an able Man and a Good Divine, which is a rare thing, says *Erasmus*, among the People of Quality, and especially among the Bishops of the *Low-Countries*. He was told, that among the great Number of Persons that were ordained, there were very few that had any thing of Learning: And being desirous to inform himself better in this matter, he ordered a Chair to be set in the Hall, where they who were Candidates for Ordination were examined; he examined them himself, and proposed Questions to them, more or less difficult, according to the Order to which they pretended; and the result was, that except three, he sent them all away without their Orders. Those who took Care of the Ordinations, thought this would be a great Affront to the Church, if one of three Hundred, who were Candidates for Holy Orders, three only should be admitted; but the Bishop told them, that it would be a much greater Affront to the Church, if he should ordain so many *Asses*: They replied, that the Age they lived in, did not produce *St. Paul's* or *St. Jerome's*; He said, he did not expect either *St. Paul's* or *St. Jerome's*, but that he would not put *Asses* into Holy Orders: Then they had recourse to their last Shifts; if it be so, said they, you must augment our Stipends, for without these *Asses* it is impossible for us to live; by this Stroke the Bishop's Courage was abated, yet he could have easily warded it off, either by telling his *Officials*, that they had already sufficient Salaries, if they would live soberly and regularly, or by diminishing his own Revenues, to prevent those Disorders. Were it not much better for the Church to have a small Number of Ministers, well qualified for the Discharge of their Offices, than a Crowd of useless Priests who are rather a heavy Burden to the Church, than supporters of her Interest? Most of them seek only the Revenues, and there are very few of them, who will take the pains to serve the great Ends of Religion by labour and diligence. They enter into Priests Orders, that they themselves may be fed, and not that they may feed the Flock of Jesus Christ: Take away the Revenues, and you shall see there are very few, who will be ambitious of Ecclesiastical Orders: Besides the Church would not have need of so many Ministers, if all of them would diligently perform the Offices that belong to their respective Orders; if Deacons would publicly read the Gospel, if Priests would teach and administer all the Sacraments, and if the Offices were celebrated only in the publick Churches: For *Erasmus* finds fault with the great Number of Do-

mestick Chappels, and of Priests who are ordained without a Title. He recommends to the Bishops, to take Care to provide the Villages with such Ministers, as may be capable to teach the Word of God; and to appoint such Persons for the Nunneries, as may always instruct the Nuns in their own Churches, that so they have no need of going elsewhere, to hear the Word of God. He alleges, that the Superstitions and the Remissness that had crept into the Convents, proceeded only from the neglect of Preaching the Word of God in them. For says he, It is this Word which confirms People in the Faith, which quickens Charity, and inspires them with the Love of a Heavenly Life; without which, Abstinence, a Monastical Habit, Singing, and other Ceremonies, tend to beget in them Superstition rather than true Devotion. He blames those who have any regard to Recommendations in the bestowing of Ecclesiastical Offices: He wishes, that Colleges were founded, in which Men chosen for their good parts, were trained up to preaching; because it often happens, that those who come from the ordinary Schools are better qualified for disputing than for preaching. He makes a noble Elegy upon *William Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Chancellor of *England*; to shew that Prelates have time enough for Devotion, for Study, for the Concerns of their Charge, and for other Business too, if they will divide it and employ it as they ought. He adds the Example of *Pope Gregory the Great*. He complains, that the Ministry of Preaching was so much despised and neglected in his time. He compares a Preacher of the Gospel to a King, and prefers him to an Hermit, to an Angel, and to *St. John Baptist*. He prefers the Gift of Preaching to that of working Miracles, he speaks of the Prudence which a Preacher ought to use in abolishing little by little, and by gentle Methods, the common Superstitions; and in gaining the Hearts of People, by making himself all things to all Men. Though it be just, that he who serves at the Altar should live by the Altar; yet he could wish, that the Word of God were taught for nothing. Who would not (says he) admire and reverence a Man, that would devote himself wholly to do good to others, and that like a Father or a Mother, would watch over them for their Salvation; that would instruct the Ignorant and undeceive those that are in Errors; that would visit the Sick, and comfort those who are under Affliction; that would succour the oppressed, baptize the Children, assist those who are lying on a Death-bed, bury the Dead, relieve the Poor and Needy, and offer up Prayers and Sacrifices for the Salvation of all Men; and in a word, that would give Testimonies of his good wishes and Affection to all Mankind, and would do it constantly and cheerfully without any reward; and without desiring either Money or Services, or Applause. He exhorts the People, that for their parts, they would be of tractable Dispositions, and give that Attention which they ought to do, to what the Preachers say. He exclaims against the little Respect that is paid to them: At last he concludes, that if both Preachers and Hearers would do their respective Duties, if Preachers would dispense the Treasures of Jesus Christ faithfully, agreeably and exactly, with charity and Diligence; and if the People would hear with Attention and Devotion the Word of God, there is not the least doubt to be made, but Heaven would grant a plentiful Harvest. *Erasmus* begins his second Book of his *Ecclesiastes* with this Reflection, that he, who has all those Qualities of a good Preacher, that he has spoken of in the former Book, would not stand much in need of Precepts or Advices, because this Disposition of a sincere and perfect Mind, would of it self furnish him with an Eloquence worthy of Sacred Things, and with an agreeable Pronunciation and Gesture; for it happens, I know not how, that Man's in-

ward Thoughts and Dispositions influence his outward Behaviour and Deportment; upon which they make such Impressions as are agreeable to themselves: Yet he adds, that Art may help to confirm and regulate those Impressions which the Holy Ghost inspires, so that the Preachers ought not to neglect the Rules of Art, or Elegance of Discourse. He advises young People, who resolve to be Preachers, to hear often those who preach well, and to observe their Excellencies and their Imperfections: He thinks it good for them to read *Demosthenes*, *Cicero*, and other profane Authors, that they may come to have a just Notion of Eloquence; *Plutarch* and *Seneca* may be of great use to them, in furnishing them with Moral Thoughts. Among Ecclesiastical Authors, he particularly recommends to them the reading of *St. Basil*, *St. Chrysostom*, and *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, for Greek Authors; and among the Latins, *Tertullian*, who tho' he be stiff in his Expressions, yet he has a great deal of Wit and Fineness in censuring Errors and in reproving Vice. *St. Hilary* is of no great use for making popular Discourses. *St. Cyprian* is more useful, because his Style is vehement, serious, and fluent. *St. Ambrose's* way of writing does not agree to our time, because he is full of Subtilties and affected Thoughts, which are sometimes obscure. *St. Jerome* is proper for every kind of Oratory, he is eager for moving the Passions; but because he was only a Priest and not a Bishop, he never exercised himself in Preaching. *St. Augustine* is happy and skilful in the Art of preaching extempore, he has more Sweetness than Force; if he plays sometimes upon Words and makes Digressions, it must be imputed to his humouring of the People of that Country, who had a Relish for such things. *St. Gregory the Pope*, is plain and devout in his Sermons; but he is full of abrupt Sentences, which begin and end with the same Cadence; so that a Preacher now a-days cannot imitate him without exposing himself. Tho' *Prudentius* writ in Verse, yet there is a great deal of Christian Eloquence in his Writings. *St. Bernard* is a Preacher rather by Nature than by Art; he is agreeable and sweet, and proper enough to move the Affections, but the greatest part of his Sermons were made in the Assemblies of Monks, for whose use he composed many of his Works. There are some other Authors, who have also succeeded in this kind; as *St. Leo* and *St. Fulgentius*. *John Gerson* is no very fit Author for giving any Assistance to a Preacher: For he divides what he says into so many parts, that his Discourse becomes dry and cold. He endeavours to excite the Passions, but it is rather in himself than in others. *Thomas Aquinas* would have been an Excellent Preacher, if he had exercised himself in Preaching as he did in Philosophy and Disputes. *Scotus* and the other Doctors of that kind, may be of some use for the Knowledge of things, but they are of no use for teaching People how to speak well. After these followed some Preachers, who perhaps were fit enough for their own Theatre, but they had nothing either of Art or Prudence: And from thence came the Sermons concerning *Paradise*, the Sermons of *Jordanus*, of *Jacobus de Voraigne*, and *Robertus Licius*, and many others, who are of themselves so sunk into Oblivion, that no Man thinks it worth his while to read them. Then *Erasmus* treats according to the Rules of Rhetorick, of the Duties of an Orator, and of the several parts of his Discourse. He approves of taking a Text of sacred Scripture, but he would have it agree with the Subject he is to treat of in his Sermon. He gives Examples of several sorts of Prefaces or Introductions to a Discourse. He does not disapprove of the Invocation of the Blessed Virgin, but he does not think that Preachers should be necessarily obliged to it. He prescribes some Rules for the Division of the Discourse, he runs through the common Places, that may be useful in Sermons of all kinds: He condemns the telling of Stories and Mi-

racles, that are not certainly true: He shows how Rebukes may be tempered and softened. He does not approve, that a Preacher should from the Pulpit divulge secret Sins, or that he should describe those Sins that are not known, or give such account of them as to make People reflect upon them, or draw up particular tedious or ridiculous Accounts of some sort of Irregularities. In a Word, no Man has ever treated so fully of that which the Orators call *Invention*: Or has better divided all the Matters and Subjects, upon which a Preacher can discourse, than *Erasmus* has done in this second Book.

In the third, he treats of the Order and Method which a Preacher ought to observe: In the primitive times of the Church, the Preachers observed no other Method, than that of the Text of Holy Scripture, which they explained: In their Panegyrics on the Saints, they observed the same Method, which is usually observed in Discourses of the demonstrative Kind. *St. Chrysostom* having explained the Difficulties of Holy Scripture, confined himself to a point of Morality. The modern Preachers kneel in the Pulpit, and having recited a Prayer without being heard by the people, they rise and make the Sign of the Cross, then they read their Text, and make some general Reflection upon the Words of it. *Erasmus* says, he was informed, that it was the Custom of some places, after this Reflection, to read the Gospel in the vulgar Tongue; that then the Preacher said a Prayer to the blessed Virgin for Grace and Assistance, and then repeated the Text, then divided his Discourse, and so went on: He mentions several other Methods of preaching, of which the greatest part are extraordinary, and not to be followed. He advises a Preacher, to chuse the best Method, which is always accompanied with that Gravity and Seriousness, which the Word of God requires: And to remember that there is a great Difference betwixt an Advocate, who uses all the Arts he can to gain his Cause, or a Comedian who has no other Aim but to please those who come to the Play-house; and a Preacher, whose great Design ought to be, to teach the Word of God. He does not approve of a Preacher's making use of an artificial Memory, he allows him to read the passages of Scripture, and the Fathers which he cites, if his Memory be not so good as to retain them by heart. He prescribes a great many Rules for Pronunciation and Action, which may be of great use to Preachers. He blames the comical and theatrical Gestures of some Preachers. then he treats very fully of figurative Expressions, and of the Means which a Preacher ought to make use of for exciting, not the profane Passions, but such Motions of Christian Devotion as may be durable. He explains some Terms that are usual in Scripture, and which are sometimes taken in a new Sense; as *The World*, by which in the Language of Holy Scripture is understood, such an irregular Love for the things of this mortal Life, as makes us neglect the Concerns of Life eternal, and those Virtues which lead to it. All those who thus love the good Things of this World, tho' they be in Cloysters, yet they are in the World: Whereas all those who have mortified the Flesh, and are spiritually risen with Jesus Christ, who have no inordinate Affections after the Pleasures of this Life, and who breathe after heavenly things, are truly dead unto the World. The Name of Saints was given by the Apostles to all baptized Christians, as likewise that of *Brothers*. Religion in the Holy Scripture consists, according to *St. James*, in discharging all the Duties of Charity, and in keeping our Selves unspotted from the World. All Christians ought to be religious in this Sense, as they all ought to give Obedience to the Law of God. All true Christians are also perfect; as Jesus Christ says, *Be ye perfect as your Father which is in Heaven is perfect*. The Name of *Apostate* was anciently given to those who did forsake Christianity, but now it is applied to Monks who quit their Order. That a Preacher may cite Passages

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Passages of Holy Scripture to good purpose, it is not enough that he take them at second hand from the Writings of other Men; but he ought to read them in the Originals, and consult the best Interpreters; among these, *Erasmus* prefers the Greeks to the Latins, and the Ancients to the Moderns. He ranks the Ancients into two Classes, first those of the earliest Antiquity; as *St. Clemens*, *Papias*, *St. Ignatius*, *St. Justin Martyr*, *St. Irenaeus*, *Origen*, and *Tertullian*; and then those of later Antiquity, or of the middle Age, such as *St. Athanasius*, *St. Basil*, *St. Chrysostom*, *St. Cyril*, and among the Latins, *St. Ambrose*, *St. Augustine*, and *St. Jerome*. A time in which the Church was exercised in the Study of Holy Scripture, by reason of the Insults of Hereticks; and was thereby confirmed in the Faith. The most ancient of them ought to be read with Veneration, but with Caution and Indulgence; because the Church having not at that time given her Judgment on several Articles, it was not impious in them to doubt of them, provided they were ready to quit their Errors or their Doubts, as soon as the Truth was discovered to them. *Erasmus* pretends that a Man may, without any Sin, differ from the Opinions of the Fathers in the Explication of some Passages of Holy Scripture, because they do not always agree among themselves in the same Opinions; tho' he confesses, that the unanimous Consent of the Church, upon any point, ought to serve for a Law. He cannot endure, that any Man should do Violence to any Passages of Holy Scripture, and force a Sense upon them different from the true and natural Sense, tho' some of the Ancients did take that Liberty. He would have the allegorical Sense always founded on the literal and grammatical. He gives many Examples of Allegories, and disapproves of, and condemns those that are founded on Fictions, or on a Sense that is contrary to the Words. He shews the Usefulness of Allegories when they are just, tho' he confesses they cannot be made use of to prove any Article of Faith, unless it be clear from other Passages: However, says he, they may be useful for comforting the Afflicted, for confirming those who are Wavering, and for giving Ease to wearied Minds. Of all kinds of Allegories, a Preacher should rather make use of those of the Ancients, than of any that are of his own Invention; and among those he should chuse what agrees best with the literal Sense. *Tropology*, or the spiritual Sense, which concerns Manners, is applicable to almost all the Books of Scripture: As for Allegories, with regard to the Mysteries of Religion, and anagogical Interpretations, with regard to another Life, they cannot be made use of with the same Success in all the Books of the Holy Scripture. In a word, the same thing may be figuratively applied to many several things, and may give occasion to many Allegories.

Erasmus is not of the Opinion of those who think, that there is nothing of Obscurity in the Sacred Scriptures: He owns that there are obscure Passages in it, not only on account of the Tropes and Figures that are in it, but on many other Accounts; as, 1. Because of the Faults that have crept into the Text. 2. Because Interpreters have translated the Text; either to a contrary Sense, or obscurely and ambiguously. 3. Because of the *Hebraisms* and *Gracisms*. 4. Because of the Customs and Manners of the Ancients which we are ignorant of. 5. Because one Word does sometimes signifie different things. 6. Because the same proper Name agrees sometimes to several Persons, or that sometimes the same Person has different Names. 7. Sometimes the Ambiguity proceeds from the Pointing. 8. The Pronunciation does sometimes vary the Signification. 9. The seeming Contradictions, Untruths, and Absurdities occasion a great deal of Trouble to Interpreters. 10. A Man is also often perplexed when he does not consider the Person that speaks. He here gives us the

Rules of *Tychonius*, and those of *St. Augustine*, for the Explanation of the Scriptures: He concludes this Book with general Instructions for Preachers, how they ought to behave themselves, and some Precautions which they ought to take, whether in removing Vice, or instructing People in right Principles.

The last Book is only a Table of such things as are proper to be insisted on in Sermons; which he ranks under different Titles, and subjoins upon every Subject, Thoughts and Maxims of Truth, which a Preacher may enlarge upon and improve.

His Treatise intituled, *Modus orandi Deum*, or, *Of the Manner of praying to God*, is as instructive, as that of the way of Preaching, and has more Devotion in it. He comprehends the whole matter of Prayer under these four Heads. 1. Who it is we pray to. 2. Who it is that prays. 3. What are the things he prayes for. 4. In what manner he ought to pray.

His Treatise on the *Creed*, or a Catechism composed of six Lectures, contains an Explication of the Apostle's Creed and of the Decalogue, by way of Question and Answer: It is not like the greatest part of Chatechisms, which are barren of useful Thoughts; but tho' it be plain, yet it is Learned, Instructive, full of Knowledge and elegantly written.

The Prayers which follow, composed by *Erasmus*, are neat and elegant, but they favour more of the Understanding than of the Heart, and have more of Art than *Unction* in them.

His Paraphrase upon the Lord's Prayer is of the same kind, but is fuller of Instruction.

The *Pæan*, or Hymn to the Honour of the Blessed Virgin, is a Treatise of a singular kind, and contains the Praises of the Virgin. The Prayer which he addresses to her in his Affliction is almost in the same Stile.

His Treatise of the *Contempt of the World*, (p) was composed while he was in the Monastery of *Stein* near *Tergoës*, under the Name of *Theodoricus de Harlem*; to whose Grand-Child it is addressed. It was the Product of his younger Years, and therefore no wonder if therein we do not find so much Solidity and Depth of Thought, as in his other Works, but more of Heat and Vivacity, and Declamation. His chief design in it, is to praise a solitary Life; and to represent the Happiness of it.

His Treatise of the *Sorrow and Fear of Jesus Christ*, was written by *Erasmus*, on occasion of a Conference he had with *Paul Colet*, who alledged, that our Saviour had nothing of the Fear of Death in him, because his fervent Desire for the Salvation of Mankind remov'd from him all fearful and sad Thoughts, and accordingly he explained these words of Jesus Christ, *Let this Cup pass from me*, as if nothing had been thereby intended, but only his Concern, that his Death would prove Fatal to the Jewish Nation. *Erasmus* on the contrary, maintains the common Opinion, that Jesus Christ as he was Man, was truly afraid of Death, and prayed to his Father, that he might not drink of that Cup. He treats of this point of Doctrine like a good Divine; and shows, 1. That Jesus Christ as he was Man, was capable of the Fears of Death. 2. That it is no Virtue to be insensible of Evils, or not to be afraid of them, but that true Constancy consists in surmounting the Thoughts of them. 3. That the Fears under which our Saviour was, did not in the least disturb his Reason, nor were they the Cause of the least evil Inclination in his Will. 4. That perfect Charity is consistent with the Fear of Death, and that the more Jesus Christ was afraid of Death, the greater are the Demonstrations he has given of his Love to Mankind, since he willingly submitted himself to Death for us. 5. That tho' Jesus Christ was afraid of Death, yet he wished for it at the same time; that he really wished for it from a free Choice; that yet, by reason of the Weakness of

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[p This was the first Book *Erasmus* writ, as his *Ecclesiastes* | was his last.]

Humane Nature, he found a Repugnancy in himself to die: That his rational part consented to it, whilst the sensible was averse to it. This is an Excellent Treatise, and may serve as a Pattern of the true way of treating of Theological Questions, according to Reason and the Principles of sound Philosophy.

His Treatise of Preparation for Death, is that among all Erasmus's Works, in which there is most Piety, and Unction. I shall here give some Passages of it, by which one may judge of the rest.

A very famous Heathen Philosopher said, that of all the things that are terrible, Death is the most terrible; but he said so, because he did not know our Divine Master, who has instructed us not only by his Words, but likewise by his Example, that Man does not perish by the Death of the Body; that his Soul being thereby set at Liberty from Prison, enjoys a Blessed Rest; and that his Body shall one day revive to be a Sharer in that Glory. He did not know that Maxim of the Holy Ghost, *Blessed are the Dead that die in the Lord*. He never heard St. Paul speak and groan and beg for Death, that he might be with Jesus Christ, being persuaded, that for him *to live was Christ, and to die was gain*. It is no wonder, that those who think that Man perishes wholly, and who are without Hope, should be so much afraid of Death; but it appears amazing, that People instructed in Christian Philosophy, and that profess it, should be afraid of Death as if they believed, that there was nothing of Man that remained after Death, or distrusted the Promises of Jesus Christ or despaired of their own Salvation. This Fear of Death proceeds partly from the Weakness of their Faith, and partly from the great Love they have for the things of this World. If they would steadfastly believe the Promises which God has made to us by his Son, they would easily despise the Pleasures of this World: And Death, which deprives us of them, would appear less frightful. We are only Travellers in this World, and have no lasting abode here, we are Strangers in it, who lodge in Tents, and not as Citizens who are settled in their own Country. This whole Life is but one continued Race towards Death, and a Race that is soon finished; but death is the Gate by which we enter into Eternal Life. How little then ought we to esteem all those Pleasures which last but for a Moment, which are liable to so many Accidents, and which Death will certainly deprive us of, tho' no other Accident should do it? We have received our Life from God, only upon this Condition, to return it back to him as soon as he calls for it. Tho' he should grant us an extraordinary long Life, which is a very rare thing, yet what is the whole Life of Man, but a short space in which we run our Race whether we will or no, whether we sleep or wake, whether we live in Pleasure or in Pain? The perpetual course of Years, like an impetuous Torrent, carries us to the end of it, tho' we and others think, that we continue always in the same State. We ought to learn to condemn all Temporal and Terrestrial things by fixing our Thoughts upon the Consideration of Heavenly and Eternal Blessings; Man's chief Good consists in praising and contemplating his Creator and his Redeemer. This is the end for which he was created: The Weakness of this Body in which the Soul is shut up, which is subject to so many Infirmities, Necessities, Evils and Dangers, disturbs oft-times this Happiness. This made St. Paul cry out, *Wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from this Body of Death?* During our whole Life, we ought to meditate upon Death, and excite our Faith, that it may be increased and strengthened, and that it being accompanied with Charity, may

produce in us a Hope which shall not be in vain. We have not any of these things of our selves; they are Gifts of God, which we ought to beg of him by continual Prayer; the more our Faith is joined with Charity, and the more steadfast it is through Hope, the less shall we be afraid of Death. The want of Trust in the Promises of Jesus Christ, is the most ordinary Cause of the Fear of Death; there is nothing so terrible, but what may be overcome by the Assistance of Jesus Christ, if we will resign our selves intirely to the good Will of God. He proposes a great many other Considerations of the same nature, for encouraging Christians to prepare themselves for Death, and not to be afraid of it. Then he gives some instructions for dying well. The first is, to live well; the second, not to put off Confession and Repentance to a Death-bed; the third is, to dispose during our Life and Health, of what we are obliged to order by our Wills, such as making Restitution, pardoning our Enemies, doing Alms-deeds, receiving the Sacraments. He blames the too great confidence of Men, that pretend to be above Fear and the Scruples of the timorous. He would have Hope always accompanied with Fear. The same Faith, says he, makes us tremble and enables us to overcome our Fear: We tremble when we consider the Majesty of that God whom we have offended, and we cease to fear, when we consider the Love of Jesus Christ which cleanseth us from all Sin, and his Grace which supplieth all our Imperfections. He then considers how a sick Person ought to prepare himself for Death; that while he is alive he ought not to despair of Salvation; that he ought in the first place, to give Ease and Quiet to his own Mind, as to what concerns his Temporal Affairs, by remitting the Care of them to Heirs, or by making a short Will; that he ought sincerely to confess his Sins to a Priest, and from him to receive with Faith and Veneration the Remedy of Penance by begging earnestly the Mercy of God, and resolving steadfastly to live more religiously if he recovers; that if he cannot find a Priest, he ought to confess his Sins unto God, who will accept of his good Will, and by his extraordinary Mercy will supply the want of the Sacrament: For tho' the Sacraments are efficacious of themselves, yet without them God provides for the Salvation of Man, provided he have true Faith and a good Will to receive them, and when it is not either through Contempt or Neglect that he does not receive them. Erasmus advises the Priests that visit the sick, to shun two Extremes, which are equally dangerous to the Souls of Men; that is, either to flatter them by too great Compliance, or to cast them into Despair by too great Severity. He also advises them to cause those Persons to be removed from them, whose Presence may renew sinful Thoughts or Affections in the Minds of those that are sick; to represent to them the Share they have in the Communion and Prayers of all the Saints; to exhort them to put their whole Confidence in Jesus Christ; and to set before them the Image of the Crucifix, that they may have a fresh Remembrance of him. Erasmus then speaks of the most ordinary Temptations of the Devil at the point of Death, and shows the Remedies that in such Cases ought to be applied. If the sick Person is tempted to Despair, the Priest ought to represent to him the infinite Mercy of God, and the Victory which Jesus Christ has obtained for Mankind over the Devil. If he is tempted to doubt of any Article of Faith, he ought to be advised, not to reason or dispute the matter with the Devil; but to say in plain Terms, I believe as the Church believes. In a word, to all the Suggestions of the Devil, the Priest ought to oppose Christian Meditations and Maxims of which Erasmus gives many Examples: But the Priest ought

[* The French is, *Esprits forts, strong Minds*; by which expression they mean those that value themselves upon making

a Jest of the Fears that our Religion inspires us with, and that pretend to be above the Slavery of Priest craft.]

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especially to admonish the sick Person, to excite his Faith and his Charity towards God and his Neighbour; and from his Heart, to forgive all those who have offended him; to suffer with Patience, and for the sake of *Jesus Christ*, all the Pains of his Sickness, and Death it self; and to resign himself in every thing to the Will of God: So that trusting nothing in himself, and putting his whole Confidence in the Mercies of God, and in the Merits of *Jesus Christ*, and in the Suffrages of the Saints, he may with a religious Faith and Heart say these Words, *Lord, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit.*

He concludes this Volume with some Christian Meditations of his own, among which is a Mass of the Blessed Virgin, and a Poem in Honour of St. *Genevieve*, which he bound himself by a Vow to compose, after he was cured of a Quartan Ague by the Intercession of that Saint.

We have already spoken of *Erasmus's* apologetical Epistle against *Dorpius*, concerning his Book intitled *Morie Encomium*. It is the first of his Apologies which are contained in the ninth Tome.

The second of these Works is an Apology addressed to *Jacobus Faber Stapulensis*. The Occasion and Subject of it was this: *Faber* had published a Commentary upon the Gospels, and the Epistles of St. *Paul*, at the same time that *Erasmus* was composing his Notes upon the New Testament. This Work of *Jacobus Faber* being published before *Erasmus's* Notes were printed, he read it, and having observed some Faults in it, he made no difficulty to take notice of them by the by in his Annotations, and to differ from *Faber* in many places: But tho' he said nothing that could give just Ground of Offence to *Faber*; nay, he spoke highly to his Praise, in some of those places, yet that learned Man was offended with him, either because *Erasmus* had so very soon after the appearing of his Works, published another Book on the same Subject; or because *Erasmus* had published some of the Mistakes into which he had fallen. So ill do the greatest Men take it to be inform'd of their Mistakes, or to be made acquainted that another Man is not of their Opinion. One of the Passages in which *Erasmus* differed from *Faber*, is that in the eighth Psalm, *Ministi cum paulo minus ab Angelis, Thou hast made him a little lower than the Angels*, which is cited in the 2d. Chapter of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*. *Faber* had observed, that according to the *Hebrew*, it ought to be read, *à Deo, a little lower than God*: And brought the Testimony of St. *Jerome* to authorize his Explanation. *Erasmus* in his Notes cited *Faber's* Explanation, and opposed to it that of *Tho. Aquinas*, who approves of the first Sense, and explains it by the Body which *Jesus Christ* assumed, in respect of which it may be said, that he is inferior to Angels; and he added, that it might be understood of the Soul as well as of the Body of *Jesus Christ*, because it could not be denied, but that his Soul was subject to Grief, to which the Angels are not subject: But in what Sense soever it were understood, it might be truly said, that *Jesus Christ* was not only a little lower than God and the Angels, by reason of his human Nature, but that he was even below the meanest of Men, as it is said of him in another Psalm, *I am a Worm and no Man, a very Scorn of Men and the Out-cast of the People*. For on the one side, there is no Proportion betwixt Divinity and Humanity; and on the other side, it cannot be said, that he who suffered Hunger and Thirst, who was scourged and crucified to Death, was but a little lower than the Angels, with regard to that State of Humiliation: And this makes *Erasmus* to believe, that the Word *παυλο μινος*, paulo minus, ought not to be understood of the Disproportion of Dignity, but with relation to Time, and that the true Meaning of the Words is, *Thou hast made him lower than the Angels for some little Time*. *Faber*, to justify his own Opinion, found fault with the Translator of the Version of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*,

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who following the *Septuagint* read *ab Angelis*, and alledged, that St. *Paul* wrote that Epistle in *Hebrew*, had read it as it is in the Text, *Elohim*, which the Interpreter ought to have translated by the Name of God. *Erasmus* answers to this, and alledges that it is not certain, that this Epistle was written by St. *Paul*: That those who assert positively, that St. *Paul* wrote it in *Hebrew*, do not know who was the Interpreter; that some think it was St. *Luke*, who cannot be charged with Mistakes: That the Word *Elohim* signifies sometimes God, sometimes Angels and Men, and therefore the Interpreter ought not to be blamed; that it was not certain, that this Psalm was in the literal Sense of it, to be understood of *Jesus Christ*; that the primitive Christians were not agreed concerning the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, who applies this Passage to *Jesus Christ*: And in a word, that the Epistle it self had not always been received as canonical.

Erasmus having by this Observation given his Adversary so great Advantages, *Faber Stapulensis* did not fail to take hold of them, that he might criticize upon *Erasmus*. In the second Edition therefore, which he published of his Commentary on St. *Paul's* Epistles, when he explains the second Chapter of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, he defends what he had said before; that these Words, paulo minus ab Angelis, had been taken by the Translator of St. *Paul's* Epistle to the *Hebrews*, from the *Septuagint*, and that they are not the Words of the Apostle, who had read à Deo: And after having observed that *Erasmus*, whom he calls his Friend, had not approved of that Observation, he says, that he thought himself obliged to enlarge upon the Notes of *Erasmus* on that Passage. He then sets down the very Words of *Erasmus's* Notes, and answers him Paragraph by Paragraph. He cites the Commentary on the *Psalms*, which he thought had been written by St. *Jerome*, who believed that in that Passage we ought to read à Deo. He refutes what *Erasmus* had said, that *Jesus Christ*, as he was Man, and upon the account of his bodily Sufferings, was according to *Thomas Aquinas* inferior to the Angels, because the Angels may also suffer, seeing the Devils are condemned to eternal Sufferings: And as to *Erasmus's* Observation, that *Jesus Christ*, as he was Man, was not only inferior to God and the Angels, but even to the meanest and most wretched of Men; *Faber* says, that the Name of *Jesus Christ* and of the Son of God, ought not to be understood of any of the two Natures abstracted from the other, but of the Person of *Jesus Christ*, consisting of the divine and human Natures, and that in this Sense it is impious to say, that he was inferior either to Angels or Men: That when it is said in the Scripture, that he is a Worm and no Man, the Scorn of Men, and the Out-cast of the People, that God had forsaken him; &c. These Expressions ought not to be understood otherways than with relation to the Notions that the *Jews* had of him, or with relation to Mankind, to which these Epithets agree. He adds, that the Humiliation of *Jesus Christ* ought not to be understood of the time in which he was upon Earth, seeing St. *Paul* tells us, that the eternal Father, when he brings him into the World, says, *Let all the Angels worship him*: That the *Hebrew* Particle *Meath*, is not to be understood of the Time, as *Erasmus* explains the *Greek*, but of the Quality; and that in general, the Words that signify more or less, cannot be restrained to Time, unless it be so expressed: That the *Greek* Word *παυλο μινος*, is also said not of Time, but of Dignity: That the following Words in the Psalm, *Thou hast crowned him with Glory and Honour, thou hast put all things under his Feet*, show clearly, that the preceding Words do not imply, that *Jesus Christ* was below the Angels; but only that he is below his Father, and that he is next after his Father. As to the critical Questions, concerning the Author, the Interpreter, and the Authority of this Epistle, which *Erasmus* had taken

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notice of; *Faber* says, that it is not known who was the Interpreter of it; that there is not any clear Proof that it was *St. Luke*; that the Question is not, whether *St. Paul* was the Author of it or no, but only how the Words of the Psalm, which are cited in the Epistle, ought to be understood; that it is not certain, that the ancient *Latin Church* did not acknowledge the Authority of it, seeing before *St. Jerome's* time, it is cited by the *Latin Fathers*; that though we have only one Version of it, yet we ought to believe that it is *St. Paul's*; that it cannot be denied but that it contains very sublime Thoughts, both for Contemplation and Practice; and it is of great use to Christian People, and to the whole Church, and is approved of by the Holy Councils and Ecclesiastical Canons.

This second Edition of *Faber's* Works coming to *Erasmus's* Hands, as he was taking his Journey for *Louvain*, he read this Observation, and as soon as he came to that Town, he wrote an Apology for himself; in which he first justifies his own Conduct, and complains of *Faber* for treating him something rudely. Then coming to the Matter that was in Controversy betwixt them, he declares, that he had never offered to reject *St. Jerome's* Explanation; on the contrary, it was the first Explanation he had given of the Words; that he had added the second, to make it known, that that Passage of Scripture was explained two several ways by catholick Interpreters; that for this second Explanation, he did not cite *Thomas Aquinas* as an Author whom we were obliged to follow; that he might have cited *Chrysostom*, *Theophylact*, and all the ancient Commentators for it except *St. Jerome*; that when he spoke of Angels, he spoke only of those who were in a State of Glory, and consequently exempt from Sufferings; that the *Septuagint's* Version has its own Authority; and that the *Hebrew Word Elobim* signifies both the true God, and the Angels. That he knows very well, that Jesus Christ is one only Person God and Man, and that the Properties of the Humanity and the Divinity may be attributed to him, because of the hypostatical Union; yet that does not hinder, but that some things may be said of the Humanity of Jesus Christ, that cannot be said of his Divinity; as for Instance, that the Flesh of Jesus Christ was afflicted; that his Soul was grieved, and that his Divinity overcame Death; that in this Sense it may be said, that the Divinity was in some sort abased, by being united with the Humanity, and that the human Nature of Jesus Christ was inferior to God, and even to the Angels, as far as it was subject to Grief and Pain, and to Death it self; that it does not follow from thence, that the Person of Jesus Christ was in a lower Condition than the Angels; but only, that there was something in which Jesus Christ, according to his human Nature, was inferior to Angels, and that we may say with *St. Paul*, that Jesus Christ did humble himself even below the ordinary Condition of Men, by submitting to the infamous Death of the Cross: That this Humiliation did not lessen his Dignity as God, or hinder his Exaltation as Man. He discourses very fully of the Humiliation of Jesus Christ, and then shews, that the *Greek Particle* *καὶ*, and the *Hebrew Meath*, may signify a little Time, and gives Instances of the one and of the other. He proves also, that the Word *Elobim* is ambiguous, and signifies sometimes God, and sometimes Angels. Then he treats of many incidental Questions, and maintains all along, that it is not certain, that the Epistle to the *Hebrews* was written by *St. Paul*; nevertheless he declares, that if any Man can prove to him, that it was once the Opinion of the Church, he is ready to own that *St. Paul* was the Author of it: He also acknowledges the Authority of it. He doubts whether it was written in *Hebrew*: He produces some Passages out of *St. Jerome* and the Ancients upon this Subject. In a word, he lets none of *Faber's* Objections pass without an Answer; and in the end of this Apolo-

gy, he makes a Collection of a great many Mistakes, which *Faber* had fallen into, in his Version of the New Testament. This was written in the Year 1517; and tho' *Erasmus* discovers in it, something of Heat and Discontent against *Faber*, yet he does not lose the Esteem which he had for that great Man. In the 24th. Epistle of the second Book, dated 26th. August 1518, and written to *Bombasius*, who had complimented him upon his Apology against *Faber*, he tells him, that he was as little pleased with his Compliment, as with the Debate he had been engaged in against *Faber*, whom he acknowledged to be a Man of Probity and Learning, very much a Gentleman and his old Friend; and assures him that he should be very sorry, if he were the Cause that any Man should entertain mean Thoughts of him. He writes to the same purpose in the third Epistle of the third Book, and in other Places: But he did not think it enough to tell it to others: For he wrote also many times to *Jacobus Faber* himself, and conjured him to give over the Disputes that were between them upon that Subject. *Faber* said sometimes, that he would answer him, and sometimes that he did not think fit to give him any Answer: At last, he chose to continue silent, and he repented that he had attacked *Erasmus*. *Budeus* took great Pains to reconcile those two Authors, and at last they were entirely reconciled.

Some time after *Jacobus Latomus* Doctor and Professor of Divinity at *Louvain*, published a Dialogue concerning the three Languages, or the Study of Theology, in which without naming *Erasmus*, he endeavoured to refute many things that were in the Treatise of the Study of Divinity, which had been composed by *Erasmus*, and to make him odious, he refuted him and *Luther* together. *Erasmus* bestow'd only two Days in the Month of March 1519, in writing an Answer to him, which is divided into two Books, and it is the third in order in the ninth Tome of his Works. In this Answer, *Erasmus* defends the Rules that he had prescribed to Students of Divinity, to apply themselves to the Study of polite Learning, and prophane Sciences, as well as to that of Divinity, and of the sacred Scriptures and the ancient Fathers. He answers in few Words *Latomus's* Objections, and examines the Points in which he differed from him.

The Quarrel which *Erasmus* had with *Edward Lee*, succeeded to that which he had with *Latomus*. This young *Englishman* declared openly against *Erasmus*, before he had so much as read his Books. When he met with the first Edition of *Erasmus's* Notes upon the New Testament, he undertook to make Observations and Reflections upon many Passages of that Work; and he kept People in Expectation of his Book for almost two Years, and before he published it, he made use of several Artifices to raise a great Idea in their Minds of what he had to say. He first dispersed Manuscript Copies of it, and at last it was printed at *Paris* in 1520. *Erasmus* then thought himself obliged to give an Answer to *Lee's* Observations, to justify what he had said in his Notes upon many Places of the New Testament. This Answer is divided into three Books, the first two are against *Lee's* first Remarks, and the third is upon 25 new Remarks, which he had added to the former. This is a very useful Work, and contains Explanations and Criticisms upon many difficult Places of the New Testament.

James Lopes Stunica Doctor of Divinity in the University of *Alcala*, undertook also to write against *Erasmus's* Notes upon the New Testament: *Erasmus* confesses, that tho' there was a great deal of Malice in *Stunica's* Writings, yet they were not so full of Rage as *Lee's* was. He began to make Reflections on *Erasmus's* Writings during the Life of Cardinal *Ximenes*, who died 1517; and that Cardinal advised him to send them in Manuscript to *Erasmus*, before he published them, and to wait for his Answer; that if it should be satisfactory he might suppress

suppress them, and if otherways, he might then publish them; but *Stunica* was too much prejudiced against *Erasmus* to deal so civilly by him, and one Day he betrayed his Prejudice before the Cardinal; for seeing the New Testament as revised by *Erasmus*, in the Hands of one of the Company, he could not forbear to say, that he wondered to see him amuse himself with reading of such Trifles, and that that Book was full of Faults and prodigious Errors: But *Ximenes* said to him immediately, *Would to God all Authors had written to as good purpose: Give us something that's better, or do not find fault with another Man's Works.* This Answer made *Stunica* delay the publishing his Book till after the Cardinal's Death. *Erasmus* wrote an Apology against *Stunica*, in answer to the Objections that he had made against his Notes. *Stunica* going to *Rome* in 1521, did not only carry thither his Observations upon *Erasmus's* Notes on the New Testament, but when he was there, he wrote a Book intituled, *The Blasphemies and Impieties of Erasmus Rotterodamus*, by James Lopez *Stunica*; in which he made a Collection of those Passages, wherein *Erasmus* had taken the greatest Liberty in writing his own Thoughts; and which might render him odious to his Superiors in the Church. Pope *Leo X.* did expressly forbid him to publish any Calumnies against *Erasmus*, and after the Death of that Pope, the Cardinals renewed the Prohibition, as did also his Successor Pope *Adrian VI.* But notwithstanding these Orders, his Book was secretly printed and published, and *Erasmus* was obliged to answer it, and to shew in an Apology, that *Stunica* had imposed upon him, and had put a wrong Construction upon what he had said. Some time after, *Stunica* published a Pamphlet, intituled *Prodromus*, and two other little Treatises, the one of which he calls, *The principal Conclusions that are suspected and scandalous in the Books of Erasmus, extracted by James Lopez Stunica*; and another to prove, that the ancient Interpreters of the Bible were not guilty of those Solæcisms which *Erasmus* had observed. *Erasmus* wrote an Answer to the *Conclusions*, and an apologetical Letter to *Stunica*, as a Reply to his last Treatise. This Letter is dated June 9, 1529. and *Stunica* died 1530. at his Return from *Naples*.

Sanctius [or *Sanchez*] *Caranza* entered the Lists also against *Erasmus*, and wrote in defence of some of *Stunica's* Observations upon some Passages, where he alledged that *Erasmus* had diminished the Force of some Expressions, which proved the Divinity of Jesus Christ. *Erasmus* affirms in the first part of his Apology, that *Caranza* accused him falsely, for not believing that the Divinity of Jesus Christ could be proved by some of those Texts of Scripture: But as to some of them, it might be said without doing any prejudice to the Catholick Faith, that they are not altogether convincing to Hereticks. He had said, that he did not know whether the Name of God was expressly attributed to Jesus Christ, in more than one or two Places of the New Testament, tho' there be many Passages in it, from which it may be concluded that he is God. In this *Erasmus* explains his Meaning by declaring, that these Words of his are not to be understood in a rigorous and strict Sense; as if he had said, that there was but one only Passage, or two at most: But they ought to be understood according to the ordinary way of speaking of a small Number of Places, where Jesus Christ is explicitly called God. In the second part of his Answer to *Caranza*, *Erasmus* examines whether the Attribute of *Slave* was given to Jesus Christ in the Scripture, and whether it does agree to him. *Erasmus* seems to have been of the Opinion of *Laurentius Valla*, who denied it, in which he followed *St. Chrysostom*. *Caranza* condemns *Erasmus* for this; *Erasmus* maintains, that it may be said in one Sense, that Jesus Christ was not at all a *Slave*, if by a *Slave* be meant an unworthy, mean, and despicable Person: He adds, that he is persuaded there is no Place

in Scripture, where Jesus Christ is called a *Slave*; yet he confesses, that according to his human Nature, he may be called the *Slave of God*, if that Word be taken to denote an absolute and perfect Submission, and not a servile Condition; which implies Fear, Malice, and Unworthiness; tho' it may be said, even in this Sense, that he took upon himself the Form or Appearance of a *Slave*; because he seemed to many People to be a sinful and wicked Man, and one that deserved to be punished as a *Slave*. The third part of *Erasmus's* Apology, is in defence of what he had said about Marriage: Tho' he had declared, that he was persuaded, that Marriage was one of the seven Sacraments, yet *Stunica*, and afterwards *Caranza*, charged him with the contrary Opinion; because he had taken in another Sense, a Passage of the fifth Chapter of the Epistle of *St. Paul* to the *Ephesians*, and had observed, that *Peter Lombard* was not of Opinion, that any special Grace was conferred by that Sacrament. *Erasmus* justifies himself; and charges his Adversaries with Disingenuity and Passion.

He was also challenged for his Interpretation of the 51st. Verse of the 15th. Chapter of the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, by *Standish* an English Bishop, in presence of the King of England, and the Nobility of that Court; and at *Louvain*, in some publick Lectures, by *Nicolaus Egmondanus* a *Carmelite*, and publick Professor. The Passage that *Egmondanus* found fault with *Erasmus* about, is concerning the Resurrection. According to the Greek it is, *We shall not all Sleep, the Sleep of Death, but we shall be all changed*: Whereas according to the Vulgar Latin it is, *We shall all rise again, but we shall not be all changed*. *Erasmus* had, in his Version, followed the Sense of the Greek; for which Reason these two Adversaries took occasion to charge him with many Heresies, and especially with that of denying the Resurrection. *Erasmus* shews in his Answer, that their Accusation was groundless; and that the Sense of the Greek might be defended.

Erasmus was as much opposed by the French as by any others; and it may be said, that he was most concerned with the Opposition he found from them, by reason of the great Esteem he had for that Nation, and for the Faculty of Divines at *Paris*. *Natalis Bedda*, Principal of *Montague College* was his Accuser, and published in 1524, and 1425. two Censures against *Erasmus's* Writings, the one in his own Name, the other signed by him and by *William du Chesne*. The Design of this last Censure, was to shew in general, that the Doctrine of *Erasmus* was erroneous in Matters of Divinity, contrary to good Manners and schismatical: That it derogated in an impious Manner from our Holy Religion; that all People, and especially those who professed a monastick Life, ought to abstain from reading his Books. *Bedda's* Censure contained many Propositions collected out of *Erasmus's* Paraphrase upon the New Testament, by which he pretended to justify the Judgment which he passed upon *Erasmus's* Doctrine. *Bedda* had communicated some of his Observations to *Erasmus*, before they were published, and published them without waiting for his Answer: Then *Erasmus* defended himself publicly in Print, and accused *Bedda* of charging him unjustly, and calumniating him; of having altered the Sense of the Passages that he censured; of leaving out some things and adding others; of counterfeiting his Answers and Explanations; of condemning very orthodox Opinions, and of falling himself into Errors and Blasphemies. This is what in the general he charges him with in his Preface: And then he comes to Particulars, and in the first part of his Book, he answers *Bedda's* Observations; in the second he chastises his Censures, and in the third he makes a Collection of the Lies, Calumnies and Blasphemies which he pretended to find in *Bedda's* Censures; and he actually reckons up 181 Lies and Falshoods; 310 Calumnies; and 47 Blasphemies. And in a fourth

part, he answers the Observations that *Bedda* had made against many Passages of his *Manual of a Christian Soldier*.

Before *Bedda* had declared himself against *Erasmus*, *Peter Sutor* a *Carthusian* Monk, who had been Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, published a Book at *Paris*, against the modern Translators of the Scripture; in which he collected part of what had been already said against *Erasmus's* Version and Notes by *Lee*, *Lardmus*, and *Stunica*. This Author having much more Zeal than Learning, gave great Advantage to *Erasmus*, which he improved to the Shame of his Adversary, in the Apology which he wrote against him in 1525. and which he addressed to *John de Selve* chief President of the Parliament of *Paris*. In the first part, he treats of the Versions of Holy Scripture, and shews, that he had a Right to make a new one, and to compose Paraphrases upon it: That the *Vulgar Latin* was not made by Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and that it is not without its Faults: That we ought to have recourse to the original Texts: That *St. Jerome* may have been mistaken in his Versions of the Old Testament, and in the Correction of the Version of the New; and that since *St. Jerome's* Time, some Errors had crept into it. In the second part of this Treatise, *Erasmus* defends the Study of polite Learning and of the Languages, which *Sutor* represented as the Source of all Evils. In the third he proves, that the Holy Scriptures ought to be read in the vulgar Tongue, nay perhaps even by the Illiterate; and he refutes the Arguments and Conjectures which *Sutor* produced to shew how dangerous a thing that would be. There are many excellent things in this Apology, but there are also many personal Reflections in it which are now of no Use.

To this Apology of *Erasmus*, *Sutor* opposed a Book, intituled, *Antipologia*. *Erasmus* having run over only some Pages of it, answers a small number of Objections, to shew, that it was not impossible for him to answer the whole Book. He answers also in few Words, but with less Heat, certain Remarks which *Clichtovaeus* had made against his Book concerning *Marriage*.

The Decree of the Faculty of Divines of *Paris*, made at the Instance of *Bedda* against *Erasmus's* Books, being published: He durst not attack it openly, and he had so great a Deference for that illustrious Body, as to intitle his Book *A Declaration concerning the Censures published under the Name of the Faculty of Paris*.

In his Preface to this Book he protests, That he is very far from the Humour of some obstinate People, who are not content to defend and maintain what they have said against the Objections that are brought against them, but do also fall into new Errors worse than the first; and who being unwilling to confess themselves Men, become Hereticks. As for me, says he, in my Answer, I preserve that Respect which I owe to the Authority of Divines. I shall be always ready to acknowledge the Faults into which I may have fallen, thro' Inadvertence, Negligence, or Ignorance: And when I find that the Ambiguity or Obscurity of any thing I have said, has been the Cause that the Censors have mistaken the true Meaning of it, I shall ingenuously declare my own Thoughts. When I find any Falshoods or any Passages which have not been well understood, or which have been maliciously turned to a contrary Sense, or in which I am made to speak for another Man, or which have been ill explained, I shall charge these Faults not upon the Body of the Faculty, but upon the Deputies, or upon other private Persons, who have had the Care of this Matter committed to them: For the Faculty being always busied in Affairs of Consequence, 'tis no wonder, that it has wanted leisure to examine my Works more narrowly, and with greater Attention. It has pronounced Sentence only upon those Propositions which have been laid before it, and if they have not been faithfully collected out of my Writings, then the Propositions which it has condemned are not to be accounted mine, but only

so many Propositions presented to it; and he adds, I wish, says he, the Dignity and Authority of that Body, may be without any Blemish, being persuaded that it is for the Interest of Religion, that all the World should have great Thoughts of the Faculty of Divines at *Paris*, and that the Determination they give may be received as Oracles. Then he says, that he found more Difficulty in that Apology, not to disparage the Authority of the *Sorbonne*, than he had to justify his own Innocence. He lays the blame of all this upon the Deputies and Copiers; he wishes however, that this Censure had not been published in the Name of the Faculty. He says, that he does not believe, that all it contains was determined in a general Meeting of the Faculty; that he knows, that Additions were made to it in the Titles, in the Conclusions, and in the Preface. He observes, that if the Faculty had thought fit to publish it, it would not have waited four Years to do it: That there was no Decree by which it was ordered, that the Censure should be published. He adds, that tho' this Censure had come out in due Form, yet he could appeal to the Faculty it self, which had been imposed upon. He alledges, that the Reasons why the Divines were so averse to him, were, 1. That he had spoke his Thoughts too freely; 2. He made no use of scholastical Terms, that he might write the purer *Latin*; 3. He had followed rather the ancient Doctors of the Church than the modern School-men; 4. He had made use of Tropes and Figures, as the sacred Writers and primitive Divines did. He complains, that having answered *Bedda's* Objections, and explained his Meaning in his Answers, yet no Regard was had to those Explanations: That some were offended, because when he treated of a Subject he carried it too far, and that with too much Vehemence; so that he seemed to run into the opposite Extreme; and says, that the same thing had happened to the ancient Ecclesiastical Writers: At last he confesses, there may be some Faults in his Works, and that he did not think himself happier than *St. Jerome*, *St. Ambrose*, and *St. Augustine*, who were not exempt from Failings; but he declares, he never had any ill Design, and that he could not but commend the Vigilance of the Divines, who not only would root out the Tares of erroneous Tenets, but would also take away Scandals from those that were weak: Yet he thinks they would have done better, to have said, if *Erasmus* be of such and such an Opinion he is in an Error, than to have judged of his Doctrine and his Intention by Collections, that were oft times very unfaithfully made, especially seeing that to that very time, he had bestowed all his Labour and Pains for the Interests of the Church. He concludes this Preface with an Advertisement to the Reader, that if in the Preface, or in the Declarations which he makes, any Expressions have escaped him, which do not look respectful enough, he may not be thought to have designed them against the Body of the Faculty, which had only pronounced Sentence against the Propositions that were laid before them, but only against those who had been the Informers.

The first Title of the Censure is concerning baptized Children; *Erasmus* had said in an Epistle which he had put before his Paraphrase on *St. Matthew*, that he thought it very proper, that baptized Children should be obliged to be present at Sermons, when they came to have the Use of Reason: And that the Meaning and Importance of Baptism, and of the Profession that is made in it, should be explained to them, that they should be catechised in private by Persons of Probity, that it might be thereby known, whether they retained what the Priest had taught them, and whether they would adhere to what their Godfathers and Godmothers had promised for them in Baptism; that if they ratified this Promise, then all possible Means should be used to hinder them from quitting their ancient Faith; but if they could not be prevailed with to adhere to it,

it would perhaps be expedient not to force them, nor to impose any Punishment upon them, except the depriving them of the Eucharist.

The Censure taxes this Proposition of Impiety; *Erasmus* excuses himself by saying, that he did not in the least doubt, but that the Church might constrain baptized Children to remain within the Church, but that he had only proposed this as a Question, whether that was convenient or no; that it was a Matter of Consultation, and not of Determination; that he thought it was reasonable to make those, who were of sufficient Age, renew their baptismal Vows, and that it was best they should do it freely, and without any Constraint: That he was persuaded there would be very few who would renounce that Profession which was made in their Name, and that he considered that the Spirit of the Church was a Spirit of Mildness: That nevertheless he was persuaded, that it ought not to be suffered, that those who were once baptized should profess the worshipping of Idols or Dæmons, or should blaspheme Jesus Christ, or his Religion. At last he declares that since some Persons were scandalized at that Passage, he would take it wholly away, and that he had done it already.

The second Article that is censured, is conceived in these Terms, *Jesus Christ was not willing that his Death should be sad or melancholy, but glorious: He did not desire that People should bewail him, but that they should adore him, because he laid down his Life willingly for the Salvation of all Men.* It is said in the Censure, that tho' the Death of Jesus Christ was glorious, because he thereby overcame Death and the Author of it, yet it does not therefore cease to be mournful, and that those for whom he died, ought to bewail it, and that Passage of the 68th. Psalm is cited for it, *I expected some Person would have wept with me, but no Man did it, I sought for a Comforter, but I found none.* And that of the Prophet Zachary, *And they shall mourn for him as one mourneth for his first born.* It is said, according to Zachary's Prophecy, that at the Passion of Jesus Christ the Sword of Grief pierced the Soul of his holy Mother; we ought also to be grieved for the Sins of Men, which were the Cause of the Death of Jesus Christ. It is therefore declared, that *Erasmus's* Proposition is contrary to the Opinion of the catholick Doctors, and to the Custom of the catholick Church, which practises Abstinence from Flesh every Friday, in Commemoration of our Saviour's Passion, and contrary to the true Meaning of the sacred Scriptures, from whence they conclude, that it is rash, impious and heretical.

Erasmus says, that he does not think that there is any hidden Poison in this Proposition; that in his Paraphrase he follow'd the Explanations of orthodox and approved Authors, and among others, of *Theophylact*, *Bede*, and *St. Ambrose*, Passages out of whom he cites. He answers to that which is cited out of the 68th. Psalm, that it is a Prediction of what happened at the Death of Jesus Christ, that without all doubt, devout People were then obliged to weep, because he was under his Sufferings: But now that he is in Glory, we ought to rejoice together with him; that the Church herself in the very Time that she commemorates his Passion, cannot but express her Joy, when she sings *Crux fidelis, inter omnes, arbor una nobilis.*

That every Friday she repeats these Words, *We ought to glory in the Cross of Jesus Christ.* The Joy of his Resurrection did expel all those sad Thoughts which the blessed Virgin and his Disciples were possessed with at his Death.

He maintains the same thing in his Declaration upon the second Proposition of that Article, which relates to the Advice which our Saviour gave to the Women of Jerusalem, who bewailed his Death.

The third Title is concerning Fasting and Abstinence; they had collected many Propositions out of *Erasmus's* Writings, in which he seemed to find

fault with the Laws for Abstinence from Flesh, and therefore they censured those Propositions as agreeing with *Luther's* Heresy. He excuses himself and says, that he never had any design to condemn or to blame the Customs of the Church; that there is not any Passage in his Writings, where he had done it; that all he had said was, that it would be a purer sort of Christianity, and a Practice more conformable to the Doctrine of the Gospel and the Apostles, if there were no Law for Abstinence from Meats; that by this purer Christianity, he understood only a Custom which was farther removed from all Appearance of Judaism; that he only proposed this as an Opinion, and by way of Remonstrance: And that he was so far from approving of *Luther's* Opinions, that in this very place he refuted what *Luther* taught, concerning the Lawfulness of breaking the Laws of the Church which enjoined Abstinence; and that in other Places of his Writings, he had not spoken in his own Name, or with Regard to the Times he lived in, but in the Name of Jesus Christ and of *St. Paul*, and in relation to the Fasts and Abstinenes that were in use among the Jews.

The fourth Title is concerning Oaths; *Erasmus* in his Paraphrase upon the 5th. Chapter of *St. Matthew*, had said that all Oaths were forbidden by the Evangelical Law; and that it was not lawful any longer to swear, because Jesus Christ had absolutely forbidden it. This Proposition is censured as injurious to the Law of the Gospel and to Jesus Christ; and contrary to the true Sense of Holy Scripture, and taken from the Doctrine of the *Cathari*, and the *Waldenses*, who had been condemned by the Church.

Erasmus answers, that all he had done, was to paraphrase upon the Words of the Gospel, and to express their natural Sense; that *St. Augustine*, *St. Jerome*, *St. Hilary*, *St. Chrysostom*, and *Theophylact*; had all of them spoken more hardly of it than he; that that was not a proper Place for discussing the Question, whether Oaths were allowed upon any Occasions which he did not deny; but only for expounding the Words of the Gospel in their full Force; that in his Notes he had declared, that he did not condemn all sorts of Oaths; but that he had spoken of them in the general, to make People understand, that they are not to swear but seldom, and when there is a great Necessity for it. He explains also some other Propositions upon the same Subject; in which he had expressed himself in the same Manner.

The fifth Title is concerning a Proposition in *Erasmus's* Paraphrase on the 22d. Chapter of *St. Luke*; in which he says, *Seeing Jesus Christ did rebuke St. Peter for making use of the Sword against the most impious and flagitious Wretches, and in Defence of Innocence it self, what Reason can any Christian have after that, to repel Injuries with Injuries?* This Proposition is condemned in the Censure, as if he did imply, that every Kind of War is unlawful. *Erasmus* says, that his Words are not to be taken in that Sense; that he has declared in several Places of his Writings, that there were some just Wars; and that in this Place he spoke only of the Times of Jesus Christ and his Apostles, and the Infancy of the Church: And in a word, that if this Proposition be considered with what goes before, and with what follows after in his Paraphrase, they would find the Meaning of it quite different from the Sense they forced upon it.

The sixth Title is concerning Marriage: There are four Propositions in it, which are considered as heretical, because in them *Erasmus* seemed to alledge, that Marriage was dissolved by Adultery. He replies, that they did well to add in the Censure, that these Propositions were condemned, because he seemed to alledge: For he had never entertained such a Thought; that when he said, that an adulterous Woman ceased to be a Wife, it was by the same Form of speaking, as when one says, that a

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Son is no more a Son; that is, she has lost the Rights and Advantages of a Wife, such as are to continue in Society with her Husband, to dwell with him, to lie in the same Bed, to govern his Family together with him, and to share in his Estate, &c.

The seventh Title contains first, three Propositions concerning Faith; importing, that Faith without Charity is but the Name of Faith, and that Charity does always accompany true Faith: (r) These Propositions are condemned as heretical. *Erasmus* says, that the Faith of which he speaks is justifying Faith, which is always necessarily accompanied with Charity; that Faith without Charity is a dead Faith, as the Apostle calls it, which is what he understood by the Name of Faith; if it be Heresy to deny that Faith without Charity is the Gift of God, he never advanced that Proposition; and that his only Design was to show, that Faith without Charity was not sufficient for our Justification.

In this Title there are three other Propositions censured; by which he seems to say, that we are justified by Faith alone. *Erasmus* assures them there is nothing more contrary to his Opinion, and that there is not any one thing he repeats so often in his Paraphrases, as this Aphorism, that Faith is not sufficient for our Justification, unless it is followed by a holy Life, suitable to our Profession: That they had left out some of his Words, and had cut off that by which it would have evidently appeared, that he spoke only of the first Beginning of Justification, which ought to be attributed to Faith; that the Word *alone* was not always exclusive, but that it signified sometimes the Excellency of the thing; that in this Sense it may be said, that we are justified by Faith alone, because it is to that we chiefly owe our Justification, tho' good Works be also necessary.

In the eighth Title, the Faculty condemned two Propositions of *Erasmus*, to which he wished that *St. Paul* had explained himself more fully, upon the Words and Ceremonies of the Consecration of the Eucharist, and upon the State of Souls departed. They accused his Wishes of an useless and dangerous Curiosity, because the Want of the first thing he wished for was supplied by unwritten Tradition, which was of the same Authority; and because the second was sufficiently explained in some Passages of Holy Scripture. These Opinions were also censured as impious. *Erasmus* declares, that his Intention was not to find fault with the Holy Scripture, as if it did not teach us what is necessary to Salvation; but that he wished we had had clearer Proofs of those Truths, against those who doubted of them, or who denied them; that this Wish proceeding from so good a Motive, cannot be judged irreligious; that it was not for himself that he wished those clearer Proofs, the Definition of the Church fully satisfying him; but he wished it for their sakes, who disputed impertinently about them, and who denied that they are of Apostolical Tradition: That there are some Questions concerning Purgatory and Indulgences, about which the catholick Divines do not agree, and which are disputed in the Schools; and that he cannot be blamed for wishing, that those kind of Questions had been determined so clearly in the Holy Scriptures, that there might not have been any further need to dispute about them.

The ninth Title contains many Propositions, which are condemned as injurious to the Law of *Moses*: *Erasmus* excuses himself by saying, that he did not speak of the Law, which is good in it self, but of the Abuse which the *Jews* made of it; and of the Advantages they took from it, to indulge themselves in their Sin: Besides that, the Law was not able of it self to justify any Man without Grace.

The tenth Title is concerning some Authors, and Books of the New Testament; the first Proposition

which is condemned in this Title, is conceived in these Terms, *He who doubts of the Author of a Book, does not therefore doubt of the Faith.* *Erasmus* declares, that when the Church has received the Titles of Books, no Man can doubt of the Authors: And that being once supposed, he rejects and condemns this Proposition; but he doubts, whether the Church has received the Titles, whether she has been inspired, or be infallible in that Matter. He ought to have considered, that the Authors of the Books of the New Testament are not only certain by the Titles of the Books, but by the constant Tradition of all Ages.

The second Proposition is concerning the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*; *Erasmus* says, that it has been always doubtful who was the Author of it, and that he was still in doubt about it. This Proposition is condemned as contrary to the Use and Determination of the Church: *Erasmus* proves clearly that this was anciently doubted of, but he does not prove that at present we ought to be in doubt concerning it.

The next Proposition is concerning the second Epistle of *St. Peter*; *Erasmus* says, it had been long doubted of. In the Censure it is proved to be *St. Peter's*, and therefore it is concluded, that *Erasmus's* Observation is impertinent. He remonstrates, that *Thomas Aquinas* made just such another Observation, that the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* was anciently doubted of, and that the Fathers and Ecclesiastical Writers made many such Remarks. They proceeded against *Erasmus* after the same manner for what he said of the *Apocalypse*, that some orthodox Authors had doubted of that too for a long time. He says, that the same Observation was made by *Eusebius*, *St. Jerome*, and many other Authors.

The eleventh Title contains only this Proposition: *I know not whether the Apostles were the Authors of the Creed*: In the Censure it is declared to be a Matter of Faith, to believe that the Apostles did punish and promulgate the Creed; and for proving this, they cite the supposititious Decretal Epistle of *St. Clement* to *St. James*, two of *St. Augustine's* Sermons, *St. Ambrose*, and *St. Leo*. *Erasmus* does not in the least doubt, but that the Doctrine of the Creed is from the Apostles, and that they preached it, and he confesses also, that it is probable that they agreed upon the Articles of it at a Conference among themselves: He says, that in the very Passage which is called in question, he ascribes to it an Apostolical Majesty and Brevity; that he puts it in the same Rank with the Books of Holy Scripture, and equals it to the Gospels; that he does not doubt, but that it came from the Apostles; because they may have delivered it by word of Mouth, but he doubts whether they wrote it with a Design to convey it down to Posterity. He gives the Reasons of his doubting, and protests that he shall cease to doubt, when it shall be proved to him that the Church teaches, that the Apostles wrote it; but all that he could hitherto find, was that the Creed came from the Apostles, and the Church approved of it; that it is not unjustly called the Apostles Creed, seeing it contains what the Apostles preached and taught in the Gospels and in their Epistles; from whence it follows, that it is of no less Authority than the canonical Books.

The twelfth Title contains some Propositions concerning the Usefulness of translating the Holy Scripture into the Vulgar Tongues, and of granting Liberty to all Christians to read it. The first of *Erasmus's* Propositions is conceived in these Words, *I wish the Holy Scriptures were translated into all kinds of Languages*: It is acknowledged in the Censure, that the Sacred Books are still sacred in what Language soever they are translated: But it is said, that it is not convenient to put them into the Hands of all the World, and without distinction to allow all Persons

to read them without an Explanation; and especially to give this Allowance to Idiots and more ignorant sort of People, who make a wrong Use of that Liberty, and do not read them with due Piety and Humility as may be seen in many Instances, and may be proved by the Example of the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*, and *Turlupins* (q) who from thence took occasion to propagate several Errors. It was this, that made the Censors judge, that considering the Times they lived in, and the malicious Inclinations of Men who lived at that time, those Translations might be of pernicious and dangerous Consequence, if Men should indifferently speak of all the Books of Scripture; and tho' they might be useful to some People, yet the reading of them ought not to be permitted to all Mankind. *Erasmus* defends his Proposition by the ancient Practice of the Church; and as to the Inconveniences alledged in the Censure, he opposes the Dispositions which he requires in those who read the Holy Scripture, that they be prepared to read them by the Instructions of their Pastors; that they abstain from judging rashly; that they adore the Mysteries, which they do not comprehend; that they have recourse to Men of exact Knowledge in these things; that they consider those Books as the Oracles of God, and read them with Respect; that they dispose themselves to read them with Purity and Uprightness of Heart, by abstracting themselves from worldly things, and by Prayer; that tho' it might be somewhat dangerous for the Laity to read the Scriptures, yet it is more dangerous for them to be ignorant of them: Besides this, it was not the ignorant Laity who were the Authors of the late Troubles, but Men of Learning, who by their Authority drew the People after them; that *John Huss*, *Wickliff*, *Luther* and *Oecolampadius* were School-Divines; that tho' the greatest part of Heresies sprang from Philosophy, yet the reading of the Books of Philosophers was not forbidden; that if there was any Decree made by the Popes, forbidding the Translation of the Holy Scripture, it is probable, that that Decree was not general, or intended for the whole Church. The rest of the Propositions may be all reduced to this one, that the Faculty did not think it convenient, that the reading of the Holy Scriptures should without Distinction be allowed to all kinds of People, considering the ill Dispositions of many of them; or that Laymen should be allowed to read all the Books of Scripture, not excepting the Song of *Solomon* it self. *Erasmus* says farther, that those who read the Scriptures ought to have those Dispositions which we have spoken of, and that they should submit themselves to the Church and to their Pastors: And he confesses that they may be forbidden to read some Books of the Scripture, if it be foreseen that they will make a wrong use of them.

The first Proposition of the next Title, is concerning singing of Psalms and saying of Prayers in a Tongue which the People do not understand. *Erasmus* had said, that this Practice seemed indecent and ridiculous. The Faculty supposing that this Proposition might dissuade the People from the Custom of praying in an unknown Tongue, as if such Prayers were of no Use, declared it impious and erroneous, and favourable to the Errors of the *Bohemians*, who had presumed so far as to say the Office in the vulgar Tongue. *Erasmus* says, that he did not write positively that this Practice was ridiculous; but that comparing it with that of praying in a Tongue that was understood, he said, why should it be thought indecent or ridiculous that every Man should read the Gospel in his own Language? Does it not appear more indecent and more ridiculous, that ignorant People and Women should sing Psalms or say the Lord's Prayer, without knowing what they say?

He confesses, that Prayers that are said with pious Intentions may be acceptable, tho' those who say them do not understand them; but he thinks it were to be wished, that all People did understand the Prayers which they said, and that they joined Understanding and good Intentions together.

The 13th. Title contains several particular Terms and Expressions differing from the Vulgar *Latin*, which *Erasmus* made use of in his Paraphrases, either that he might follow the *Greek*, or that he might translate them after another manner. *Erasmus* says, that he did not pretend to alter the Custom that was practised in the Church, but that he made use of such Terms and Phrases as he judged to be the truest *Latin* and the most significative, and that he ought not to be censured upon that account.

The 14th. Title contains some Propositions, in which there were some Mistakes through the Inadvertence either of the Paraphrast or of the Printer: *Erasmus* confesses those Mistakes, and says he had already observed and corrected them.

The 15th. contains four Propositions; which the Censors alledged a Paraphrast ought to have explained. *Erasmus* maintains, that he had acquitted himself of the Duty of a Paraphrast, in giving the Sense of the Text, without intermeddling with Commentaries and Explanations.

The 16th. and 17th. Titles contain several Propositions concerning Merits: *Erasmus* says they did not well understand his Meaning, and that he never denied the Merits of good Works.

The 18th. Title is concerning Ceremonies and the external Acts of Religion: They there relate many Propositions of *Erasmus*, in which he seems not to esteem them so much as he ought to have done. He answers, that he never condemned them, that he only gave his Advice; that People should not put all their Confidence in Ceremonies and external Acts; and that he spoke of the Times of the Apostles, in which many of those Ceremonies and Customs were not as yet instituted.

The 19th. Title is concerning Vocal Prayer: The first Proposition that is condemned in it is, that Jesus Christ did not approve of *Multiloquium in orando*; they condemn this as supposing, that by *Multiloquium* is meant a long Prayer. *Erasmus* shews that there is a great Difference between the one and the other; that *Multiloquium* signifies not only a long, but a useless and superfluous Discourse. The other Propositions are concerning Vocal Musick in the Church. *Erasmus* says, he condemns only confused Singing, when no distinct Voice is heard, and when Time and Measure is not observed.

The 20th. Title is concerning the Celibacy of Bishops: *Erasmus* spoke of it as a Matter of Council, but in the Person of St. *Paul*, and with relation to his Time, on which Account he says, that they did not understand his Meaning, when they applied what he said to their own Times.

The 21st. Title is concerning Original Sin, and contains only one Proposition; in which *Erasmus* explains that Passage in the fifth Chapter of the Epistle to the *Romans*, *In quo omnes peccaverunt* of actual Sin, which Explanation is condemned in the Censure, and defended by *Erasmus* by the Authority of *Origen* and St. *Chrysostom*, who explained it the very same way: He also observes, that the *Greek* signifies rather, *In quo omnes peccaverunt*, than *Ed quod omnes peccaverunt*.

The 22d. Title contains this Proposition, that God does not punish the Children for the Sins of the Fathers, if they do not imitate them in their Vices. This Proposition taken universally is condemned, and justly too; but *Erasmus* says, that he intended it only of eternal Punishments.

[(q) The *Turlupins* were an abominable sort of Hereticks, who appeared in France in the fourteenth Century about the Year 1372. They called themselves the *Fraternity of the Poor*, were against vocal Prayer, and allowed themselves in all manner of Impurities, living after a Cynical Fashion, discovering

those things which all Mankind labour to conceal. The Reason of the Name was unknown to Mr. *Menage*; who though he gives a particular Account of this Sect out of good Authors. In his *Dictionnaire Etymologique*, yet he offers at no Etymology of the Name.]

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The 23^d. Title contains several Propositions concerning Punishments to be inflicted on Hereticks; *Erasmus* had said in several Places, that he did not approve of burning them, or punishing them by Death, and that he wished gentler Methods were used for recovering of them. The Censors took these Words in the most rigorous Sense, as if he had altogether condemned the punishing of Hereticks, and in this Sense the Proposition was censured. He defends it by saying, that what he had said was only by way of Advice or Counsel, without condemning the contrary Practice; that he spoke only of punishing them by Death, which the Church has always avoided; that what he said was meant of the Church and of the Clergy, who cannot inflict any Punishments but what are spiritual; and that what he had said oftentimes related only to the primitive Church, which had no secular Jurisdiction nor Christian Magistrates, whom she could employ in punishing Hereticks.

Upon the Proposition contained in the 24th. Title, *Erasmus* complains that they misunderstood his Sense, and when he said the Evangelical Vigour had cooled for 400 Years last past, they understood it of the Evangelical Doctrine, whereas he meant it only of the Piety of the Faithful.

The 25th. Title contains only this Proposition, *It shall come to pass, that all Days will be equally sacred to those who are truly devout.* This is condemned, as if thereby were insinuated, that the Observation of Sundays and Festivals ought to be abolished; *Erasmus* says, that what is said in that Proposition is spoken in the Person of Jesus Christ, and that it is only to be understood in Opposition to the Jewish Sabbath, and that it cannot be applied to the Festivals instituted by the Church, and that all his Design was to shew, that external Observations ought to give place to Works of Charity.

The 26th. Title contains this Proposition, *That the Church does not receive either the deaf, or the dumb, or the blind, or the lame, who were received into the Synagogue.* It is said in the Censure that this Proposition seems to insinuate, that there are none but just Persons in the Church Militant, and in this Sense it is condemned. *Erasmus* says, he spoke only of those whom Jesus Christ received unto the Profession of the Gospel, and he confesses, there are both good and bad in the Church of Jesus Christ.

The 27th. Title is concerning the blessed Virgin; it contains three Propositions. In the first, the Angel *Gabriel* says to *Mary*, *The offer I make thee is a favour from God, and ought not to be attributed to thine own Merit.* This Proposition is censured as false, because it seems to assert, that the blessed Virgin did not merit to be the Mother of God. *Erasmus* says, that what she did merit, she merited by Grace, and that the turn of the Phrase does not altogether exclude the Merit of the blessed Virgin; but shews only, that it was not so much to her Merit, as to the free Grace of God, that she owed the Honour of being the Mother of God.

The 2^d. Proposition concerning the blessed Virgin is, *That it is not certain, that during the Infancy of Jesus Christ, it was revealed to her, that he was God and Man.* This Proposition is condemned: *Erasmus* excuses himself by saying, that the Gospel speaks nothing of it, and that therefore he thought he might say, it was not certain.

The 3^d. Proposition is that which *Erasmus* makes our Saviour say to his Mother, *When I am about promoting my Father's Glory, I have no need of Instruction from thee.* This Proposition is condemned as taken universally, because there is no time wherein there is no need of the Intercession of the blessed Virgin with her Son, for the things concerning eter-

nal Salvation; but *Erasmus* says, that that was not his Meaning, and that he spoke only of the Virgin's desiring her Son to work a Miracle, upon which our Saviour said to her, that when he was about promoting his Father's Glory, it was not fit he should seem to yield to the Authority of his Mother.

The 28th. Title contains only one Proposition, *That he did not know whether an Angel was more excellent than a Man.* This Doubt is condemned: He maintains, that he doubts upon very good Reasons, seeing the Matter is not determined in Scripture; and he is not speaking in this place of the Nature of Angels and Men in general: But saith only that God may grant greater Graces and Favours to some Men, than he grants to any Angels, as we believe he did to the Virgin *Mary*.

The Proposition that is censured in the 29th. Title, is only a typographical Error, which he corrected in the second Edition, and therefore I shall not insist upon it.

The whole Matter of the 30th. is, whether in translating the 3^d. Verse of the 4th. Chapter of the Epistle to the *Philippians*, it was better to say, *Germane Conjur*, as it is in the Vulgar *Latin*, or *Germana Conjux*, as it is in *Erasmus's* Translation. (f).

In the 31st. the Censors declare in opposition to *Erasmus*, that they are not Men of true Learning, but of rash Judgments and Lovers of Novelties, who think, that the Books of *St. Dionysius the Areopagite*, are only the Books of a late Author. This is a point which was not then cleared, but has been since, and no Man speaks now as the Censors then did.

The 32^d. contains several Propositions of *Erasmus's*, against School-Divinity, and the Professors of it, and against their Method of teaching it, and the Questions that they debated. He gives one Answer in the general, that he did not condemn either the scholastick Divinity, or the Divines, but only the wrong Use they made of it, and the Faults of the School-Divines, and the Extravagancy to which they were arrived in treating of impertinent and unintelligible Questions, and in offering to determine all those Questions by the Principles of human Philosophy only.

There are also ten other Propositions taken out of *Erasmus's* Writings, and printed at the End of this Censure, to be referred to three of the former Titles, in which they ought to have been printed, but were left out by the Negligence of the Transcriber. The two first of them are concerning the Trust and Confidence that Men put in their own Merits; *Erasmus* answers, that all he had said was, that Men ought not to put Confidence in their own Merits; as they are human. He acknowledges they are necessary, and that a Man may in some Sense confide in them, when they are the Effects of Grace; but he thinks it is more modest and more humble to say, that a Man puts his whole Trust and Confidence in the Mercies of God. The third Proposition is concerning Celibacy: He had said, that many Reasons might be given for abolishing the Laws that enjoin'd the Celibacy of the Clergy: The Censors prove by many Arguments, that that State of Life is more decent for Ecclesiasticks: *Erasmus* agrees to this, but he says, that regard ought to be had to the Weakness of Men, and that the Corruption of Manners being very great, a single Life full of Impurities may have far more Inconveniences in it: And besides, he had said only that there were many Reasons for abolishing that Law, but it belonged to the Church to judge whether those Reasons were strong enough. The rest of the Propositions are concerning School-Divinity.

[(f) That is in other Words, whether *St. Paul* was married or not. *Erasmus* who translated *γυναικα ἐξου* by *Germana Conjux* believed *St. Paul* to have meant his Wife, because the Person here spoken to was to minister to the Necessities of

the Female Saints, and the Words in *Greek*, especially in the *Attick* Dialect, will bear that Sense. So likewise some of the Ancients understood it.]

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There is also another Censure dated in May 1526, in which are condemned the Propositions that were taken out of *Erasmus's* Colloquies; they are for the most part some free Thoughts of Jest, upon some Practices in Devotion. *Erasmus* defends himself against those Censures, and says, 1. That some of his Propositions are falsely related; 2. That many of them are taken in a wrong Sense; 3. That he is charged with some Propositions that are taken out of Dialogues, in which the Person that speaks is not the Person whom he approves of; 4. That he did not in the least design to discourage the Practices of true Devotion, but only superstitious Practices; 5. That he blamed only the Excess and the Abuse of those sorts of Practices, and the too great Confidence which some People had in those things, which is oftentimes the Cause that they neglect the essential Duties of Religion.

In the Conclusion of his Declaration upon the Censure of the Faculty of Divines at *Paris*, he thus expresses himself: 'True Christian Piety (says he) consists in loving God with all our Heart, and our Neighbour as our selves, and in placing our chief Hope in Jesus Christ, and conforming our Lives to his Doctrine and Example, and to the Precepts of the Holy Scripture. Those who take Men off from these Duties put them in Danger of behaving themselves like Heathens: And he adds, this is what I say against those who have presented some lame, imperfect, and misinterpreted Fragments of my Books to the Faculty of the Divines at *Paris*; by which being imposed upon, it has condemned, not what I have written, but what has been presented to it. I have explained my Thoughts sincerely and ingenuously; and if I have advanced any thing contrary to sound Doctrine, I am always ready to retract it'.

Next after this Work of *Erasmus*, follows an Answer to some Observations, which had been written against what he had said of Divorce, upon the 7th. Chapter of the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*. This anonymous Censor maintained, that even under the Old Law, Divorce did not dissolve the Bonds of Marriage, and that it was not allowed to a Wife, who was divorced, nor to a Husband who had divorced her, to marry again. *Erasmus* shews, that he advanced this Principle without any Ground, and that he went too far, and supposed, that the Law of the Gospel did not forbid Divorce even in case of Adultery: However he handles this Question doubtfully, and rather answers the Objections which may be made against it, than establishes his own Opinion. This Treatise was written in 1502.

Erasmus's Answer to the Observations which were made by a young Man, whom he calls *εὐνοειδὲς νεανίας*, contains an Explanation of many Passages of the New Testament, which *Erasmus* had translated differently from the Vulgar *Latin*, and for which he was blamed by the Author whom he answers.

Erasmus was treated as rudely in *Spain* by the Monks of that Country, as in *France* by the Doctors of the *Sorbonne*. Many Monks of all Orders having joined together to condemn his Writings. They made (in Imitation of *Bedda*) some Collections out of his Books, which they reduced to 12 or 13 Heads. The first against the Trinity; the 2d. against the Divinity of the Son; the 3d. against the Divinity of the Holy Ghost; the 4th. against the Holy Inquisition; the 5th. against the Sacraments, and particularly against Baptism, Confession, the Eucharist, Order, and Marriage, the 6th. against the Authority of the Scripture, the Evangelists and Apostles; the 7th. against many of the Church Tenets, and particularly concerning Purgatory and Justification; the 8th. against the Honour of the blessed Virgin; the 9th. against the Authority of the Pope and the Council; the 10th. against the Ceremonies of the Church, Abstinence from Meats, and the Celibacy of the Clergy; the 11th. against scholastick Divinity; the 12th. against Indulgences; the 13th. against the Rights of the Clergy to temporal

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Possessions; the 14th. against Hell Torments. This Collection with a Preface prefixt to it, they presented to the Ministers of *Spain*, and carried their Complaints even to the Emperor himself that they might obtain a solemn Condemnation. There was a Council called upon this Account, and *Alphonfus Mauriquez* Archbishop of *Sevil* presided in it. The most famous Divines of the three Universities were called to it. The President proposed the Matter, and put it under Deliberation. Those who defended *Erasmus* began with speaking some things in his Praise, upon which the Monks raised so great a Tumult, that the Archbishop was never able to suppress it. The Plague which soon after broke out in that place, dissolved the Council; and the Archbishop would never concern himself to call another: But the Monks having published their Writing, *Erasmus* made an Answer to it. The Objections were much the same with those which had been made by the Divines of *Paris*; but they were more in number, more virulent, and more unreasonable. The first runs upon what *Erasmus* had said of that Passage of the Epistle of *S. John* concerning the Trinity.

Italy also produced one Adversary to *Erasmus*, who was illustrious both for his Parts and his Quality, that was *Albertus Pius*, Prince of *Carpi*, a Town situated in *Romagnia* near *Modena* and *Reggio*. He had formerly been *Erasmus's* Friend, but he altered his Mind, and inveighed against him at *Rome*, and said in the publick Assemblies of Cardinals and learned Men, that *Erasmus* was neither a Philosopher, nor a Divine, nor solidly learned; and which made him yet more odious, that *Luther's* Heresy proceeded from his Writings, and that all the Disorders with which the Church was troubled at that time, ought to be charged upon him. *Erasmus* being informed, that the Prince of *Carpi* had declaimed against him after such a manner, wrote a Letter to him, in the beginning of *October* 1525. in which he vindicates himself from the Accusation of having favoured *Lutheranism*. *Albertus* wrote him an Answer, which was printed at *Paris* by *Badius*, with a Treatise against *Luther*. In this Answer, he owned the Accusation which he had advanced against him, and pretended there was so much Conformity between his Doctrine and *Luther's*, that it might be said, that *Erasmus* was a *Lutheran* and *Luther* an *Erasmian*.

After having said many things against *Erasmus* to prove this Assertion, he exhorts him to write against *Luther*. *Erasmus* wrote an Answer 13. Feb. 1529. to the Prince of *Carpi's* Letter, in which he shews, that his Doctrine was very different from *Luther's*, and as to the Advice which the Prince gave him to write against *Luther*, he says, that he had already satisfied it, in publishing his Books of *Free-will*, and his two *Hyperaspistæ* against *Luther*. The Prince who had retired to *Paris* published under his own Name, a great Collection of Passages extracted out of *Erasmus's* Books, by which he pretended to prove what he had alledged, that they were full of Errors and Novelties. Though the Prince of *Carpi's* Name was prefixed to this Book, yet it was compiled by many several persons, and the *Cordeliers* of *Paris*, had the chief hand in it: And it was revised by one of their number one *Genesius Sepulveda*, a *Spaniard*. This Work was not compleatly finished when *Albertus* died. Three Days before his Death, he put on the Habit of *St. Francis*, and in that Habit was carried to his Grave by the *Cordeliers* and buried.

After his Death, there was a Volume printed under his Name by *Badius* at *Paris*, 1531, which was divided into 24 Books, which was a Collection of a great many Passages extracted out of *Erasmus's* Works, part of which had been already censured by others. In it there were the former Accusations against him, as to what he had said of Fasting, of Monks, and of the Ceremonies of the Church, of Holy-days, of the Worshipping of Saints, of their Relicks, of the blessed Virgin, of School-Divinity, of the Books of Holy Scripture, of the Trinity, of

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Saint Peter's Supremacy, of human Laws, of Vows, of Marriage, of Virginity, of Confession, of Faith and good Works, of the Lawfulness of War, &c. In a word, it is the largest of all the Collections that were made of the Errors which Men pretended to find in *Erasmus's* Words. Tho' his Adversary was dead, yet he did not think fit to let this Book pass without an Answer: But he contented himself to write a short Apology against this great Volume, and in it he defends himself and charges his Adversaries with publishing many Falshoods, against him, that the Passages as extracted by them were lame and defective, that they did not understand the Meaning of them, that they exclaimed against things which did not deserve to be censured, and in a word, that they had acted very disingenuously.

The Epistle which he wrote to the Bishop of *Basil*, dated on *Easter-Eve*, 1522. contains the Aphorisms and Doctrine of *Erasmus* concerning Abstinence from Meats, and concerning human Constitutions. He therein condemns the Rashness of a Citizen of *Basil*, who had raised a Tumult in that Town in order to the abolishing of the Laws of the Church. He says, that a Custom which has long obtained, cannot be abolished without much Disorder. That Fasting and Abstinence are Helps to true Devotion, if they be rightly used, 'For first (says he) Sobriety and Temperance in eating, makes the Soul more free, and disposes it for attending to the Exercise of Devotion; secondly, since the Body has been the Minister of Sin, by its Inclinations to sin, and by contributing to it, it is reasonable that in Penance it should have its share of Grief and Pain, and that it should be subservient to the penitent Soul in mortifying all carnal Desires, that the Flesh may not rebel against the Spirit, and that the Wrath of God which has been provoked by our Sins, may be appeased, and that he may remit to us that Punishment which they have deserved, when he sees that we punish our selves: Now there is no Pain more present, than when the Soul is afflicted by the Hatred of the Sins which it has committed, and when the Body is tormented by abstaining from those things in which it most delights. In many places of the Old Testament we are informed of this means of appeasing the Wrath of God; and Jesus Christ himself has taught us, that there is a certain kind of Devils, which cannot be cast out but by Fasting and Prayer: Besides, tho' the Prophets did foretel, that the New-Moons, the Sabbath, the Fasts, Abstinence from certain Meats, and the other Shadows of the Law should disappear at the Light of the Gospel, yet the primitive Church while it was full of the new Spirit of the Gospel, after its Bridegroom was ascended to Heaven, did not embrace any Custom with greater Zeal, than that of Fasting and Prayer. All Christians did then fast every Day, though they were not obliged to fast by any Precept; and many of them did abstain not only from eating Flesh, but from eating any kind of Creature that had Life, and they lived only upon Pulse and Herbs, tho' Jesus Christ and his Apostles had left them at liberty to eat what they pleased; at last this Custom being established, and as it were approved of, by the tacit Suffrage of the whole Church, was afterwards confirmed by the Decrees of some Bishops, and at length by the Bishop of *Rome*, because the Charity of People was become cold, and the greatest part of Christians did only follow the Desires of the Flesh, so that the Authority of the Bishops did only serve as a Spur to stir up those who were weak.'

This is the 43^d. Epistle of the 31st. Book of the Collection of his Epistles that was printed in *England*, and by what we have extracted out of it, we may see part of the Reflections, which he afterwards makes upon the Law, concerning Abstinence from Meat. He therein treats very fully of the Question concerning the Obligation of that Law, and seems

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to be of opinion, that it does not oblige under pain of mortal Sin, unless the Violation of it give Scandal, or be made out of Contempt. He will not enter upon the general Question, Whether human Laws oblige under pain of mortal Sin, when that which they enjoin has no Affinity to the Law of God, he enquires only whether all kinds of human Laws oblige under pain of mortal Sin, or whether there be only some of them that do so: And he concludes, that he is not sure that all human Laws do so oblige, and particularly the Laws which enjoin Abstinence from Meats.

Next to the Writings which *Erasmus* published against some Catholics, there follows in this Tome, those which he wrote against *Luther* and the Innovators. The first is his Discourse concerning *Free-will*, against the Opinion of *Luther*, concerning *Liberty*. He begins this Book with the following Reflection: 'That among all the Difficulties which are found in holy Scripture, there is scarce any Labyrinth so inexplicable as the Question concerning *Free-will*: For, says he, this matter did long ago exercise the Wits, first of the Philosophers, and then of the Divines, and even of the ancient Doctors; but in my Opinion with more Pains than Profit. It has lately been debated by *Eckius* and *Carlostadius* with competent Moderation, and since that time by *Martin Luther* with more Heat.' Tho' many Authors had written against him, yet *Erasmus* said, he undertook to write on that Subject, that he might set the Truth in a clear Light. He protests that he writes only against *Luther's* Opinions, and not against his Person, and promises to abstain from reproachful Language. He confesses, that the Ancients had different Notions about *Free-will*, but he thought there was nothing certain, if it was not certain that *Free-will* has some Force. He reduces all that is in the Scripture upon this Subject to this, that a Man should use all his Endeavours to attain to Perfection when he is going on in the way to Salvation, and to disengage himself from his Sins, when he is returning to his Duty by Repentance, and having recourse to the infinite Mercies of God, without which all human Purposes and Endeavours are ineffectual: That he should charge all the Evil he does upon himself, and ascribe all the Good he does to the Bounty of God, to whom he owes his Being: That we ought to be persuaded, that all the Good and Evil that befalls us in this Life, is ordered for us by God in order to our Salvation: And that a God who is essentially just, cannot do the least Injustice, tho' we may think, that some things happen to us which we have not deserved. He thinks these Maxims may be sufficient to encourage true Piety and Devotion, and that we ought not by rash Curiosity to enter upon dark and impertinent Questions: As for instance, Whether God by a conditional Fore-knowledge foresees future Contingencies: Whether the Will of Man has any part in those Actions which concern eternal Salvation: Whether Man be merely a passive Subject upon which Grace does work; Whether he necessarily does every thing that he does, whether it be Good or Evil. Upon all which he makes this Reflection, that there are some things which God has designed we should not know, as the Day of our Death, and the Day of Judgment; that there are some things in Religion which we cannot comprehend or explain, as the Distinction of Persons in the Trinity, the Union of the divine and human Natures in Christ, and that there are some other things again which are very clear, as all the Precepts which enjoin a holy Life; and in the last place there are some things which it is not fit or convenient that they should be preached indifferently to all sorts of People, even tho' they were true: Such as the Paradoxes which *Wickliff* and *Luther* taught concerning *Free-will*. That these Questions may be safely discoursed in Conferences among Men of Learning, or disputed in the Divinity-Schools, tho' perhaps

haps even that may not be very needful; but that it would be of pernicious Consequence, to treat of them before an Assembly of ignorant People. After a Preface to this purpose, he enters upon the Matter, and says, first that he might produce the Authority of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, who do all acknowledge the Free-will of Man, if *Luther* would admit of their Authority: But tho' he rejects that Authority to close to the Holy Scriptures, yet the unanimous Consent of all the Fathers, who have so interpreted the Holy Scriptures, is a strong Prejudice against him. From whence he takes occasion to impugn the Opinion of those, who do not acknowledge any other Interpreter of the Holy Scripture but a private Spirit. Then he shews from the Holy Scripture, that Man was created a free Agent; that by the Fall of *Adam*, his Mind, Will, and Nature were corrupted; that he stands in need of the Grace of God to be delivered from his Sins; that tho' his Liberty was much impaired by *Adam's* Sin, yet it was not quite extinguished. He observes, that there are a great many different Opinions among both the Ancients and Moderns, concerning the Power of Free-will after Sin, and before Grace: That *Pelagius* believed, that Man being once regenerated might be saved only by the Strength of his own Free-will. That among the Divines, the *Scotists* were most favourable to Free-will, having taught, that before Grace, Man might do some Actions that were morally good, by which he might deserve Grace, not by that Merit which they call *de condigno*, but by that which they call *de congruo*: That others on the contrary maintained, that all Actions how good soever they might appear morally, were abominable before God. He thinks this Opinion too severe, and he believes, that as the Philosophers had some natural Knowledge of God, so they might do some Works that were morally good. He acknowledges, that *St. Augustine* and his Followers considering how dangerous it is for Men to put their Confidence in their own Strength, are more favourable to that Grace of which *S. Paul* speaks so often; and that they deny, that Man who is subject to Sin, can convert himself, or so much as do any thing in order to his own Salvation, unless, he be incited to it by Free-grace, which makes him to do that which leads him to Salvation. Some call this preventing Grace, which *St. Augustine* calls operating Grace: For Faith, which is the Door of Salvation, is the free Gift of God; and Charity, which is added to it by the more abundant Gifts of the Holy Ghost, is called by *St. Augustine* co-operating Grace, which always assists those who use their endeavour to do what is good, but in such a manner, that tho' a good Action be done by the Free-will and by Grace, Grace rather prevents than accompanies it. Nevertheless, there are some who say, that if the Nature of a good Action be considered, it depends more upon the Free-will than upon Grace: But if we consider the Merit of it, it depends chiefly upon Grace. He again distinguishes Grace into two sorts, a general or universal Grace, which is the Grace of Nature, and a particular Grace, which excites a Sinner to Repentance, who had merited nothing before he received the Gift of that Grace, which delivers him from his Sins, and makes him acceptable unto God. The first Grace according to several Divines is given to all the World, and depends upon our Free-will. He thinks the Opinion of those too severe, who say, that Free-will has no Power but in those things that are evil; and that it does not co-operate with Grace in the doing of that which is good, but that Grace does every thing, so that the Will acts no more than the Wax does, when an Artificer impresses a Figure upon it. In a word, he rejects as unsufferable the Opinion of those, who say that Free-will is but an airy Name; that it was never of any Force, either in Angels or in *Adam*, or in other Men, either before or after Grace; that it is God who works in us both Good and Evil; and that whatsoever Man

does, he does it thro' Necessity. *Erasmus* impugns not only this last Opinion, but also the preceding, by producing many Passages of Scripture which prove Man's Liberty to do Good and Evil, and to resist Grace. He explains that Passage concerning the hardning of *Pharaoh's* Heart, and the other of the rejecting of *Esau*: He then answers those Passages which *Luther* brings from Scripture against Free-will, and shews, that all those Texts, where Grace is spoken of as necessary for assisting Man in the doing of good, prove Man's Liberty, because they suppose, that Grace succours and assists him, and that it acts with him, and consequently, that the Will does act. He then shews the Reasons, why there are so many different Opinions upon this Subject; and that some have interpreted the Scripture in one Sense and some in another. Some (says he) considering the Negligence of Men, and how much it was to be fear'd, that they would despair of working out their own Salvation, being desirous to prevent that Evil, have fallen into one Extreme, in ascribing too much to Man's Free-will. Others being persuaded, that a Man's confiding in his own Strength and Merits, is the Ruin of true Piety; and not being able to endure the Arrogance of those who boast of their good Works, nay and sell them to others too, and being desirous to remedy this Evil, have cut off the Liberty of Man; by supposing that he did not act in the least in the doing of what is good: Or they have quite destroyed it, by introducing an absolute Necessity upon all his Actions. These think, that for preserving a true Christian Submission, it is necessary, that Man should depend entirely upon the Will of God; and should put all his Hope and Confidence in his Promises; and that acknowledging how miserable he is of himself, he should love the Mercies of God, which freely bestow so many Graces upon him, and acquiesce in God's Will, whether he purposes to save him or damn him; that he should not in the least glory in his own good Works, but should give all the Glory of them to free Grace, being persuaded that he is but the Organ of the Holy Ghost, who purifies and sanctifies him by his Grace, which is altogether free, as he governs and conducts him by his Wisdom; that Man ought not to ascribe any thing to his own Strength, and that in the mean time, he ought to hope confidently for eternal Life; not for having merited it by his good Works, but because God has been graciously pleased to promise it to all those who put their Trust in him; that it is Man's Duty to pray to God continually, that he would be pleased to grant him his Spirit, and to encrease it in him daily; and to thank him for the good he works in him, to adore his Power in all things, to admire his Wisdom, and to love his Goodness'. *Erasmus* confesses, that this Language is very plausible and agreeable to that of the Holy Scriptures, and that it is suitable to the Profession of those, who being once dead to the World, are buried with Jesus Christ; that they may live and act by the Spirit of Jesus Christ, into whose Body they have been ingrafted by Faith. He approves then of this Language, but not of any excessive Hyperboles as when it is said, that Man has so little Merit, that all his good Works are but so many Sins; that our Will acts no more than the Clay does in the Hand of the Potter; and that whatsoever we do, we do it necessarily. He refutes these Paradoxes and Errors, which overthrow the Justice and Mercy of God, and contradict all that the Scripture teaches us of Rewards and Punishments, and make all the Threatnings, Exhortations, and Admonitions of the Scriptures wholly useless. He confesses, that by Nature we cannot merit the Grace of Justification: But he says, that Grace may co-operate with Free-will, and may incline it to good. He observes, that the Controversy between *St. Augustine* and *Pelagius*, made that Father less favourable to Free-will than he was before. The Opinion

which *Erasmus* most approves of, is, that the first Attractions to what is good, ought to be attributed only to Grace: The consenting to those Motions, and making a Progress in Holiness, ought to be attributed to the Will and Grace together, and the Perfection of all to Grace alone, yet so as that Grace and the Will doth both concur to the same Action, and that Grace is the Principal Cause. In a word, he takes a middle way between those that destroy *Free-Will* altogether, and those who attribute too much to it: He would have something ascribed to it, but much more to Grace, according to his Opinion then, we ought to say, that Men do good Works, but they are so imperfect that they ought not to glory in them, that they have Merits, but they are indebted to God for them. That they have *Free-will*, but it is not efficacious without the Grace of God.

Luther having answered *Erasmus* with much Heat and Passion, in his Book *de Seruo Arbitrio*; *Erasmus* wrote a Reply to him in two Books, intituled, *Hyperaspistæ*. In the first of which, he defends what he had said in his Preface against *Luther's* Calumnies and Reproaches: And in the second, he refutes the Answers that *Luther* gave to the Passages that he had cited, and to the Arguments that he had brought against his Opinion. This is a large Volume, but because there is scarce any thing in it but what is personal, and nothing that is new as to the Merits of the Cause, it is needless to give an Abstract of it. Those who would be thoroughly acquainted with the whole Dispute, may read the whole Book.

Luther did not at first write an Answer to the two *Hyperaspistæ*: after he had thought on it for a long time, he did at length publish a Letter against *Erasmus*, full of Injuries, Invectives and Calumnies. In that Letter he accuses him of *Arianism* and *Irreligion*: *Erasmus* wrote an Answer to it, which is next to the *Hyperaspistæ* in the same Volume.

Next to this follows, 1. A little Treatise, in which *Erasmus* refutes a Pamphlet that had been published in April, 1526. intituled, *An Agreement betwixt Luther and Erasmus in their Opinions concerning the Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ*: and then a Letter written to *Vultarius* in 1529. against the *Pseudo-Evangelici*, which is a very true Satyr against their Conduct and Manners, and a great Prejudice against their Doctrine. There is also another little Treatise written in the same Style, but larger than the former: it is addressed to the Christians of the *Lower Germany* and *East-Frisland*, the design of it is not only against the *Lutherans*, but also against the *Sacramentarians*. It is dated in 1530.

The last Treatise of this Volume against the Protestants, is written against *Ulricus Huttenus*, and the Occasion of it was this; *Ulricus Huttenus*, a Gentleman of Germany, a good Poet and a good Humanist, was devoted to *Luther*, and was one of the most bitter and most Satyrical Writers of that Party; he came to *Basil* in 1524. sick and poor. And because *Erasmus* had been formerly one of his Friends, *Huttenus* sent one *Eppendorf* to him, to tell him, that he design'd to pay him a Visit: *Erasmus* foreseeing that the receiving of this Visit would make himself odious, and being afraid lest *Huttenus* who had no place to retire to, should come and lodge with him, told *Eppendorf*, that unless he had some Business of Consequence with him, it would not be convenient that he should pay him a Visit, and desired him to tell him this in as obliging manner as he could, which *Eppendorf* did; first *Huttenus* did not take it ill, but when *Eppendorf* afterwards told *Erasmus*, that *Huttenus* would be very glad to speak with him: *Erasmus* said, that he could not go to him in the Place where he was, because he could not endure the Stoves; but if he would come to his lodging, he would receive him in the Hall. *Huttenus* seeing that this was but a gentle pretence to get rid him, retir'd to *Mulhausen*, very much dissatisfied with

Erasmus; and resolved to be revenged on him, by composing some virulent Pamphlet against him. *Erasmus* being informed of this, wrote a very civil Letter to him, to dissuade him from it, but that did not hinder him from publishing a Letter full of Reproaches: *Erasmus* justified himself by the writing we are now speaking of. *Eppendorf*, who had been employ'd as a Mediator between them in this Business, took *Huttenus's* part, which so offended *Erasmus*, that he could not forbear to speak against *Eppendorf*; nay, he was accused and suspected of having written a Letter against him to Prince *George of Saxony*. *Eppendorf* being exasperated against *Erasmus*, came to *Basil*, and designed to have sued him at Law: Some who were Friends to them both, interposed for a Reconciliation between them, and *Eppendorf* came to *Erasmus's* House, where he found *Rhenanus* and *Berus*. *Eppendorf* demanded that *Erasmus* might repair his Honour by a publick Writing: That he should write to the Prince and to the Court, the contrary to what he had written in his former Letter, and that he should pay three hundred Ducats Damages. *Erasmus* answered, that he did not own the Letter: That he had only written to the Prince to recall him: That he did not think he had provoked the Prince against him: That he was ready to write to him again to appease his Anger, and that he would not decline to publish such a Writing as he desired. As for the Money which *Eppendorf* demanded, he said, he did not do well to speak of it, lest it might seem that it was chiefly on that Account that he begun this Suit.

Eppendorf was satisfied with the two first Offers that *Erasmus* made, but insisted upon his Pretence to have a Sum of Money to make up his Losses. They found it necessary to refer the Matter to Arbitrators; and *Rhenanus* and *Amerbachius* were chosen who obliged *Erasmus* to perform the two first Articles which he had agreed to; and as for the thirds, they ordered him to pay twenty Florins for the Relief of the Poor; to be distributed as the Arbitrators should think fit; and that nothing of all this should be looked upon as disgraceful to either of the two Parties, and that each of them should forget all that was past, which should remain as if it had never been; and that *Eppendorf* should suppress the Writing he had composed against *Erasmus*. This Sentence is dated on the Morrow after the Feast of Purification, An. 1528. *Erasmus* and *Eppendorf* were satisfied with this, and were mutually reconciled, and eat and drank together: But *Eppendorf* and the *Lutherans* gave out, that *Erasmus* had been shamefully condemned, and had been forced to submit to such Conditions, as were hard for a Gentleman to submit to. *Erasmus* published a Writing against this Calumny, in which he gives an Account how the Matter passed, and gives his Reasons for the acquiescing in the Sentence: This Pamphlet is intituled *Adversus Mendacium & Obtrecationem*, or an Advertisement against a Lye. *Eppendorf* wrote a Complaint against this Pamphlet printed at *Haguenau* in 1531.

I pass by the two Books which he calls *Antibarbari*, because they do not precisely concern Divinity: I shall only take notice, that in the end of them he proves, that profane Learning is not incompatible with Religion and Divinity; nay, that it is useful and necessary to a Preacher, and to a Divine; he shows that Learning must be acquired by Pains and Labour; that it is none of the Gifts of the Holy Ghost; and that it is for this Reason, that among the Apostles and Writers who were inspired by God, we find more Eloquence and a sublimer Style, and more Learning in some of them than in others.

We have not omitted any of *Erasmus's* Works which are in this Tome, except an Answer to a Pamphlet which *Ludovicus Carvajal* a *Franciscan*, published against *Erasmus*. This Answer is intituled, *Pantolabus*,

An History of the Lives, and an Abridgement of the Works of the Authors of the former part of the sixteenth Century. *Pantolabus, five adversus, Febricitantem, An Answer to a Pamphlet written by a Man in a Fever*; because the Author declared in the beginning of it that he was sick of a Fever when he wrote it. He accused *Erasmus* as an Enemy to the Monks, and undertook their Defence: He founded his Accusation upon the Rules which he alledged *Erasmus* had prescribed. *Erasmus* says, that he charges him with things which he never said; that he does not understand his Meaning, and that he makes an impertinent Cry about things that are very true.

Erasmus. *Erasmus's Version, Paraphrase and Annotations upon the New Testament*, are not of those kinds of Works that are capable of being abridged, therefore we shall only take notice, that after *Erasmus* had taken care of the Edition of *Laurentius Valla's* Annotations upon the New Testament, which was made in 1505, he applied himself assiduously to make critical Observations upon the Text of the New Testament, and adventured to make a new Version of it into truer *Latin* than the vulgar *Latin*, and more conform to the *Greek* Text, and at the same time he added some short literal Notes. He published an Edition of it in 1515. and wrote to Pope *Leo X.* intreating him to permit to dedicate that Work to him: The Pope having consented to it, he did it, and sent his Holiness a Copy of it in 1516. with a Letter in which he informs him, that it was not his design to contradict the Vulgar *Latin*, but only to reform what had been corrupted in it by Negligence or Malice of Transcribers. He promised a more correct Edition of it, and gave it within a little time after, having revised the *Greek* Text by nine Manuscripts: He obtained a new Approbation from Pope *Leo X.* for this second Edition in 1521. He published also a third, in which he revised the ancient Version, by a Manuscript written in Golden Characters, which was given him by the Princess *Margaret* Aunt of *Charles V.* and by two other Manuscripts; and the *Greek* by the *Venetian* Edition of the New Testament published by *Asculanus*. He published a fourth Edition of it in 1527. and a fifth in 1535. His Version was never condemned; and we have observed in another place, that the *Spanish* Inquisition declared it to be permitted: It is pure *Latin*, exact and conformable to the original Text, after he had revised and corrected it. His Notes are not only full of critical Learning, but of Divinity also; for he had this Advantage above *Laurentius Valla*, that he had not only studied the Languages, but had also read the Works of the Holy Fathers. Perhaps there are some Passages in his Notes which may be found fault with: But in the general it is an excellent Work. When he began to write his Paraphrases, he had no design but to paraphrase the Epistle of *St. Paul* to the *Romans*; and when he had gone thro' two Chapters he resolved to give it over, because he thought the Undertaking was too great for him; but being encouraged to go on with it by his Friends, he not only finished the Paraphrase upon that Epistle, but he paraphrased also all *St. Paul's* Epistles, and then all the canonical Epistles, and the four Gospels, and the *Acts* of the Apostles. This Work was finished in 1524. and is written with great

Perpicuity and Elegance of Style: At first there were many who approved of it, and afterwards there were many who censured it. It must be confessed, there are some Passages wherein he takes too great Liberty for a Paraphrase, and digresses from his Subject, to make Observations that agree rather to the Times in which he wrote, than to the Times of *Jesus Christ* and his Apostles.

What Esteem soever *Erasmus* deserves for his own Works, he deserves yet much more for those of the Fathers which he published. We can never sufficiently praise his Care and Application, and the Pains he was at in revising and printing as correctly as was possible, the principal Fathers of the Church. He has given us new Editions of these that follow, *St. Jerome*, *St. Cyprian*, *St. Hilary*, *St. Irenaeus*, *St. Ambrose*, *St. Augustine*, *Arnobius* upon the *Psalms*, *Algerus* and *Origen*; an Edition of whose Works he undertook towards the end of his Days, which was finished by *Rhenanus*. He translated also into *Latin* many of the Works of the *Greek* Fathers, such as *Josephus's* Discourse of the Martyrdom of the *Maccabees*, *Chrysostom's* Treatise of the Priesthood, with four Orations against the *Jews*, four Homilies upon *Lazarus* and the rich *Glutton*; his Homilies upon the *Acts*, upon the second Epistle of *St. Paul* to the *Corinthians*, and upon the Epistles to the *Galatians* and *Philippians*, all written by the same Father, and the *Liturgy* that is attributed to him. He took care also of the *Latin* Edition of all his Works, printed in 1530. and of the *Latin* Edition of *St. Athanasius's* Works, of which he translated many Treatises. *Erasmus* also translated *St. Basil's* Commentary upon *Isaiah*, and his Book concerning the Holy Ghost, and two of his Homilies in praise of Fasting: He took care also of the Version of *St. Gregory Nazianzen's* Works, which had been done by *Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus*. How much then is the learned part of Mankind indebted to that Man, who has given us such precious Treasures?

Erasmus was said to be the Author of a Dialogue against the Memory of Pope *Julius II.* intituled, *Julius caelo exclusus*; but he denied it, and wrote to *Campegius* in 1519. to assure him that that Pamphlet was written during the Schism: That he did not know who was the Author of it: That some attributed it to an anonymous *Spaniard*, some to the Poet *Faustus*, and others to *Hieronymus Balbus*: But whoever was the Author of it, *Erasmus* taxes him with trifling Impertinences, and says that the Publisher of it deserved to be punished. He wonders that any Body had attributed it to him, and pretended that it was written in his Style: For, says he, either I do not know my self, or it is not at all like my way of writing.

He was said also to write a Poem, intituled, *Seneca*, or *No-body*; in which the Schoolmen are ridiculed, but *Ulricus Huttenus* was the true Author of that Book, and afterwards owned it; some also attributed to him what the same Author wrote in praise of a *Fever* and his *Phalarism*.

We shall say no more of *Erasmus's* Works; the Account which has been already given is sufficient to shew how useful they may be.

Cardinal RAIMUNDUS PERALDUS.

Raimundus Peraldus. *Raimundus Peraldus* was born at *Surgeres* in the Province of *Saintonge*; He studied at *Paris*, and was received a Scholar upon the Foundation in *Navarre-College* in 1471. there he studied Divinity, but I do not find that he took his Degrees. It is not known, what were his Reasons for leaving *France*, and going to *Rome*; but it is certain, that there he made his Fortune, and had the Honour to be sent to *Germany* by Pope *Innocent VIII.* in quality of his Legate, there to publish some Indulgences for raising Money to be employed in the

War against the *Turks*. This was in the Year 1489. He answered the Design of his Commissions and collected a great Sum of Money; but a Boor's Son at *Cronach*, and a Curate at *Friburg*, unhappily stole part of it, but as *Linturius*, who writes the History of that time tells us, they were both apprehended, confessed their Crime, and were executed for it: Which shews, that *Giaconus* is unjust to *Peraldus*, in accusing him of having prodigally squandered away the Money which he had amassed together. The Emperor *Maximilian* was so well pleased with

the Services of this Legate, that soon after he procured him the Bishoprick of Gurk, and at last prevailed with Pope Alexander VI. to create him Cardinal in the Year 1493. He continued to be employed in publick Negotiations in Germany and France. He was at Amboise when King Charles VIII. died there, April 1498. and came from thence to Paris, where he honoured some Divinity Acts with his Presence. He soon after returned to Rome, from whence he was sent to Germany, and to all the Northern Countries, in the Year 1501. in quality of Legate à Latere, to ingage them in a War against the Turk: But being unsuccessful in this Design, he returned to Rome, where in a full Consistory, he told them what Complaints had been made to him in several Countries, concerning the Immoralities of the Cardinals, and exhorted them to reform their Manners, and to live more regularly. He was afterwards translated from the Bishoprick of Gurk to that of Saintes, tho' he always retained the Title of Cardinal of Gurk. Pope Alexander VI. gave him the Legateship of Pe-

rusa; and Pope Julius II. gave him that of Viterbo; where he died the 5th. of September 1505. in the 70th. Year of his Age. The Authors of his Time commend him chiefly for his Prudence and Liberality. It is said in his Epitaph, that he so much despised Riches, that he reserved nothing to himself; an excellent Quality in a Prelate.

He wrote a Book of the sacerdotal Dignity, as superior to the royal; which was printed in Germany without any Title, and without the Printer's Name. He wrote also some Memoirs of his Negotiations at Lubec, and in Denmark (a); and some Letters to Reuchlin and others. In 1502. he sent some Relicks to Navarre-College, in a grateful Acknowledgement, as he himself said, that he had been a Scholar of that House, and had learned the first Principles of Divinity in it; by which it appeared, that his Preferments did not make him forget what he had once been, or those to whom he had been obliged, which is a rare Quality in those, who from a mean Condition, are advanced to the highest Dignities.

[(a) *N* French it is *en Dace*: By which I suppose he means Denmark; the Writers of the middle Ages

often call Denmark *Dacia*, and the *Danes Daci*.]

JOHANNES RAULINUS.

Johannes Raulinus was born at Toul in Lorrain, in the Year 1443. and took his Doctor of Divinity's Degree in the Faculty of Paris in 1479. He had before that time, composed a Commentary upon Aristotle's Logick, and had distinguished himself by his Preaching. John Major relates one thing of him, that was very commendable, that while he was Licentiate in Divinity, those who exposed Indulgences to sale to make Money of them, offered to give him what Money he should need for his commencing Doctor, provided he would go along with them from Parish to Parish, and preach to the People, but he generously refused it as a thing altogether unworthy of him. In the Year 1481. he succeeded William de Chateaufort in his Place of Great Master of Navarre-College, which Office he discharged so well, that he was esteemed one of the first Doctors; but his Thoughts were upon another Life, and he resolved for the Salvation of his Soul, to retire altogether from the World: Which he did in the Year 1497. by entering into the Order of Cluny, and retiring into the Monastery of that Name, where his Life was very exemplary. He was pitch'd upon by the Cardinal d'Amboise, to endeavour the Reformation of the Order of Benedictines, and continued to preach with great Success. He died the 16th. of February, in the Year 1514. in the 71st. Year of his Age.

We have three great Volumes in Quarto of Raulinus's Sermons, printed at Antwerp, 1612. and divided into six Tomes. The first contains Sermons for Advent, in the second are all his Sermons for all the Sundays in the Year, in the two next are Sermons for Lent, and in the two last Sermons for the Festivals of the Saints. To these last are added his Sermons upon Penance, intitled, *Itinerarium Paradisi, seu Sermones de Pœnitentia*, and those upon the Eucharist, with his *Doctrinale de triplici Morte, Naturali, Culpa & Gehennæ*. These Discourses are dry, methodical, and full of Divisions, according to the Custom of that Time; but they are serious and rational, and there are good Morals and very useful Instructions in them. His Works were also printed separately at Paris about the Year 1520. and at Venice 1575. and 1585.

There are many Epistles of this Author, collected into one Volume, and printed at Paris in 1520.

The first is addressed to Stephen Pouchier, Keeper of the great Seal of France in the Reign of Lewis XII, elected Bishop of Paris 1503. He therein represents to him how heavy a Burthen the Office of

a Bishop is, yet he exhorts him to accept of it. 'Seeing you are in Peace (says he) why do you ingage your self in a Labyrinth of so many Troubles, even tho' you be canonically called to it? Do you not reflect how heavy this Charge will be upon your Shoulders? It is formidable even to Angels themselves. St. Peter and his Fellow-disciples were in danger in managing a little Boat, and you are preparing to manage a great one: You embarque and launch forth into the wide Sea, take care that a Tempest does not overwhelm you; that the Waters do not swallow you up, and that you be not thrown headlong into the Deep. Do you not see with the Eyes of the inward Man, that you are called from Rest to Labour, from a Place of Safety to manifest Danger, from the Peace and Quiet which you now enjoy to a perpetual War? Do you know against whom you are to fight? Is it against Flesh and Blood? Yes; but that is not all, it is also against Principalities and Powers, and the Rulers of Darknes. If you will be a Pastor, consider what Account you must one day make of your Charge. If you will govern the Church, in the midst of a Tempest, consider whether you be able to make the Sea and the Winds obey you: But then he adds, tho' there be no Office more dangerous than that of a Bishop, yet there is not any wherein a Man may be more beneficial to others, or wherein the Generosity of a Man's Temper does more appear, provided he be persuaded, that the End for which he is called to it is, not that he may spend his Time in Ease and Quiet, but that he may labour in Christ's Vineyard. There is nothing so difficult upon Earth, but what the Mind of Man may overcome, provided he come to it with a suitable Height of Spirit.' Then he exhorts him to get himself consecrated, and to take upon him the Government of that Church to which he was called. At last, he advises him to take to his Assistance such Men as were blameless in their Lives, and altogether disinterested, who sought not their own Interests but the Advancement of God's Glory. He says, that if the Wolves shall offer to devour his Flock, he may find at Paris abundance of Dogs who will fright them away with barking, and that he shall be one of the first who shall bark at them and drive them away.

The second Epistle is upon a Subject of the same Nature, it is addressed to Lewis D'Amboise, Bishop of Albi, who had been his Pupil, and was newly raised to that Dignity; he tells him, that he congratulated

An History of the Lives, and an Abridgement of the Works of the Authors of the former Part of the sixteenth Century.
Johannes Raulinus.

gratuled his Promotion, but yet as his Friend, he was afraid of him, because of the burthensome Charge which he had taken upon him. He represents to him the many Dangers that he must expect to encounter most in the Government of his Diocess, and the Reproaches he would meet with at the Tribunal of Jesus Christ, if he did not acquit himself faithfully of his Duty; and he exhorts him to watch over himself, and over his Flock. He tells him, that he had the Government both of spiritual and temporal Affairs: But that the first was the principal and the second accessory; that he ought to take care, that he did not apply himself to the second and neglect the first, *As the most part of the Bishops of our time do (says he with regret) who behave themselves as if God had only committed to them the Management of temporal Estates, and not the Care of Souls.* He therefore advises him to imploy Men of good Parts, and learned in the Canon and Civil Law, to dispose of temporal things, and to judge Causes that shall be brought before them, and not to make that his chief Business, lest he should seem to be rather the Disciple of Gratian or Justinian, than of Jesus Christ. He advises him to visit his Diocess in person; and to do it not out of Curiosity, but for the Establishment of Discipline, and rather to take an account of the Peoples Consciences, than to draw Money out of their Purses. He offers to communicate to him the Sermons which he had preached at Paris, and every thing he had that could be useful to a Bishop, which he had never done to any body before. He recommends to him to revive the ancient Customs of the Church in Visitations; and to take along with him Men of Judgment and full of Zeal, and to do as the ancient Bishops did, who themselves gave Counsel to those who had need of it, and took pains by their own Instructions to ease the Consciences of their People; He admonishes him not to hearken to Flatterers, but to those who spoke their Minds freely, and he observes, that it was an incurable Distemper in the greatest part of Bishops, to lean to the feeble Flatteries of those who were about them, and not to desire, that any Man should tell them the Truth, nor to give ear to the Advices of their Preachers, and of those who spoke their Minds freely, but to look upon them with an evil Eye. In the close of this Epistle, he describes his way of living at Cluny, to which place he retired about the same time that Lewis D' Amboise was made a Bishop. 'At the same time says he, that you have taken a very heavy Yoke upon you, of which you must give account to God, I have taken upon me the light and easy Yoke of Jesus Christ, having no other Charge but that of mine own Conduct: I have hid my self in the Prison of a Monastery, where I fast always, and watch often, where I take but little Sleep, and at different times: I delight in the hardest Beds, and am rich in a contented Poverty; continual Labour is my greatest Pleasure, very little Household Furniture and some few coarse Cloaths, make up all my State and Magnificence, and a very narrow Cell is my Palace.' He adds, that he does not write these things to him, with any design to ingage him in a monastick Life; for he knew that it was much easier for a Monk to live like a Bishop, than for a Bishop to live like a Monk.

The third and fourth Epistles are also addressed to the same Bishop, upon the same Subject. He gives him many ghostly Admonitions with relation to his Behaviour.

In the 5th. he commends the same Bishop for the Zeal he shewed for the Reformation of the Church; and gives him an Answer as to the Favour he had asked of the Prior of Cluny, which was to send him two reformed Monks, who might instruct his Monks; and shew them good Example. 'You will put them (says he) either into a Monastery where there are Monks already, or into one where there are none. If you put them into a Monastery where there are

no ancient Monks always, except those whom you will provide for by giving them Priories, or by putting them into other Houses, you will very soon have an Abby full of good Monks; but if you put them into a Monastery where there are Monks already, and who are to continue in it, then these Inconveniences will follow; the Monks who have contracted evil Habits, will not bear with the Manners of our Monks, they will use them ill, and force them to leave the Monastery; or they'll oblige them to live as they do, and perhaps they may debauch them. Tho' this should not happen, yet the difference between the Life and Manners of the Old and the New Monks, will cause such Factions in the Monastery, that God will be offended at them.' He also advises this Bishop, not to make use of any violent means to reduce the Monks to their Duty, because God does not love that Men should be forced to serve him, but that they should do it freely and without constraint.

The 6th. Epistle is to John Standouk, Doctor of Divinity of the Faculty of Paris, and Principal of Montagu-College, who had commenced a Law Suit for the Bishoprick of Rheims. He had a powerful Adversary who was supported by the Interest and Authority of the Court: That was William Briçonnet Cardinal Bishop of Nismes and St. Malo's, who had also several Abbies, and was named to the Archbishoprick of Rheims in 1497. after the Death of his Brother Robert Briçonnet. Our Monk earnestly exhorts Standouk to prosecute his Cause vigorously, and to maintain his own Rights, that so his Adversary, whom he did not think worthy of that great Charge, might not obtain it. He tells him, that he ought not to be frighted from prosecuting of that Cause, by the great Interest and Power of his Adversaries, or by the Toil and Fatigue which he would be necessitated to undergo in it; that he hoped the Justice of his Cause would bear him out; that he himself had formerly had a Controversy for the Great Mastership of Navarre-College against King Lewis, who was instigated against him by the Archbishop of Narbonne. That besides, he ought to call to mind the Holy Fathers, who defended the Cause of the Church, and triumphed in the end after much Toil and Labour; that tho' he should lose his Cause, yet his Merits would be nothing the less; that at least his Adversary would be thereby taught, that he ought not greedily to seek after all vacant Benefices; he adds, that he believed, that that Cause would be pleaded before the Parliament of Paris, where he hoped, he should find Men who feared God, and would support his Cause; that those who would not be for him, would yet be afraid to patronize Simony; that as for himself, he should assist him with his Prayers. In the Close of it, he advises him to wait upon the King, before he proceeded farther in it.

The 7th. Letter is written upon the same Subject, and to the same Person: He therein inveighs against the Ambition of Prelates.

The 8th. Epistle is written to Standouk against a Prior of Charlieu, whose way of living was very scandalous, and who had altogether ruined his Priory. He intreats Standouk to employ all the Interest he had at Court, for obtaining an Order from the King for reforming that place.

The 9th. is written to a Man, who had of a long time entertained Thoughts of leaving the World, and entering into a Monastery; he exhorts him to do it speedily, and refutes the Reasons or the Pretenses he made use of to excuse his Delay.

The Archbishop of Narbonne having complained to James d' Amboise Abbot of Cluny, against Raulinus, for the Letters he had written to Standouk, to encourage him to pursue his Suit against him for the Archbishoprick of Rheims; Raulinus writes his 10th. Epistle to the Abbot of Cluny, in which he justifies what he had done, and censures the Con-

duct of the Archbishop, who had three Bishopricks already, yet he complains of *Standouk*, for publishing what he writ to him. He complains of the same in the 13th. Epistle.

In the 11th. he invites one *Denis Potier* to embrace a monastick Life.

In the 12th. he acquaints a Monk of the Order of *Fontevrault*, that he had retired into a Monastery, and intreats him to send two Nuns of that Order, to the Abbess of *Charenton* in the Diocess of *Bourges*, to reform that Monastery: But because it might be pretended, that by the Constitutions of *Fontevrault* they could not let any Nun of that Order go out of the House, unless it were for some Reason expressed in the Statutes, he shews him, that they ought not to regard their Statutes so narrowly, as to neglect the reforming of another place, when there was a necessity for it; that the *Claustal* (a) *Prior* of *Cluny* having given to the Nuns of *Charenton*, the same Constitutions and Statutes with those of *Fontevrault*, it was absolutely necessary, that some Nuns of that Order should teach them the practice of them; that their Statutes did expressly except the case of reforming any Monasteries, which would follow the Rules of *Fontevrault*; that however, the Prelates and the Holy See could qualify the Statutes: That in a word, to remove all Scruples a Message was sent to *Rome* for obtaining the Pope's Breve, not only for allowing, but even for ordering them to send some Nuns to the Abbey of *Charenton*; that before *Easter* he might expect to see that Breve in good Form. He tells him there are three other Monasteries which desired also to be reformed, and he conjures him to assist them in so good a Work.

The 14th. Epistle is in praise of the Order of *Cluny*, and of the Way of living in that place; he thus speaks of his retiring to it. 'I was (says he) not long ago one of the first Men of the University of *Paris*, which is famous throughout the whole World, and Mother of all the Sciences; I had powerful Friends and Relations, I was honoured with the Favour of great Men and elevated almost to the Heavens. I was rich in Possessions, Offices and Benefices: Great Master of the famous College of *Navarre*. I lived deliciously, being every day invited, and as it were forced to go to Feasts. But while the World pleased me and cheated me, I took notice of some surprizing Deaths, which happened every day: I saw some learned Men who died like so many Beasts, and others who trembled at the point of Death, as if they had been going to be hang'd, and who suffered a dreadful Violence at their going out of the World: I observed, that some Men who were thought to be very rich, were found to be poor as soon as they were dead. I then called to mind the Words of *Solomon*, I praised the dead more than the living; It was this that made me to die to my self, and break the Iron Chains which fastened me to the World, and retire into this Solitude of *Cluny* 280 Miles from *Paris*, where I am dead at present.' In this Epistle he exhorts the Guardian of the Church of *Basil* to whom he writes, to imitate his Example.

The next is written to the same Man upon the same Subject.

The 16th. contains some ghostly Advices to the Monks of *St. Alban* of *Basil*.

In the 17th. he advises the Abbess of *St. Menulphus* to take care of the Reformation of the Convents of *St. Menulphus* and of *Moulins*, after the Example of the Convent of *Charenton*.

In the 18th. he gives some Advices to the Abbess of *Charenton*, how to govern her Convent.

The 19th. is written in the Name of *Peter Pouchin*, a Monk of Mount *St. Michael*, who had left that Monastery, and entered into that of *Cluny*. It is directed to the Abbot of Mount *St. Michael*. The Reason he gives for his leaving that Monastery is,

that they did not observe a regular Discipline so exactly there as at *Cluny*. He apologizes for his quitting that Monastery, without asking leave of his Superiors, because he knew that it would not have been granted him.

In the 20th. which is written to *Johannes Lentenius* a Doctor of *Paris*, and Canon of the City of *Constance*, he gives the Reasons why he had retired to *Cluny*, and exhorts him to send thither such of his Countrymen as were willing to engage in a monastick Life: He encourages him to oppose the Hereticks of *Germany* with his utmost Vigor.

There is nothing remarkable in the four following Epistles.

The 25th. is written to *Master Pinel* Doctor of Divinity of the Faculty of *Paris*, and his Successor in the Great Mastership of *Navarre-College*, who had written to him, that his betaking himself to a Monastery was taken amiss. He says, that he undervalued the Judgments, the Discourses, the Ralleries and Calumnies of Men, he being now dead to the World. He tells him, that he is not any longer concerned with the Complaints of his Relations. Then he speaks of the Affairs of his Family and of his Friends.

In the 26th. he exhorts the Person to whom it is written, speedily to embrace a monastick Life.

In the 27th. he treats of reforming the Monasteries, and of the Methods by which that ought to be done.

In the 31st. which is written to *Standouk*, he speaks against the depraved Manners of the Prelates of that time. He laments the Death of many great Men whom he was once acquainted with at *Paris*. He tells him that his Enemies railed against him, but that he did not fear them, and that he would continue to censure them, yet he declines to write a Letter of Admonition to the Prelates and Princes of the Church for this Reason, that if they would not give ear to the Preachers and Doctors whose Voice had more force than any thing that he could write, it was not to be expected, that his Letter should convert them; if they will not, says he, hear those who speak to them at hand, what regard will they have for a Letter that is written at a distance?

The 32^d. is addressed to *Franciscus Pinellus*; he desires him to write to him an Account of the State of *Navarre-College* and of the University. He takes notice of the Report that had passed, that he had disavowed what he had written in his Letters to *Standouk*; he assures him, that he did not say, that he repented of any thing he had written, or that he had altered his Opinion, but only that he did not take it in good part, that what he had written to him as his Friend, should have been made publick; he reproves *Pinellus* because he was not steadfast enough, and that he praised or flattered great Men, who edified the Church by their Words, but brought a Scandal upon it by their Actions.

In the next he thanks *John Varrambon*, for the Care he took of his Nephews.

The 34th. and 35th. are written to the Archdeacon of *Bourges*, whom he solicits to leave the World.

In the 36th. he laments the disorderly Practices of some Monks, and wishes they were chastised. He speaks of a synodical Letter which he had sent to the Vice Provincial of *St. Albans*, to whom he writes this Epistle, which being made publick might create him much Trouble at *Paris*, if it should be carried thither, because it would not please those whose Lives were a continual Reproach to their Characters, and also because he had some Enemies in that City.

The 37th. is addressed to the King's Confessor. He tells him that he was much mistaken, if he thought to find Rest in a place where no such thing was to be had; that to expect it at Court was as

[(a) A *Claustal Prior* is he that governs those Abbies or | Priories, which are held in *Commendam*.]

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Johannes Raulinus.
 great a Folly, as to expect to sleep in the midst of a raging Tempest, or to seek for dry Ground in the time of Rain; or to dream of living in Safety among Scorpions, or to think to find Apples growing in the Sea, or Fishes upon Trees. 'You are as yet,' says he, but a Novice at Court, I pray God you may live there till you be of an old standing, and of great Experience; and in case that shall happen, I advise you to avoid that Pomp and State, which makes not Men more valuable or more learned, but makes them appear more vain-glorious and proud. The Talent which is committed to you of conversing with the King see that you put it to use, that it may multiply as it is prescribed in the Gospel, speak to him for the Interest of a desolate Church, speak to him against those Thieves and Robbers, who destroy the People. Discover the naked Truth to him, he will love and esteem you the more for it. Truth, which hitherto is a Captive, does perhaps expect to be delivered by you. If you shall be her Deliverer, if you shall recal her from her Banishment, she will deliver you for the future: I know that you are in the midst of a Company of vicious People, therefore my dear Brother, I beseech you, by our mutual Friendship, and I conjure you by our Love in Jesus Christ, not to hazard your own Conscience, by diminishing their Crimes, or by giving a false Peace to their Consciences. It is oftentimes found, that a Word which a Man lets escape unawares does captivate his Conscience for ever, and he finds the Remorses of it in his last Moments, which sometimes cast him into Despair.'

In the 40th. Epistle which is written to the Bishop of Angers, Raulinus desires he would send him the Bull for reforming the Monasteries, which the late King Charles VIII. had obtained of the Pope.

The 41st. is addressed to one Picard a Counsellor of the Parliament of Paris. He therein endeavours to shew him, that an Election made by one Man is valid, provided that the Person elected be worthy and capable of the Charge to which he is elected: And provided that he who is elected by the greater Number, be unworthy of it. This Letter is written upon occasion of Standouk's Law-suit for the Archbishoprick of Rheims. He exhorts this Counsellor to prefer Standouk who was capable of governing the Flock of Jesus Christ, to the other who would suffer it to perish by his Negligence: And not to contribute to make one Man possess three Benefices.

He sent this Letter of Recommendation to Standouk, and wrote to him at the same time desiring him to revise it with Blambaston, and to correct in it what they thought amiss; this is the Subject of the two next Letters.

In the 43d. he exhorts Blambaston to turn Monk.

In the 44th. he treats of the Dispositions which those Men ought to have who enter into a monastick Life: And,

In the next, he exhorts the Archdeacon of Bourges to it.

In the 46th. he reproaches Philip Bourgoin for delaying to enter into a Monastery, since he designed to do it.

The 47th. contains some Instructions for a Nobleman.

One of Standouk's Scholars having offended King Lewis XII. by a Sermon which he had preached against him, for having divorced his Wife and married Queen Anne of Bretagne, Standouk was banished the Kingdom, and retired to Cambray, Raulinus comforts him in his Exile, by the 48th. Epistle; and gives him an Account of the Monasteries in the Reformation of which he was then employ'd.

The 48th. is to James Somville, in the Name of Gaillard de Ruse, Counsellor of the Parliament of Paris, and of Philip Burgoin, and Raulinus. They exhort him to contribute his Endeavours for reforming the Convent of Carmelites at Paris, which the Pope's Legate was to apply himself to; after he had once reformed the Houses of the preaching Friars and the Minorite Friars, and who by a Brief granted to those in whose Names this Epistle was written, had delegated them to reform that Convent of Carmelites, by expelling the scandalous Monks, and establishing good Order in it. The Prior of that Convent being dead, Somville was chosen in his place. They earnestly beseech him to come in all haste out of Flanders, where he then was, that he might turn that place into a House of God, which had before been the Sink of Hell. These are the very Terms in which he expresses himself.

In the 50th. Epistle, Raulinus intreats the Pope's Legate to accommodate the Difference between the Monks of the Order of Cluny and the Bishop of Valence, about the Priory of St. Martin in the Fields.

The next is addressed to the same Legate, he therein laments the Corruption of Manners in his time. He recommends to him a Monk who was one of his Disciples, and whom he sent to the Legate.

The 53d. is writ to the Parliament of Bourdeaux, about a Convent which belonged to the Abby of Cluny, and which some People would have taken from it.

The 54th. is a Letter of Consolation to the poor Scholars of Montague-College, upon Standouk's Banishment.

After these Epistles follows a Discourse, which he had in Navarre-College, upon St. Lewis's Day, wherein he speaks very free things about the Government of the State. Then a Panegyrick which was made by Sebastian Brant upon Raulinus's Retirement into a Monastery; and last of all, a Speech which Raulinus made in a full Chapter at Cluny, concerning the first Establishment, the Advancement, and the Re-establishment of the monastick State. In this last, there are some very useful Instructions for those that live in the World.

These Epistles of Raulinus are better writ than his Sermons; there are many things in them that may be very useful, but they are full of Allegories and Figures that are no way natural.

JOHANNES BAPTISTA SPAGNOLUS, Surnamed MANTUANUS.

J. Bapt. Spagnolus.
 Johannes Baptista Spagnolus, surnamed Mantuanus, because he was of the City of Mantua, was born, as he himself tells us, in the Year 1448. Paulus Jovius says, that the Family of the Spagnoli was an honourable Family at Mantua, but that Johannes Baptista was a Bastard: He took the Habit among the Carmelite Monks of Mantua, and was a very considerable Man of that Order.

He was six several times chosen Vicar General, and at last, they obliged him to accept of the Office of General of the Order, about the Year 1512. but

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at the end of three Years he resign'd that Office, and died March 20. 1516.

This Author is more famous among Poets than Divines; he had an admirable Genius for Poetry, but he spoil'd it as Lilius Gyraldus says, by composing too many Verses: At first he wrote some very good Poems, but when he became old, his Wit lost much of its Sprightliness; it must be confessed he had a wonderful Luxuriancy of Fancy; for he composed above 55000 Verses; he was happy in some of them, but they are not all alike; and Trithemius

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commends him more than he deserved, when he says that he excelled both in Prose and Verse.

An History of the Lives, and an Abridgement of the Works of the Authors of the former Part of the sixteenth Century. His Works have been divided into four Tomes, and printed at *Antwerp* in 1576. in Quarto, and also at *Paris* in two Volumes in Folio, in 1513. with the Commentaries of *Badius*, *Brantius*, and some others. Such of them as have any relation to ecclesiastical Affairs or moral Subjects are these: Seven Psalms published at *Bononia* in 1482. while the Pestilence was raging in that Place: Two Books of the Life of *St. Basil*: Three Books of the Life of *Nicolaus Tolentinus*. His *Parthenicon*, or Poems in honour of seven Virgins, the Virgin *Mary*, in three Books, *St. Catherine*, *St. Margaret*, *St. Agatha*, *St. Lucia*, *St. Apollonia*, and *St. Cecilia*, containing the Lives of those Saints, and their Martyrdoms: Three Books of the Life of *St. Dionysius the Areopagite*: A Book of the Life of *St. George*, and one of the Life of *St. Lewis Morbiolus* of *Bononia*: A Poem in honour of *St. John Baptist*: A Poem in honour of *Albertus a Carmelite* of *Sicily*: Three Books, of *Patience*, and of *Happiness*, and *Bliss*, in Prose: Three Books of

the Calamities of the Times, or of the seven deadly Sins: Some Verses upon his commencing Doctor of Divinity: Of the Nature of Love: And against Love: Of the Contempt of Death, and how a Man ought to support the Thoughts of it. A Treatise against Liars, and another against Slanderers: A Book of the different Interpretations of Holy Scripture: Ten Books of Eclogues. The first of honourable and disgraceful Love: The second of the Folly of Love: The third of the unhappy End of unlawful Amours: The fourth of the Nature of Women: The fifth of the way how rich Men use to deal with Poets: The sixth is a Dispute between Boors and Citizens: The seventh of the entering of young People into a monastick State: The eighth of Rustick Religion: The ninth of the Manners of the Court of Rome: The tenth is a Controversy betwixt the Friars of the Observance, and those that were not. Twelve Books of Fasts upon the Holy-days and Working-days for the twelve Months of the Year. A Treatise concerning the Place where Jesus Christ was conceived: The History of the Church of *Loretto*: An Apology for the Order of *Carmelites*, and some others.

G E O F R Y B O U S S A R D.

Geofry Bouffard. **G**eofry Bouffard was born of an honourable Family of that Name, in the Town of *Mans*. He was entered a Student in *Navarre-College* in the year 1456. being then 17 years of Age: And after he had there gone thro' his Humanity Studies, and a Course of Philosophy, he took the Degree of Master of Arts; and having lost both his Father and his Mother, he betook himself to teach Youth. He afterwards studied Divinity, was Licentiate, and after two years commenced Doctor, in the year 1489. He bestowed much useful Pains in publishing new Editions of some ancient Authors, as *Ruffinus's Ecclesiastical History*, and the Exposition on *St. Paul's Epistles* that is attributed to *Bede*. in 1505. he composed a Treatise of the Celibacy of the Clergy, in which he handles this Question, Whether it be in the Pope's Power to allow the Clergy to marry, and to what sort of Ecclesiasticks he may allow it. He there treats at large of the Celibacy of the Clergy with relation to the different Ages of the Church. He went to *Rome* about the year 1510. and came from *Rome* to *Bononia*, where he preached a Sermon before *Pope Julius II.* upon the Name of *Jesus*; he assisted at the Council of *Pisa*, and by the Order of that Synod, he brought to the University of *Paris*, the Treatise which *Cajetan* had written of the Authority of the Pope and of the Council.

In 1511. he published a little Treatise of the Sacrifice of the Mass. That same year he was made Chancellor of the Church of *Paris*. *John des Fossez* contended with him for that Preferment, but Judgment was given in favour of *Bouffard*. He was made Dean of the Faculty of *Paris*; and in 1518. he exchanged the Dignity of Chancellor with *Nicholas Donguy*, for a Benefice at *Mans*. He afterwards wrote a Commentary upon the seven Penitential Psalms, and prefix'd a Preface to it, in which he blames the Custom of those Authors, who dedicate their Works to any Person whom they honour, and make a thousand Lies to gain their Favours. He confesses that he himself was once subject to that Weakness, and that he was once resolved to have dedicated that Book to a Counsellor of the Parliament of *Paris*; but that having found his Error, he had altered his Resolutions. He then makes a humble and sincere Confession of his former State of Life; he acknowledges, that Ambition had carried him to seek for Honours and Preferments; that he had preached to others some Truths which he himself did not practise; that he had foolishly run after the good things of this World, without minding so much

as he ought to have done, the immense Glories of the next Life; that being obliged often to repeat the Offices of the Church, because of the many Benefices which he possessed, he had done it very carelessly; that at 17 years of Age he came to *Paris*, where he lived in *Navarre-College*, which was a School of Piety, and where he had many good Examples which he did not imitate; that in his Youth he courted the Favour of great Men and Prelates; that he did them many great Services; that he composed some Speeches for them, of which they reaped all the Honour and all the Profit; that he did this in hopes that they would have rewarded him for it; that all of them deceived him, and slighted him when they had no more need of him; that to his own Experience, he had found the truth of that Maxim, *Cursed is he that putteth his Trust in Man*. That therefore leaving lying and deceitful Men, he had his recourse to God alone, to whom he dedicated and offered that little Work, which was the Fruit of his Old-age. He acknowledges, that he deserved Damnation for his Sins, but he put his Hopes in the infinite Mercies of God, into whose Arms he did throw himself. This Piece (a) is writ in a very affecting and moving Stile.

His little Treatise concerning the Celibacy of the Clergy upon that Question, Whether the Pope can permit a Priest to marry, contains seven Propositions. The 1st. is, that it is and always has been permitted in every Place as well in the Eastern as in the Western Church, for the Clergy that are in the lesser Orders to marry. The 2^d. is, that it was allowed as well in the Eastern as in the Western Churches, from the very first beginning of the Church until the times of *Pope Siricius* and *Pope Innocent I.* to promote married Men to the higher Orders, even including that of the Priesthood, and the Priests as well as others were allowed to live with their Wives, without being debarred from the Functions of their Order. The 3^d. is, that since the time of *Pope Siricius* and *Pope Innocent I.* it seems that it had never been allowed in the Western Church, that married Men who lived with their Wives should be promoted to Deacons or Priests Orders, or that those who were promoted to these Orders should have Wives, or if they had any, they were obliged to promise, that they should live in Continency with them: But till the time of *Pope Gregory I.* married Men might be ordained Deacons, without obliging themselves to Continence. The 4th. is, that since the time of *Pope Gregory I.* it has never been allowed in the

[(a) It is *Priere* in the French, which I take to be an Erratum for *Piece*.]

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Geofry Bouffard.

Western Church to ordain any Deacons, but those who promise solemnly to live in Continnence. The 5th. is, that it is, and always has been allowed in the Greek and Oriental Churches, that those who are married, may be advanced to Orders, even including Priests Orders, and that they may live with their Wives. The 6th. is, that it is not, nor ever was allowed, that those who are already in Holy Orders, that is, those who are Priests, Deacons or Sub-deacons, should enter into a married State of Life. The 7th. is, that the Pope may in some Cases, grant a Dispensation to a Man that is in Holy Orders to marry. This Treatise was printed at Paris in 1505.

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His Sermon before Pope Julius II. in 1507. His short and methodical Exposition of the Sacrifice of the Mass, according to the Opinions of Gabriel Biel and Durandus, was printed Ann. 1511. and in 1520. And lastly, his Explanation of the seven Penitential Psalms in 1519. All these Treatises are in Latin; he wrote one in French, in which he prescribes Rules and Orders for Ladies and Women of all Ranks and Conditions, who resolve to live so as that they may please God.

He died at Mans about the year 1520. and was buried there in St. Vincent's Church.

JOHANNES LUDOVICUS VIVES.

J. Ludovicus Vives.
Geofry Bouffard.

Johannes Ludovicus Vives of Valencia in Spain, studied Philosophy at Paris, and afterwards went to Louvain, where he professed Humanity with so great Reputation, that he was chosen to be Preceptor to William de Crouy, who was afterwards Bishop of Cambray, Archbishop of Toledo, and Cardinal, and who died at Worms in January 1521. when he was 27 years of Age. After his Death Vives went into England in the 1522. to wait upon the Princess Mary, Daughter of King Henry VIII. and to teach her the Latin Tongue and the Belles Lettres. It was for her Use, that he composed his Treatise, *De ratione studii Puerilis*, Henry VIII. had such an Esteem of Vives, that he went to Oxford with Queen Catherine on purpose to hear his Lectures. Yet this Prince was so offended at him for the freedom he took of speaking and writing against the divorcing of his Queen, that he caused him to be taken into Custody, and he was for six Months a Prisoner in England: At last obtained Liberty to return to the Netherlands, and he resided at Bruges, where he married, and taught the Belles Lettres as long as he lived. We are not certain in what Year he died, some say it was in 1536. others in 1537. some in 1541. and others in 1545. He was forty eight Years of Age when he died.

Vives was not only an Excellent Humanist, a Judicious Critic, and an Eminent Philosopher; but he applied himself also to Divinity, and was successful in it. If the Critics admire his twenty Books of the Corruption and Decay of Arts and Sciences, and his five Books of the true Method of Teaching the Sciences, because of the profane Learning that appears in them, and the Solidity of his Judgment in these Matters; the Divines ought no less to esteem his five Books of the Truth of Religion, and his Commentary upon St. Augustine De Civitate Dei, in which he shows that he understood his Religion thoroughly.

The Preface to the five Books of the Truth of the Christian Religion, is very Judiciously written. He herein observes, that by the Fall of Adam, Man has received very great Wounds both in his Body and his Soul: that his Will which before his Fall, carried him directly to love his Sovereign Creator, began to turn away from that only true and perfect Good, and to encline to things which were intirely vain; that his Mind is become blind and ignorant; insomuch that of himself he can hardly know the Good, and the End at which he ought to aim; that this is the Reason, that Men even when they are instructed in their Duty by the Voice of God, do not believe what is taught them; and do not obey his Commands: That it is necessary to make use of Arguments from Reason, for perswading those who are without Faith, that tho' the Arguments which he proposes in this Book, are for the most part from human Reason, yet they may be said to be originally from the Word of God, because they would never have entered into the Thoughts of any Man, even of the most penetrating Judgment, if God had not taught us these hidden Truths by our Lord Jesus

J. Ludovicus Vives.
Geofry Bouffard.

Christ: That his design is not to support Divine Authority by human Reasons; but to show that Reason is not contrary to Religion. That there is not the least ground to fear, that any Man shall loose the Merits of his Faith by reading his Book; because tho' many of the Reasons which he proposes are strong and conclusive, yet none of them are of the Nature of those Arguments which convince us of the Truth of things by the Experience of our Senses: That no Man ought to find fault with him for treating of the Truth of Religion, since by that means Men sooner discover the Stratagems which the Devil makes use of to lead Men to Eternal misery: That if all Men were indued with the Holy Ghost, and with that spiritual Unction which reaches all things, than that alone would be sufficient; and there would not be any need of other Reasons or Arguments; but seeing that excellent Gift is not bestowed upon all Men; or at all times; a Man may therefore make use of Arguments from human Reason: That he is not the first that has done it: That he has therein followed the Examples of many Devout Authors: That no Man ought to think, that Faith can be produced or made perfect by these human Reasons, but that they may beget Dispositions in a Man to pray to God for the Grace of Faith; which is a free Gift tho' God bestows it upon all those who ask it of him: That all the design of this Book, is to show, to whom we ought to address our selves for obtaining the Grace of Faith; and in what manner we ought to do it; and through whom, namely, through our Lord Jesus Christ: That he has not written any thing to extol the Christian Religion; which does not need the Praises of Men, but only to confirm his Brethren and to perswade those who are Strangers to the Faith to partake of so great a Blessing: That he knows not what success his Book may have, but that he wrote it with great Satisfaction to himself, and in good hopes that it might not be without Success. That he had taken care to do it in so clear and perspicuous a manner, that all those who would read it with Attention, might understand the Arguments which he makes use of.

The first Book is concerning Man and God. He first shows, that there is a necessity that all Actions be directed to some End, and that this End ought to be known: Then he shows that in our Enquiries after it, we may make use of our Reason, and that true Religion is not in the least afraid of true Reason: That though Reason ought not to be the Rule of our Faith; yet it conducts us to that Rule. At last he speaks of the Nature of those Reasons which he makes use of; and of their Strength and Force: After an Introduction of this kind, he describes the Nature of Man, and shows, that it is impossible for him to obtain his End or Happiness in this Life; that therefore he ought to expect another Life, in which his Happiness is to consist in the Love of God. He represents the Nature and Attributes of God. He proves that God has created all things, and that

he governs all things by his Providence; that the World has had a beginning; that there are Spirits, and that the Soul is immortal. He treats of the Fall of Angels and of Men, and shows, that our Nature is corrupted.

In the 2^d. Book, which is concerning Jesus Christ, he gives the History of Religion from *Noah* till the coming of our Blessed Saviour, who came to reveal to us those Mysteries which Reason could never have discovered, and among the rest that of the Trinity; he shows, that it was expedient, that God should come to deliver Man from Misery, and from the Corruption of his Nature; that this was a proper Work for the Person of the Son: That he could not accomplish it any better way, than by cloathing himself with human Nature: That his Life, his Death, his Doctrine and his Design in every thing that he did, are Authentick Proofs of his Divinity: That his coming was foretold by the Prophets, and prefigured by the Law: That the History of the Gospel, is a true History: That there is not any thing more excellent than the Doctrine of the Gospel, or any thing more to be admired than the Life and Actions of our Blessed Saviour: That the Miracles which he wrought do clearly prove his Divinity: That his Death is full of Mysteries: That he gave a manifest Demonstration that he died voluntarily, by foretelling before his Death, that his Gospel should be Preached to all the World: That before he died he instituted a Sacrament. in which his Body is present after an incomprehensible manner: That his Resurrection, Ascension, and the Mission of the Holy Ghost are unquestionable Proofs of his Divinity, and of the Truth of his Doctrine, as are also the Preaching of the Gospel, the Constancy of the Martyrs, the Establishment and the perpetual Preservation of the Church: And then he brings suitable Arguments from Reason for the Credibility of the Resurrection, and of the last Judgment, and treats briefly of Predestination. He thinks that God gives Grace to all Men, by the Assistance of which, if they make a right use of it, they may advance to a greater Perfection. Yet he confesses that God grants some special Graces to some particular Persons: And that in Questions of this Nature, we ought rather to adore the Purposes of God than to be too inquisitive into them.

The 3^d. Book is written by way of a Dialogue, betwixt a Jew and a Christian: The Christian proves to the Jew, by some Passages of the Law and of the Prophets: First, that the Jews have imperfect Notions of the Nature of God, and of the Blessedness of the next Life: Secondly, that the Jewish Law was but temporary, that God did not design that it should be perpetual, but that it should at last be abolished. Thirdly, that the Jews were to be dispersed, and the Gentiles to be called, after the coming of the Messiah: Fourthly, that Jesus Christ is the Messiah foretold by the Prophets, and that all the Prophecies concerning the Messiah are accomplished in his Person. Fifthly, that the things which ought to have come to pass after the coming of the Messiah, did come to pass after the coming of Jesus Christ.

The 4th. Book against Mahometanism, is also in Form of a Dialogue between a Christian and a Mahometan. The Christian shews, that no Faith ought to be given to *Mahomet*; that his Religion was established only by Force of Arms; that the *Alcoran* is an obscure Book, and full of Falshoods; that *Mahomet's* Thoughts concerning the Nature of God are altogether gross; that what he says of the Nature

of things is absolutely fabulous; that there is nothing in the Laws and Morals of the Mahometans, but what is worldly and carnal; and that the Blessedness which *Mahomet* proposes, is more worthy of a Hog than of a Man.

The 5th. Book is of the Excellency of the Christian Doctrine; in which *Vives* gives an account of the best Maxims of Gospel-Morals, concerning the Worship and the Love of God, and concerning Wealth, Prosperity, Adversity, Death, Peace of the Common-wealth and of Families, and the Practice of Christian Virtues; he shews, that they differ as much from the common Sentiments of Men, as Light does from Darkness; and that they were as far above the Opinions of the Philosophers, as the Heavens are above the Earth.

'Tis to no purpose to offer to give an Abstract of *Vives's* Commentary upon St. *Augustine's* Books, *De Civitate Dei*. Such an Account cannot be given of Works of that kind: All I shall take notice of is, that there is abundance both of ecclesiastical and prophane Learning in it; and that some People have been offended at the too great Liberty which *Vives* took in writing it. The Doctors of *Louvain* censured some Passages in it which were too bold and too free, and left them out in that Edition which they published of this Commentary with St. *Augustine's* Books of the City of God. *Scaliger* pass'd a right Judgment of it when he said, that it may pass for an excellent Commentary, with relation to the time in which it was written, but that with relation to our time it is of very little value. It seems those who published the last Edition of St. *Augustine's* Works had the same Opinion of it, for they have not thought it worthy of a Place in that Edition.

There are also some other Books of *Vives* which have some relation to Christian Ethicks, as his three Books of the Soul and of Life; his Treatises, of the Duty of a Husband, and of the Instruction of a Christian Woman, of Concord and Discord, of the Condition of the Christians under the Turk, of the Relief of the poor, of Community of Goods, of the War against the Turks: Tho' these Treatises are rather philosophical or political, than theological. The Triumph of Jesus Christ; a Panegyrick upon the blessed Virgin; Paraphrases of the seven Penitential Psalms, or Meditations upon them; a Commentary upon the Lord's Prayer; many Prayers and Meditations, an Office and a Sermon upon our Saviour's bloody Sweat, all which properly belong to Religion, tho' he treats of those Subjects rather like an Orator than a Divine; *Vives* his Style is pure, but something hard and stiff. He affects too much to shew his Learning, and imitates the Heathen Philosophers too servilely. His Logick is something like that of the ancient Stoicks, which is not so obscure as that of the Schools, but yet has its Difficulties and Niceties. Some Authors who speak of the *Triumviri* of the Republick of Letters in the beginning of the sixteenth Century say, that *Vives* was the most judicious of the three, *Budeus* the finest Wit, and *Erasmus* the best Orator. For my part, I cannot approve of that Judgment: *Erasmus* was without all doubt a Man of a firmer Wit, of more universal Learning, and of a more solid Judgment than *Vives*; *Budeus* had more Skill in the Languages and in prophane Learning than the other two; and *Vives* excelled in Grammar, Rhetorick and Logick; and besides, *Erasmus* has writ more Books of Divinity than *Vives*, and they are much more considerable, and infinitely more useful than the Books of *Vives* are.

An History of the Lives, and an Abridgment of the Works of the Authors of the former part of the sixteenth Century.

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CLAUDIUS SEYSSELIUS, Archbishop of TURIN.

Claudius Seysselius born at Aix in Savoy, was for his great Parts deservedly advanced to considerable Employments. First, he was Master of Requests, and Counsellor to Lewis XII. and assisted in the Name of that Prince, in the Lateran Council under Pope Leo X. He was elected Bishop of Marseilles by the Chapter of that Church, in the Year 1509. He took possession of that Bishoprick in 1515, and in 1517. he exchanged it for the Archbishoprick of Turin with Cardinal Innocent Cibo; but he did not enjoy that Archbishoprick long, for he died the first Day of June, 1520.

Seysselius was a learned Lawyer, and professed Law with great Applause in the City of Turin; he was also a great Statesman, and a Divine; he wrote some Books answering to every one of those three Characters; as a Lawyer, he wrote *Commentaries upon the Civil Law*, and a *Treatise of Fiefs*, *Speculum Feudorum*; as a Statesman, he wrote a *Treatise of the Duty of Kings*, another of the *Monarchy of France*, and the *History of Lewis XII.* and as a Divine, he wrote a *Treatise against the Vaudois*: Three Books of *Providence*, a *Commentary upon the first three Chapters of St. Luke*, or a *Treatise of the three States of a way-faring Man* dedicated to Pope Leo X. he also translated many of the Works of the Ancients into French, and among the rest Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History.

His Treatise against the *Vaudois*, intituled *Disputationes contra Errores & Sectam Waldensium*, was the Product of his pastoral Care: For finding that those Tares were spread thro' his Diocess, he endeavoured like a good Pastor to root them out, tho' they had taken Root there upwards of 200 Years before; and tho' the sovereign Powers had to no purpose endeavoured, by all the Methods they could think of, to destroy that Sect, yet he flattered himself with the Hopes of succeeding in this Design, because the *Vaudois*, who before that time could not endure any Bishop or Priest, or so much as to hear Religion spoken of, did at first receive him kindly, and heard his Sermons attentively, and seem'd to applaud what he said: And when he gave them private Admonitions, they promised willingly to do every thing that he would enjoin them; and besides, they charged their Separation from the Church upon the Negligence or Ignorance of the Priests, and desired that some Abuses which had been introduced might be reformed; his Hopes were also cherished by the voluntary Conversion of four of that Sect, who had some time before turned Catholicks after a very edifying manner.

The Method which he proposes to himself in this Controversy, is to trace this Sect up to its first Original, to discover the true Causes which engaged the Hereticks in that Error, and which makes them continue in it, and to refute them rather by plain Reasons adapted to their weak Capacities, than by theological Arguments or the Authorities of the Fathers, for whom they had no regard; for they adhered only to the Authority of the sacred Scriptures. He therefore made it his chief Business in his Sermons to refute the Errors of the *Vaudois* by express Testimonies of Scripture, or by plain and natural Reasons, but because what he had preached in his Sermons, might easily escape the Memories of those that heard them, he thought it best to reduce the whole of it to this Treatise, that it might be useful to those who were employ'd in converting them: And he gives this following Account of the Rise and Progress of the Sect of the *Vaudois*.

The Author of this Sect was a Man of the City of Lyons, of mean Parentage, and who had neither Learning, nor Reputation, nor Virtue. Some

of them pretended that their Sect owed its first Original to one Leo, who lived in the time of Constantine, and who separated as they pretended from Pope Silvester; but this is a groundless Fable, for there is not so much as one ancient Author that speaks any thing of this Leo. The true Author of it was named Waldo, who under a shew of Poverty and Holiness, drew after him some simple and ignorant People, and began to spread abroad his Errors in Lyons, and the Country about it, under pretence of Reformation. The number of his Followers being increased, they were banished out of Lyons, and they retired to these Mountains, hoping with less Difficulty, to persuade the Boors (who have neither Learning nor Sense) to be of their Parry; and being successful in this Design, their Sect spread it self farther, and some Men of Learning, who were prepossessed with pernicious Principles, or who hated the Clergy, joined with them. Those of them who looked upon themselves as Men of the best Parts, cited some Texts of Scripture, which they explained according to their own Sense, without admitting the Explanations of the Fathers. They considered only the literal Sense, and gave always the same Answer to every thing that was objected against them, which was, that the Bishop of Rome and the Clergy of that Church had corrupted the Holy Scriptures by their Tenents and Glosses: They adhered obstinately to their Opinions, and would not yield in the least, how convincing soever the Arguments were that were brought against them; so that it was stupid or wilful Ignorance that was the Cause and Original of this Heresie. And the Reason why they continued it was, because their Doctrine indulged them in some things which Men of a mean and despicable Condition earnestly wish for; for who is the Man of that Condition, that is not well pleased when it is told him, that he is not subject to any Person; that he may keep all that he has, without parting with any thing of it; and that he may live as he pleases without being subject to any Law. It is by this means, that Mahomet engaged such vast Numbers of People in his Religion, by indulging Men in all the Pleasures of Sense. The *Vaudois* or *Waldenses* take occasion from the Avarice of the Ministers of the Church to say, that People ought not to obey any of them, no, not the sovereign Bishop himself; because all of them are wicked Men, and do not imitate the Apostles in their Lives, and therefore have lost their Authority, and cannot any longer be the Catholick Church, so that People are not any longer under Obligations to obey their Constitutions or Ordinances. Upon this account it is, that the *Waldenses* do not fear the Censures of the Church; do not acknowledge the Authority of Bishops and Priests; this Error exempts them from many personal and real Charges: For they pay no Tithes, they make no Offerings, they observe not the Festivals of the Saints, because they do not believe that Men have any need of their Intercessions; they celebrate no Fasts in their Honour. In a word, they do not think themselves obliged to obey any Law, and hence it comes, that they teach that Marriages betwixt Relations are lawful, except in the first and second Degrees, they believe, that Prayers for the Dead are useless and superstitious; they deny the Authority of the Priests, and assert, that People ought not to confess to them, or receive the Sacraments from their Hands, and they undervalue that Law which commands all Christians to confess and to communicate once a Year. These are the principal means which the Devil has made

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use of for introducing and supporting the Sect of the *Waldenses*: Yet it must be confels'd (says *Seyffelius*) that the Immoralities, the Ignorance, and the Covetousness of the Clergy, who have thereby dishonoured their Ministry, have contributed to harden the *Waldenses* in their Errors. The Continuance of Princes, who have suffered them to settle in their Dominions, who have supported them underhand, and have acquitted them for Money, has likewise contributed to the Continuance of this Sect; and lastly, it has been also supported by this, that bating their Opinions against Faith and Religion, they as to all other things live purer and holier Lives than other Christians do: For they do not swear at all, unless they be forced to it; and it is seldom that they take the Name of God in vain. They keep their Promises faithfully; and the most part of them living in Poverty say, that they are the only People who live Apostolical Lives, and on that account they pretend, that the Power of the Church remains only in their Society.

Seyffelius having given this Account of the Rise and Progress of the Sect of the *Waldenses*, falls next upon their fundamental Error, which is the Cause of all the rest; which is, that they only are the true Church, and that the Church of *Rome* is but a Prostitute which teaches an infinite number of Errors. The Principle upon which this Error of theirs is founded is, that the sacerdotal Power depends so much upon the personal Merits of the Ministers, that the one is inseparable from the other; from whence they conclude, that seeing the Bishops and Priests of the Church of *Rome*, do not lead such Lives as the Apostles did, they have lost all Authority, and that the Ecclesiastical Power is lodged only in them who obey the Precepts of Jesus Christ, and imitate the Apostles in every thing; they defend this Principle by some Passages of Scripture. Jesus Christ, (say they) gave the Power of the Keys to *Peter*, only on account of his Faith and the Confession he made of it; he chose none for Apostles but only those whom he knew to be Men of true Virtue; he ordered that his Ministers should follow his Example, that they should abide in him, and that they should bear good Fruit. Those then who do not so, are not his Ministers, but are Branches cut off and separated from the Stock, the Children of the Devil and ravening Wolves. How is it possible that they should appease the Wrath of God, seeing they are his Enemies? How can they have the Keys of the Kingdom of God, seeing they themselves are excluded out of it? How can they convey the Graces of God's Holy Spirit by the Sacraments, seeing they themselves are deprived of them? Is it to be believed, that God has committed his Power to a Person whom he knows to be unworthy of it, or that he has intrusted his Flock to a Wolf, or his Spouse to an infamous Wretch? To all this they add many Authorities from Scripture against the Ministers and the Prophets who are charged with Iniquities and Crimes. Then *Seyffelius* produces the Accusations of the *Waldenses* against the Prelates of the Church of *Rome*. 'Besides, that they asperse us falsely (says he) in many things, and that they pass many rash Judgments against us, we shall shew after having related what they say against us, that they are mistaken in the Consequences which they draw from those things. They say, that the Bishop of *Rome*, and the other Prelates and Priests, do not at all imitate the Life, or obey the Precepts of Jesus Christ and his Apostles; but that they do the quite contrary, and in so publick a manner too, that their Actions cannot be concealed, or doubted of, or palliated: On the contrary, say they, they glory in that which is most opposite to Religion, and they seem not only to despise the Rules which were given by Jesus Christ and his Apostles, but even to expose them and to mock at them; for Jesus Christ and his Apostles lived in Poverty, Humility, Chastity and Abstinence from all carnal

things, and in a great contempt of the World, whereas we, who are the Prelates and Priests of the *Roman Church*, live in State and in Luxury, preferring the Grandeur of Princes to the sacerdotal Holiness. All our Endeavours and all the Steps we take, tend only to recommend us to the Eyes of Men, not by our Virtue or the Holiness of our Lives, or by our Doctrine, but by the Abundance of our Riches, by great Exploits in War, by numerous Retinues, and by all kinds of Magnificence. The Apostles would not possess any thing in property, and received only those who parted with their Goods, and put them into the common Stock. Whereas we are not content with what we have, but with a boundless Desire covet also other Mens Goods, and declare our selves their Enemies, or commit Acts of Hostility that we may obtain them. The Apostles went through Towns and Villages preaching the Word of God with Success, and practising Works of Charity, whereas we not only do not any such thing, but we also oppose those who are employ'd in such Exercises, and give them Examples of all kinds of irregular Practices. The primitive Bishops were ordained whether they would or not, by the divine Appointment or Inspiration, for the Salvation of others, whereas we purchase our Bishopricks and Benefices with Money, or we obtain them by Intrigues of Court, or by Recommendations from Princes, or by Violence, or by other sinister Methods, that we may gratifie our Passions, or enrich our Friends, or acquire a great Reputation or Honour in this World. They spent their whole Lives in hard Labours, Watchings and Austerities, and spared no pains to shew others the Way of Salvation; whereas we pass the whole time of our Life in Idleness and Pleasures, and in worldly Business. They despised Gold and Silver, and dispenced Blessings freely, as they had received them, whereas we do as it were expose sacred things to sale. In a word, to pass by other things, of which they impudently accuse us, we violate and break thro' all Laws divine and human; insomuch, that the Church of *Rome*, as they pretend, cannot any longer be called the Spouse of Christ, but a Where or a Prostitute.'

Seyffelius first refutes the fundamental Principle of the Sect of the *Waldenses*, which is, that the Power of the Keys depends upon the personal Sanctity of the Ministers, and that no Man can be Successor to the Apostles in their Authority but he who follows their Example, and imitates them in their Lives. First (says he) seeing there is no Man who can imitate them perfectly, then if this Principle be true, it will follow, that since their Days there has never been any Bishop in the Church. The *Waldenses* themselves acknowledge, that this great Apostolical Perfection is not necessary; and they believe, that it is enough if the Ministers be free from mortal Sin: But if that were true, then there would not be any known or visible Church, or any Minister of whose Power we could be assured, because it is impossible that a Man can know whether the Person to whom he addresses himself be guilty of mortal Sin or not. A Man does not know whether he himself be in a State of Grace or not, how then can he know it of others. This Uncertainty throws them into a great many Inconveniences. First, we could not be obliged to obey any Man; 2dly. the Church would be without a constant Ministry; 3dly. no Man could know whether he were truly baptized, or were a Christian; 4thly. every Man might reject or chuse for his Superior whomsoever he pleased; 5thly. there could not be any Election made of Ministers; 6thly. at every turn Men might call the Power of the Ministers into question, because they are always liable to sin; 7thly. it would be necessary to ordain, nay and to rebaptize all those who committed mortal Sin.' The *Barbs* (for so were the Ministers of the *Waldenses* called at that time) say, that they do

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do not deny but that the Ministers, whose Sins are not known, have power to administer the Sacraments in due Form, and they confess that they ought to be obey'd; but they say, that those whose Crimes are publickly known, ought not to be look'd upon as true Ministers; to this *Seysfelius* opposes the Law in the 4th. Chapter of *Leviticus*, *If the Priest do sin, and make the People to sin, he shall offer for his Sin, a young Bullock without Blemish.* Here (says he) a Supposition is made, that the Priest is a notorious Sinner, seeing he causes other People to sin; yet the Law does not ordain, that he shall be no longer Priest, but only that he shall expiate his Sin by a Sacrifice. Now if under the ancient Law, which was so strict and rigorous, a Priest was tolerated, tho' his Sin was publick and known, provided he did Penance for it, how much more ought the same thing to be done under the Law of Grace?

There is one Expression of our blessed Saviour, which in the Opinion of the *Waldenses*, made much to their purpose, when he says, *You shall know them by their Fruits.* *Seysfelius* answers, that in that Passage Jesus Christ speaks of the false Prophets, who have no power from God, and that our Saviour says in another place, that his Disciples ought to observe and do whatsoever the wicked Priests should bid them observe, because they sat in *Moses' Seat*, tho' they ought not to imitate their wicked Actions, or follow them in their Doctrine, when they taught any thing that was contrary to the Faith; that this is the only case wherein those whose Duty 'tis to obey, are permitted to judge of their Superiors; that this Liberty cannot be farther extended, without a total Subversion of the Ecclesiastical State, and making the Power of the Keys uncertain and useless. *Seysfelius* proves them both from the Old and New Testament, that People ought to obey the Priests, even tho' they do not live religious Lives; he proves this from the Old Testament, by shewing that those who were lineally descended from *Aaron*, were always acknowledged for lawful Priests, tho' there were some of them who were undoubtedly very profligate Persons: And he proves it from the New Testament, by citing that Saying of our blessed Saviour's, *The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses Seat, hearken to what they say, but do not after their Works.* And he proposes the Example of our Saviour himself, who after he had cured the Leper, sent him to the Priests, and who himself submitted to the Priests of that Law. Among the Apostles there was a Traytor, and a wicked Person, yet Jesus Christ says of all his Apostles, *He who despises you, despises me:* And it is probable, that this wicked Person had power as well as the rest to cast out Devils. He was of the Number of those of whom Jesus Christ says, that at the Day of Judgment there shall be Reprobates, who will say unto him, *have we not in thy Name cast out Devils?* But he will answer them, *I know not whence you are, I never knew you;* which Words shew clearly, that at the very time that they wrought these Miracles, they were not in a State of Grace. Now, if God makes use of wicked People, even to work Miracles, much more may he by his Sacraments convey the Graces of his Spirit to those who do worthily receive them, even when the Ministers of the Church, who administer those Sacraments, are wicked Men, which God forbid they should be. The Apostle *St. Paul* speaks clearly, when he gives a general Command to all Christians, *to obey them who have the Rule over them, and so submit themselves, because they watch for their Souls as they that must give an account.* God requires an account from the Bad as well as the Good, of the Flock which he entrusted them with; so that the People are as much obliged to obey the one as the other; how wicked soever they may be, yet all of them are God's Deputies upon Earth, inasmuch as they are the Guides of the People: *For the Powers that be, are ordained of God, according to St. Paul, and whosoever resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordina-*

nance of God. The Primitive Christians submitted to Princes who were Heathens and Infidels: In a word, it is not the personal Merit of the Minister that is effectual, but the Merit of that which he is the Minister of, as appears from the Passage of the Apostle *St. James*, concerning the anointing of the Sick; where he does not say, that the Prayers of the Priest shall save the Sick, but the Prayer of Faith, *Oratio Fidei*, that is the Merits of the Church, in the Faith of which that Prayer is made.

These Principles being once Established, *Seysfelius* answers the Objection which the *Waldenses* made against them; namely, that when the Final Causes of the Priesthood do cease in the Ministers of the Church, then the Priesthood it self ceases also: But the design and end of the Priesthood is Fervency of Faith and Charity, the Fruit of sound Doctrine and of a good Life, and the Ministers of the Church have neither Faith, Charity nor Piety, therefore, &c. *Seysfelius* accuses the *Waldenses* of passing a rash Judgment upon the Ministers of the Church; but says he, tho' our Vices were as great and as publick as they would make the World believe they are, and tho' no Excuse could be pleaded for them, tho' he who is Elected the Sovereign Bishop or Pope were stained with so many Crimes, that no Good or Benefit could be expected from him, yet does the Authority of the Church upon that account cease in his Person, if he be lawfully Elected?

The principal End of the Institution of the Priesthood does not cease, because it is not founded upon his person, who is only the Instrument of the Church, by which the Grace of Jesus Christ does operate: And therefore, Jesus Christ says not, that he built his Church upon *St. Peter's* Person, but upon himself, who is the true Rock: And his Foundation remaining always firm, he influences and operates how wicked soever the Minister may be. Just as in the State, the Judges, tho' wicked and unjust, do not lose their Authority which is founded upon that of the Prince, in whose Name they administer Justice, and whose Authority is respected in them. The Bishops and Priests may be considered in two manners; either as they are private Persons, that is reasonable Creatures, or as they are in publick Stations: As they are Men, they are acceptable or unacceptable unto God, according to the Good or Ill which they do; but as they are publick Ministers of the Church, whether they be good or bad, they have the same Authority, and cannot be deprived of it, but by Death, or by a Sentence of the Church. If a Minister who is a wicked Man, shall ask any thing of God for himself, his Sins may deserve that God should not hear his Prayers; but if by virtue of his Priesthood, and in the Faith of the Church, he Prays for the Flock that is intrusted to him, there is not the least doubt but he deserves to be heard, if what he ask's be just: When it is said, that wicked Men cannot be the Disciples of Jesus Christ, but a Minister of Jesus Christ ought to be his Disciple, it is an Equivocation. For one who follows the Doctrine and imitates the Life of his Master, may be called Disciple, and in this Sense wicked and irreligious Men are not the Disciples of Jesus Christ; but if we consider the Office and Function which they exercise, they may in that Sense be called the Ministers of Jesus Christ, as the Doctors of the Law are called the Disciples of *Moses*. *Seysfelius* confesses, that it were much to be wished, that the Personal Sanctity of the Minister did always accompany the Sacerdotal Power, but seeing the Efficacy of the Sacraments does not depend upon the Personal Merit of the Minister, but upon his Authority; therefore a Priest, tho' he be a wicked Man, yet he has more Authority with regard to the Administration of them, than the most pious and devout Lay-men. To prove that this Distincti-

on between a publick Minister of the Church and a private Man in the Person of a Priest is founded upon the Sacred Scripture, he cites that Passage of St. Paul to Timothy. *The Priests who rule well are worthy of double Honour.* This double Honour supposes two Qualities in them, one Honour is to be paid to their Virtue, and another to their Authority. When it is said in the Prophets that the Sacrifices which were offered by wicked Men were an Abomination to the Lord: It is to be understood not only of the Wickedness of the Priest, but also of the Wickedness of all the People. Jesus Christ recommends to his Ministers to live holy and pure Lives; but he does not say, that if they do it not, they shall loose all that Power which he gave them. *Seyffelius* Examines farther whether it be enjoined by way of Precept, that we should part with all our Goods; and he proves by many Examples from the Sacred Scriptures, that it can be only a Counsel. He shows that Riches are not evil in themselves, and that it is only the wrong use that People make of them, that is condemned. He proves, that Ministers of the Gospel are not forbidden to have Goods in Property, and that they are allowed to possess Tithes and what else is necessary to support them in their needs. He then exhorts the *Waldenses* to reverence the Authority of Jesus Christ and his Apostles, in the Ministers of the Gospel, even when their Lives are not altogether conformable to theirs: Yet he confesses, that those who do not profess the true Faith, cannot be lawful Ministers, and that they are not of the Church, and People are not bound to obey them. He acknowledges also, that Men ought not to obey even their Lawful Superiours, when they command any thing that is manifestly contrary to the Law of God; but he still maintains, that in things that are indifferent, their Orders ought to be obeyed. If says he, the Bishop shall command you, or prohibit you to fast or to feast, or to give Money for any pious use, &c. Tho' you have reason to believe, that he is guilty of a Sin, and that he acts out of an ill Intention, yet you ought patiently to bear with him, and humbly to obey him.

Seyffelius having answered the Objections of the *Waldenses* against the Church, proceeds next to shew that their Society cannot be the true Church; and for the proving this, he in the first place upbraids them with the want of Succession in their Ministers, he then considers the different Senses in which the word Church is taken; first, it is only for the just. Secondly, for a visible Society, composed both of good and bad People, which Society is holy in the faithful Members of it, because of their Holiness; and it is holy in all it's Members, because of the Purity of its Faith, and of the Religion which they all profess. This being premised, he shews that the *Waldenses* cannot be the true Church, in any of these two Senses: For first they cannot say say, that they have the true Faith, seeing their Doctrine is contrary to that of all the Churches, and they cannot prove the Truth of it by Miracles. Secondly, it is in vain for them to boast of imitating the Life of Jesus Christ and his Apostles, for they do not follow them either in their Conduct or in their Maxims: For Jesus Christ and his Apostles went into the Synagogues, and boldly preached the Truth; whereas the *Barbs* on the contrary, skulk and have not the Courage to own their Doctrine avowedly, even when they are brought before Judges and Magistrates which is evidently contrary to the Command of Jesus Christ; and some of them do openly deny too, that they are of that Sect: Besides, there are other Commands of Jesus Christ which they do not at all observe, as when a Man does smite any of them on the Cheek, to turn to him the other; to pray for those who persecute them; to pluck out their Eyes, and to cut off their Hands and their Feet, when those Members offend them; and as little do they regularly observe the Rules of Chasti-

ty, for they commit Incest and are not punished for it. The most part of them are void both of Candour and Charity: if there be a greater Number of vicious Persons among the Catholicks than among the *Waldenses*, it is because there are many more Catholicks than there are *Waldenses*: Yet there is no need of such a Supposition, for among the Catholicks there are some Christians who do much more exactly imitate the Apostolical Life, than any of the *Waldenses* do; as the Monks of many several Orders, and a great many among the Laity, who lead very innocent Lives. As to what concerns Doctrine, there is no Comparison between the Catholicks and the *Waldenses*: Those are Eminent for their Knowledge of Divine things, whereas these live in gross Ignorance. *Seyffelius* then makes this Conclusion from all that he has said, that the *Waldenses* are neither the Catholick Church, nor Members of the Catholick Church, but that they are so many Heretics, who have separated from it, and who cannot have Jesus Christ for their Father, seeing they have not his Church for their Mother.

The second Errour of the *Waldenses* which *Seyffelius* refutes, is, that the Bishops and Priests are not the only Persons, who have a Right to preach the Word of God: That all the faithful without Distinction may do it. He shews, that this Maxim is contrary to the Gospel, and to good Sense, and that it is extremely pernicious. It is the same as to the Administration of the Sacraments, the Power of which the *Waldenses* grant to all Christians without any Distinction, and particularly the Right of confessing and absolving, which they say is founded upon that Passage of St. James, *confess your Faults one to another.* *Seyffelius* shews, that these Words ought not to be understood of Sacramental Confession, and that the Exercise of the Power of the Keys was only granted to the Apostles, and their Successors. He refutes also the Opinion of the *Waldenses*, that Men ought not to use any other Prayer, but the Lords Prayer. He acknowledges that the Lord's Prayer is sufficient for asking of God every thing that we stand in need of: But he says, that we are not prohibited to make particular Requests, seeing we have Examples for both in the Old and New Testament. He says as to the Sacrament of the Eucharist, that there are some of the *Waldenses*, who, that they may seem more ingenious than others are, do reason after such a manner about this Mystery, that no Man can understand their meaning; that such of them as he spoke to, being but Clownish People, could not understand either what the *Barbs* said to them upon that Subject, or the manner in which the Catholick Divines explained that Mystery: That it is sufficient to teach those who become Converts, that Jesus Christ is really in the Host which they adore. Then *Seyffelius* defends the Priest's Benedictions which the *Waldenses* laughed at, as the Blessing of Holy Water and of Church-yards: And to silence them in this matter, he gives them many Examples of such Benedictions taken out of the Old and New Testament. He shews, that tho' the Blessing of Holy Water, and the other benedictions that are practised in the Church, were not instituted by Jesus Christ and his Apostles, yet they are Ancient Customs, and instituted by the Church; and as to the Effects that those things that are consecrated may have, he says, 'That we are not so ignorant as to believe, ' that Men are sanctified by Holy Water or Holy ' Ground, excepting only as they are thereby made ' worthy of receiving Grace: For which Reason, ' says he, those who live in mortal Sin, do not ' receive any Blessing, even when the Holy Water ' is cast upon them; but those who are in a State ' of Grace, do for their Humility and the Respect ' they have for the Ceremonies of the Church, ' merit that their Grace should be increased: And ' the thing that is consecrated receives the Virtue ' that God thinks fit to communicate to it, for the ' sake

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 sake of the Merits of the Person that makes use of it. In a word, all the Ceremonies have been introduced into the Church for this very end, that by external Signs, Men might be allured to the Worship of God. As to the consecrating of Churchyards, he confesses, that it does not contribute in the least to the Salvation of the deceased, but that the end for which it was introduced, was to distinguish the Faithful from the Wicked, even after Death. The *Waldenses* objected, that the Priests exacted too much for Burials. He condemns also those who thus exacted upon the People; but he says, that their Covetousness does not deprive the Souls in Purgatory of the Benefit of the Prayers and Intercessions of the Living: And he observes withal, that it is but just, that the People should give the Priests a sufficient Maintenance, and that it is for their Subsistence, that the Church has appointed Tithes. There is greater Difficulty in the matter of Indulgences, but *Seyffelius* explains them thus, 'Tis certain, that the Successors of the Apostles have the same Power that Jesus Christ gave to his Apostles to forgive Sins, this Power does not extend to the Fault it self, which only God forgives upon the Contrition of the guilty Person, even before he presents himself to the Priest, provided he does not despise that Sacrament; but after the Fault is once pardoned, the guilty Person must also give Satisfaction to God, by undergoing a Temporal Punishment, and this it belongs to the Priest to impose, and seeing that Punishment is not determined by the Law, it depends upon the Judgment of the Priest to determine what it shall be, and he may impose a greater or a lesser Punishment, or may remit a part of it as he thinks fit, and God has engaged to approve of this Indulgence. The greater the Authority is to which Prelates are advanced, the greater is the Power that they have to grant Indulgences, and the Pope having a Plenitude of Power, it is to be believed, that he has full Power to distribute this Treasure; this Remission of the Punishment after the Sin is pardoned, is founded upon the Faith of the Church, which is invested with a Sovereign Power, and upon the Merits of Jesus Christ, who has washed us from our Sins in his own Blood; and it is of great advantage, provided that he who grants it, does it with Discretion, and that he who receives it, have a perfect Faith and sufficient Charity'. He adds, that the Merits of the Saints of the Church Militant, do good to other faithful People: That the Prelates may deprive some Christians of the Benefit of them, by excluding them from the Communion of the Church, and that consequently they may also cause others to partake of them after a more special Manner. *Seyffelius* at last exhorts the *Waldenses* to believe the Doctrine of Indulgences, because the Universal Church believes it, and says, that they run no hazard in it, seeing they believe as the Church believes, whereas they endanger their eternal Salvation in condemning what the Church approves of.

The next Article of *Seyffelius's* Book, is concerning Purgatory; he says, that he has proved the Reality of it in his Treatise of Providence: He contents himself with observing that it is a great Hardship to refuse the poor Souls that are suffering in Purgatory, the Benefit of our Prayers for delivering them from their Torments, and for putting them into a State, in which they may pray to God for us. He adds, that some of the *Barbs* did not absolutely reject Purgatory, but they looked upon it as uncertain and doubtful, and he concludes, that in this doubtful Case, they ought to take the safest side. As to what they say against the Covetousness of the Priests in this point, he tells them, that they are not obliged to give any Money to those Covetous Priests, and that they may lay it out for the Maintenance of the Poor, or in other Works of Charity: And that they may seek for a Priest, who is not suf-

fected of Covetousness. As to what others say, *Perhaps there are none of my Relations in Purgatory.* He answers, that all Christians ought to be considered as Brethren; and besides, that there are but few that lead so holy Lives, as to go strait to Paradise: That tho' the Person for whom a Man prays be in Heaven, yet the Prayers are not lost, because others receive the Benefit of them. From this he proceeds to the Intercession of the Saints, which the *Waldenses* would not acknowledge; alledging that the Saints do not hear the Prayers of People on Earth, and that their whole Business being immediately with God, they did not at all think of the things of this World. He refutes them by this Argument; The Angels have less relation to mortal Men than the Saints have, yet the Angels take care of Men, as the Holy Scriptures teach us. Then he proves by the History of *Lazarus* and the rich *Glutton*, that the Dead know the State of the Living, and are touched with it: God does not absolutely stand in need of the Ministry of Angels; for the governing of Men, yet for the preservation of Order and Subordination, he is pleased to make use of their Ministry: And tho' he may bestow his Blessings without the Intercession of the Saints, yet for the preservation of the Prerogative of the Church triumphant, he is pleased to grant many things upon their Intercession.

The *Waldenses* did not only deny the Intercession of the Saints, but they condemned also the worshipping of them: *Seyffelius* relates many Passages of Holy Scripture, to prove that they ought to be honoured, not with the Honour that is due to God alone, which is called *Latria*, but with that Worship which is called *Dulia*. That it is God whom we honour in the Saints, and that on the Festivals that are appointed in honour of their Memory, Hymns and Praises are sung in honour of God, and Lessons are read, and Sermons are preached containing the Lives and high Commendations of the Saints; to the end that the Faithful may be put in mind of them, and may remember them: This was the original Design and Cause of instituting their Festivals: If some particular Persons make a wrong use of them, the Abuses ought to be corrected: If the People receive any prejudice by the great number of Holy-days, the Bishops may retrench the number of them, and especially such of them as are of a late Institution, and are the least solemn. The Fasts that are instituted in honour of God and of the Saints, cannot give any ground to the *Waldenses*, to accuse the Prelates of Avarice, seeing they receive no Benefit by them, and they serve to make People frugal, and to preserve Health. Jesus Christ and his Apostles have recommended Fasting; the Church has appointed certain Days for it, and 'tis very scandalous to contemn the Precepts of the Church. As to the Adoration of Images, *Seyffelius* declares, that if the People did adore them in the sense that the *Waldenses* understood that Adoration, then the *Waldenses* would have Reason to complain of it. That he knows that the Bishops have disputed in some general Councils, and in some Ecclesiastical Assemblies, whether the Use of Statutes and Images ought to be altogether laid aside, and that some Persons of good Judgment and considerable Authority, have been of that Opinion, left by retaining them, the People whose Minds were still inclined to Idolatry, should insensibly fall into it again. That it was for this Reason that the *Jews* were strictly charged not to make use of graven Images, and that the Christians did believe, that they ought not to have any such thing so long as they lived among Idolaters: But that ever since the time that the heathenish Superstitions were abolished, and that People worshipped only the true God throughout all the Earth; it has been thought expedient, to set up Images in sacred Places, and that this Custom has been approved by a general Council: That by the means of Sculpture or Painting, Christians might call to mind the Remembrance of the good things which J. Christ did for them, and of the holy

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Actions of the Saints; and so much the rather, that their Minds being not very much affected with the things of God, and being inclined to earthly things, they would hardly of their own accord apply themselves to what concerns Religion, if they were not invited to it by some material Sign, and that rustick and ignorant People would soon forget the Actions of our blessed Saviour and his Apostles, if they did not see them represented in Pictures: But care is taken to warn them frequently, that those Images have no Vertue in themselves, and that the Worship which we pay to them relates only to that which they represent, and not at all to the Sign: That God himself is represented under material Signs and Symbols, both in the Old and New Testament: That in short, Images are to the simple and ignorant People, the same thing that the Holy Scripture is to the Learned.

The *Waldenses* believed, that all kinds of Swearing were forbidden. *Seyffelius* proves by many Authorities of sacred Scripture, that Swearing is not forbidden upon all Occasions; that the Prohibition of Jesus Christ ought to be understood only of some Oaths, which the *Jews* by a false Tradition, and against the Intention of the Law, allowed of. He concludes, that a Man may lawfully swear, when according to the Prophet *Jeremiah*, the Oath is taken in Truth, in Righteousness, and in Judgment; that is to say, when that which is certified upon Oath is true in it self, and when the Oath is taken with Discretion, for a good, lawful and necessary Reason. The *Waldenses* maintain also, that every Lye is a mortal Sin. *Seyffelius* shews by many Examples, that upon some Occasions a Lye is but a very light or venial Sin. In the close of this Treatise he says, that it is impossible, but that the *Waldenses*, who venture so very inconsiderately to interpret the Holy Scriptures according to their own sense, must frequently fall into Errors of great Consequence: That for extirpating their Sect, and refuting all their Errors, there needs no more but to shew that all the Fathers both *Greek* and *Latin*, by whom those Principles of Religion which were taught by the Apostles, have been convey'd down to us, did all of them unanimously teach the very same Doctrine, which we profess at present, especially as to what regards the Unity and the Authority of the Catholick Church. He opposes the Authority and the Number of the Catholicks, to the Foolishness and small Number of the Hereticks; and he concludes with a patheticall Exhortation to the *Waldenses* (who were deluded and imposed upon by their *Barbs*) to enter into the Bosom of the Church. He exhorts likewise the *Barbs* themselves and the Doctors of this Sect, to embrace the Faith of the Catholick Church.

The Treatise of Divine Providence, written by the same Author, is divided into three Parts; in the first, he resolves those Questions that relate in general to the State and Condition of rational Creatures in this World, in order to shew that God the Creator has ordered every thing that concerns the human and angelical Natures with much Goodness and Wisdom. In the second, he considers the same Goodness and Wisdom of God in his Providence towards particular Persons. In the third, he considers what relates to the Mytery of our Redemption, and the Articles of the Catholick Faith. The Questions that he treats of in the first part are these: First, Why God created so great a Number of Angels, who he knew would fall so soon after their Creation, and be condemned to eternal Punishments, into which by their Artifices and Temptations they would draw a great part of Mankind? 2dly. Why he created Man so frail, and why did he give him a Law repugnant to his Senses and his Inclinations? 3dly. Why God suffers so many People to perish, and how it comes to pass that so few arrive at eternal Happiness? The 4th. is, that the Providence of God seems to be by so much the more severe, in that he has predestinated to Glory such as he himself pleased, and has condem-

ned to eternal Misery those who he foresaw would not obey his Commands: For it being impossible that ever he can be deceived, it seems consequently to follow, that those who are predestinated must necessarily do good Works in order to their being saved, seeing the Predetermination of God cannot be changed. The 5th. is, Whether it is not unjust, that the one only Sin of the first Man should render all other Men guilty, and liable not only to temporal but likewise to eternal Punishments: And the 6th. Question is, Whether it does not seem too severe, that a Man should be condemned to eternal Punishments for one single mortal Sin.

Seyffelius observes first, that these Questions are of the Number of those which ought not to be curiously inquired into, and of which it is said, *Do not search into that which is too high for you*: He that would thoroughly examine the Majesty of God, shall be confounded with his Glory. He makes use of the Example of a King, who for Reasons known to himself, inflicts Punishments upon some great Lords; the People ought not to condemn the Conduct of their Prince, tho' they do not know the Reasons of it. By what Right then, says he, dares Man find fault with God's Government! What Folly is it! What Impiety is it! What Rashness! May not a Man justly oppose St. Paul's Words to those that do it? *What art thou, O Man! that repliest against God?*

Tho' this Answer may be sufficient for satisfying all the Questions proposed, yet lest those Christians, who are not very stedfast in their Faith, should be troubled or led into Error by these Sophisms and Cavillings of irreligious Men, or should be thereby led into too great Presumption, or cast into Despair; he undertakes the Explanation of those Problems by natural and moral Reasons, by Passages of Scripture, and by familiar Comparisons, and he thinks this no difficult matter to those who know the Holy Scripture: Before he comes to the Decision of the first Question, he lays down these general Principles; that God being infinite in Power and Wisdom, has created the World perfect; that nothing contributes more to this Perfection, than the Variety of Creatures; that it was necessary there should be some of them, who should approach nearer to the divine Nature than others; that those are the Angels, who it was necessary should be free Agents, and of such a Nature too, as that it should be in their power to incline to that which is evil; that otherwise they would have been almost as perfect as God; that some of them chusing that which was good, the first Moment of their Creation were confirmed in these their good Resolutions; that the rest having chosen that which was evil, did by their Fall, manifest the Liberty of their Nature; that God permitted their Fall, that by their Ministry he might prove those who were predestinated, and might torment the Reprobates, and likewise that they might do Homage to his divine Majesty by their Fear, and by the Acknowledgment of their Faults; that afterwards God created Man, who is composed of a Body and a Soul: that his Soul being free, it is in its power to chuse Good or Evil, which is still an Argument of the Perfection of the Universe, and that the Variety of Animals and other Creatures, do manifest the Providence and the Wisdom of the Creator. Now all this being supposed, then the Sin of the Angels and of the first Man, cannot be imputed to God, seeing they committed those Sins freely, and the Punishment which they have brought upon themselves by their Sins is very just. It was impossible, but that God should give them Laws; and if they had not liberty to violate those Laws, then they could not have merited any thing for the observing of them. The Infirmary of Man's Nature renders his Virtue more perfect: His Fall put him into such a state that he stands always in need of the Assistance of God's Grace, and it has obliged him to praise him and to pray to him after a special manner. It has made the divine

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divine Mercy appear more conspicuously. The Laws which God has from time to time given to Mankind, have not been hard to be kept: But suppose they were, yet it is but just that the Virtue by which we purchase eternal Salvation, should put us to some Pains, seeing we put our selves to so much Trouble for the obtaining of temporal Goods. The Difficulty of practising Virtue is the Reason of the small number of the Elect. God wills by an antecedent Will, that all Men should do that which is good, yet there are but few that do it; and therefore there are but few that are saved: It is the Obstinacy and the perverse Will of the Reprobates and not the Will of God, that is the Cause of Reprobation. It is the Advantage of the Just, that there are wicked People in the World, and seeing the Wicked are before the Just for Antiquity, for *Cain* was older than *Abel*, it is no wonder, that there is also a greater number of them.

Seyffelius distinguishes betwixt the antecedent Will of God, by which he wills all Men to be saved, and his consequent Will, by which he Will that the Wicked should be damned. He supposes that Reprobation is a Decree that follows upon God's Foreknowledge of the Sins of the Reprobates: And he maintains, that this Prescience does not impose any necessity upon Man's Will. 'God (says he) knew from all Eternity those who were to be damned, and the Causes for which they were to be damned: Upon which he decreed to damn those Men for their own Faults, whom by an antecedent Will he designed to have saved; but he will not punish those Men till they themselves have done that which is evil; for God's Prescience is from Eternity, and the Execution of his Justice is in Time: But God determined, that Man should not know that which he by his prescience had decreed concerning his final Sentence, lest those who should know that they were predestinated to Glory, should become too confident and less fervent in the Love of God, and in the practice of good Works, and lest those who should know that they were destined to eternal Punishments, should thro' Despair commit more flagitious Crimes, than otherwise they would do. So that by this means, Man being betwixt Fear and Hope, and knowing that he has need of the Grace of God for his Conversion and Perseverance, does always persevere in Love, Thanksgiving, and Obedience, and in the mean time, he is sure to be saved if he obeys God's Commands, and he is sure to be damned if he does not obey them.' For explaining the Justice of those Punishments that Men are liable to for the Sin of the first Man; *Seyffelius* pretends, that by that Sin Man as to the State of his Nature, was only deprived of the Graces which God gave to our first Parents in the State of Innocence, and that they were reduced to that State, in which they ought naturally to be. He considers all the aggravating Circumstances which made *Adam's* Sin become more heinous. He thinks, that if he had abstained from eating the forbidden Fruit, and had resisted the Solicitations of the Devil, Men would have been confirmed in Grace, as the Angels were, and would have been above all possibility of sinning. He adds, that tho' our first Parents had not sinned, yet it is probable that their Posterity might have fallen from their Innocence, which would have been the Cause of greater Inconveniencies and more Disorders in the World; and then he says, that had not *Adam* sinned, God would not have become Man, which was the greatest Advantage that Mankind was capable of receiving; and in a word, that if Man be fallen, it is only thro' his own fault. He defines Original Sin thus, *It is a Blemish contracted by the Contagion of Nature, corrupted by the Sin of our first Parents, and continued by Transgression, which has provoked the Indignation and Wrath of God against us, and which deprives us of Original Righteousness; the want of which makes our Concupiscence stronger, and is*

the Cause of an Ignorance which is no Excuse to us for our Sins, and excludes us from the Kingdom of Heaven. Jesus Christ came to deliver us from this Slavery, and to make us the Children of God. Here *Seyffelius* observes by the by, that upon that Account it was expedient, that the blessed Virgin his Mother should be exempt from Original Sin: At last he gives us his Reasons for proving that it is just, that a mortal Sin should be punished with eternal Punishments; and the principal Reason is taken from the Unrighteousness and Ingratitude of Man, who wilfully offends his God his Creator and Redeemer, for the sake of a despicable Creature, and who does not acknowledge his Fault.

The first Question that he treats of in the second part, is that of Predestination and Reprobation with regard to particular Persons, and of the hardning of Peoples Hearts. He always proceeds upon the Supposition, that the Decrees of Predestination and Reprobation are according to God's Foreknowledge of the Merits or the Sins of every particular Person: Which being once taken for granted, he easily explains how God does no Injustice in electing some and reprobating others: And as to God's hardning of some Peoples Hearts, he says, that he does it by withdrawing his Grace from them, which is a heavy Judgment, that the Sins of those who are hardned brings upon them.

In the second, he treats of the Cases in which a Man is excusable upon the account of Ignorance. And first of the Necessity of Faith in Jesus Christ: In which he is of a different Opinion from that of the holy Fathers and Divines: For he says, that it is probable, that before *Abraham's* time, the Righteous were saved without Faith in Jesus Christ; and for believing only in God, and honouring him by Sacrifices and good Works, without any distinct Knowledge of the Messiah. He then examines, 1st. Who those are, that are guilty of not having observed the Law of God. 2^{dly}. Who they are that are to be excused for not observing the divine Law. 3^{dly}. Whether it be true that God has revealed a Law to all Men; by which they may be saved? 4^{thly}. Whether the Merits or the Sins of Parents, contribute any thing towards the Salvation or Damnation of the Children? 5^{thly}. Whether the Influences of the Stars, or any other extrinsic Cause, induces Men to sin. As to the first Difficulty, he proves by the Histories of the Woman of *Canaan*, and of *Naaman*, that all those who have lived since the Judaical Law, and the Law of the Gospel were promulgated, and who have not embraced those Laws, are not excusable upon the account of their Ignorance; that they are guilty before God, because they have not used their utmost Diligence, for coming to the Knowledge of the true Religion, tho' they do not suffer so griveous Punishments as those do, who having known the Truth, yet have either basely forsaken it, or insolently assaulted it. He concludes therefore, that those who have been Educated among *Barbarians*, are not upon that account to be excused for not embracing the true Religion.

Yet in the third Article he maintains, that it is next to impossible, that God should not call and bring to the Knowledge of the Truth, those who under the Law of Nature; do according to the Precepts of that Law, worship the true God; and who have not committed Sins, or if they have committed any, have repented of them, and who practise good Works, and do all that is in their Power to come to the Knowledge of the true God. As for those who have not such earnest Desires to come to the Knowledge of the true God, and do not trouble themselves any farther, than to follow the Light of Nature, and to abstain from those things which it forbids, and to Worship a God in the general, and to live in Friendship with other Men, without having either Faith or supernatural Charity; he confesses, that they do not go to Heaven, but he assigns them

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in a place like that which the Infants that have not committed actual Sin go to, which is a distinct place from that of the damn'd, and where they remain forever, yet without suffering Torments. In the mean time he acknowledges, that Men do not know where that Place is, and that the Scripture does not clearly inform us about it. He adds, that in what Place soever those Souls are, they ought to praise the Goodness of God, and without envying the Happiness of the Blessed, to think themselves happy in Comparison of those who are in Hell, and that they ought patiently to suffer their Punishments. Nay he alledges too, that they do enjoy some kind of Happiness, which consists in the Knowledge of things Natural and Supernatural, and is more perfect than what the Soul can have while it is in the Body: In a word, *Seyffelius* endeavours in the second Article to establish three several States for Men after Death, that of the Blessed, that of the Damned, and a middle State, for those who are neither Blessed nor Damned. This is his Opinion, of which I will not undertake the Defence, no more than I will defend what he says in the next Article, that God foresaw, that all those who lived without Law, and perished without Law, would have been damned, even tho' they had been born among the Faithful, and had the Knowledge of the true Religion, because they would not have received it, or would not have persevered in it. This is to dive into the Bottomless Depths of God's Judgments; and notwithstanding all the pains that *Seyffelius* takes to answer to that Passage, where our Saviour says, that if the Miracles which he did in *Judea* had been done in *Tyre* and *Sidon*, the Inhabitants of those Cities would have believed and repented, yet that Text seems directly contrary to his System. The Reason which he gives why God bestows sometimes Temporal Blessings upon wicked Men, and exercises good Men with many Afflictions, is more plausible. He says, that God does so, because he will render to them the quite contrary in the next Life, and that he lets them thereby understand, that there is a Life to come. And when on the other Hand he punishes the wicked in this Life, and rewards the good, he takes this Method, that he may thereby persuade Men to the Practice of Virtue, and fright them from Vice, and that he may hinder the wicked from glorying in their Wickedness, and the good from despairing of the Divine Mercy.

In the 5th. Article, he explains in what Sense it is, that God punishes the Sins of the Fathers, upon the Children. He says, that this has no relation to Sin or to Eternal Damnation, but only to the Privation of the Grace of God, which he takes away from Children for their Fathers Crimes; yet so, that God leaves them the Light of Nature, and a Power of Enquiring into the Law of Grace if they please, and does not altogether abandon them, till by their actual Sins they have violated the Law of Nature, and till they persevere in those Sins. Whereas if they confess the Sins of their Fathers, and flee from them, and embrace Virtue and Religion, they shall be more worthy of Praise and Reward, than those who are born and brought up among true Christians.

In the last Article he shows, that no Man is compelled to do that which is Evil, either by his own evil Constitutions or Passions, or by the pretended Influence of the Stars.

In the third part he considers the Wonders of God's Providence, in the Mysteries of our Religion: And first, in the Incarnation of his Son, the Belief of which, he explains, and that he may answer the Objections that may be proposed from the Impossibility of God's being made Man, and confined within a Place, he says (after having first briefly explained the Mystery of the Trinity) that God may be present after several manners, that by his Power and his Essence he is every where, that by his Grace, his Justice and his Glory, he is in some pla-

ces and not in others, that by his Personal Presence, he was in the Womb of the Blessed Virgin. That he is in the Host by Virtue of the Sacrament: That Personal Union of the Word with the humane Nature, does not lessen the Majesty of the Divine; that the Sufferings of Jesus Christ do not diminish from his Glory: That the Sacrament of the Eucharist is also a Proof of the Wisdom and Providence of God. That it was but just, that our Saviour Jesus Christ should leave us a Sign to renew in us the Memory of what he did for us: That it would not have been enough to have left us his Image or his Statue, or only some other Token as other Men do; that he thought it was necessary to leave us his own Body, to the end he might be present with us in a Corporeal manner, and that he might shed abroad his Grace in our Hearts in greater Abundance: that it was not proper, that he should appear to us in a visible shape, least we should doubt of his Ascension, besides that if his Presence had been after a visible manner, there would not have been any Merit in believing it: That therefore it was necessary, that the Sacrament should be received under the sensible Species, and that the thing which is hid under the Sacrament should be represented by Faith. That Jesus Christ chose Bread and Wine, because they are common and ordinary things. He then brings many Testimonies and Examples to prove, that the Change of the Substance is not Impossible, and that it is not contrary to reason for the Accidents to subsist in the Sacrament without the Subject. He proves that none but Priests ought to have the Power of consecrating, and that it is not by their own Merit that they do it, but only by virtue of their Priesthood: He says, that the Body of Jesus Christ is not under the Species after the same manner, that it was upon the Cross, or that it is in Heaven, but after a Sacramental manner, according to which it may be in several Places at the same time.

The Resurrection which is no more impossible than the Creation, is also an Object of the Divine Providence. It was agreeable to the Goodness of God, that Man who was created Immortal should be restored to that Immortality by Jesus Christ: And the Eternal Happiness or Misery of the Soul could not be compleat, without that of the Body. This is *Seyffelius* his way of reasoning. He treats of this Question, Whether it be a Material Fire that the Departed Souls of the Damned and the Devils are tormented with? And he is of Opinion, that it is not a Material Fire by which they are tormented, but a Metaphorical one; that is to say, they are tormented with the Thoughts of being the Eternal Objects of God's Wrath, and with perpetual Remorses of Conscience: Yet he does not deny, but that the Darkness, the Stink, and the dreadful Noise that is in Hell (which he places in the Center of the Earth) is very uneasy to them, and contributes to the accidental part of their Misery, as on the other hand the Light and Beauty of the Empyrean Heaven contributes to the accidental Happiness of the Blessed Souls. If all this be true, I do not see any Difficulty to believe, that it is a Material Fire that torments the Damned Souls and the Devils. He alledges, that the Souls in Purgatory are tormented after the same manner, that the Damned Souls and the Devils are, by the Objects that are in that place, which occasion their accidental Pains, and that their Essential Pain, consists in Remorses of Conscience, and in their Grief for having offended God. He thinks it certain, that there is such a place as Purgatory, which God has appointed for those who die in venial Sin, or who have not fully satisfied for their mortal Sins. He proves this by a Passage of the second Book of the *Maccabees*, and by this Saying of our Saviour, *That the Sin against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven, neither in this World, nor in that which is to come*: And by many other Passages of the New Testament. As for those who

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 who shall die but a little time before the Day of Judgment, and in a State of Venial Sin, or who have not fully satisfied for their mortal Sins; *Seyffellius* thinks, that God of his Infinite Mercy will dispense with their Sufferings in Purgatory, but not with the Fears and Apprehensions which they shall be under, of being excluded from the Number of the Elect.

In the Article of the last Judgment, he proves, that the World must have an end: That it is probable it shall end by Fire: That all Corruptible things shall be consumed: That the last Judgment shall be after the End of the World; and that Jesus Christ shall appear visibly at the Day of Judgment. He is not of the Opinion of those who think, that after the Day of Judgment there shall be other Worlds and other Creatures, he calls that a Fable, and refutes it seriously in the last Article of this Book. He there makes the Essential Happiness which the Blest in Heaven shall enjoy for ever, to consist in the Contemplation of God. He also handles this Question, Whether after the Day of Judgment they shall have any other accidental Happiness, and after he has proposed the Reasons on both sides, he leaves the matter undetermined. He reproves those who ask what God did before the Creation of the World; and an occasion of that Question, he enlarges upon the Greatness and Glory of the Divine Majesty.

In the close of this Work, he entreats the Readers, that if they meet with any thing in it that deserves to be censured, they would pardon him, because he wrote it in haste, without Books, and in the midst of other Business, in which he was employed; he Apologizes also for the Rudeness of his Style, because he had never studied Rhetorick, and that after having once Learned the Grammar, he had never applied himself to any other Study but to that of the Civil and Canon Law, in which he had spent all the time that he could bestow upon Reading, and that the rest of his time was spent in those Businesses that the Service of his Prince had engaged him in, and in publick Affairs, in which he was so very much employed, that he had hardly time to take care of the Flock that God had intrusted to him, so far was he from having leisure to confer and examine things with Men of greater Learning than himself: And then he declares, that his chief design in this Treatise was to show, that all things necessary to Salvation were known, not only to the Divines, but that a Ray of Divine Light shines in every Man's Mind; so that if they will seek after the Truth, they may find it without being at much pains. He adds,

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 that he does not pretend to defend obstinately every thing that he has advanced, and that he submits the whole Work, and every particular Sentence in it, and even the Terms that he makes use of, to the Judgment of the Holy Apostolick See, and to that of the Church his Mother; to avoid by this Protection the Cavillings of Sophisters and Divines, whether *Nominal* or *Real*, and the Calumnies of malicious People, by remitting the Decision of the whole to the Truth, which can neither deceive nor be deceived. The two Treatises of which we have spoken were printed at *Paris* in 1520.

Claudius Seyffellius.
 He also composed another great Work of *Ethic's* by way of *Commentary upon the three first Chapters of St. Luke*; he began it while he was Bishop of *Marseilles*, and the *Commentary upon the first Chapter* was Published in the Year 1515. revised by *Guilielmus Parvus*, and *Father Stapulensis*, whom *Seyffellius* in his Preface calls the most Famous Interpreter of Holy Scripture in his time. This Book being presented to Pope *Leo X.* he approved of it, and sent a Breve to *Seyffellius*, dated the last of *December* 1515. in which he exhorts him to go on with that Design. *Seyffellius*, sent his Holiness the Commentaries which he had written upon the two next Chapters of the Gospel of *St. Luke*, and assures him that he never had any design to go thro' the whole Gospel in that manner, but only to explain in his Commentaries upon those three Chapters, what related to the three States of way-faring Men, *That of Penitents, that of those who are advanced in the Way to Salvation, and that of those who are in a State of Perfection.* The first of which is represented in *Zacharias and Elizabeth*; the second in *Mary and St. John the Baptist*; and the third in the Person of *Jesus Christ*; and therefore this Work is intituled, *Ethologia, or A moral Exposition upon the three first Chapters of the Gospel of St. Luke, or A Treatise of the three States of way-faring Men (a).* It was printed entire in one Volume in Folio at *Turin*, 1520. It is a very thick Volume, and is divided into 14 Treatises, which contain a great Variety of Matters, and a great many Principles of Morality.

Tho' *Seyffellius* did not study Rhetorick, yet he writes well enough, and in an easy and neat Style, he seems not to have been a very profound Divine, as he himself acknowledges, but he reasons justly enough from his own Principles, and illustrates the Matters he treats of, by familiar Examples, which render them popular.

[(a) De triplici statu Trinitatis.]

SILVESTER PRIERIAS.

Silvester Prierias.
Silvester Mozolinus, or *Mazolinus* was called *Prierias*, because he was born at *Priorio* a Village in *Montferrat*. He was of the Order of *Preaching Friars*, and after having for a long time professed Divinity at *Bononia*, he was promoted to the Office of Master of the sacred Palace, and was at last made General of his Order. There is no Writer that has left us a precise Account of the Year of his Death, tho' it is certain that he died at *Rennes* in *Brittany*, while he was making his circular Visitations the 20th. of *October*, 1520.

This Author is one of the first who wrote against *Luther*, which he did immediately after the Propositions of his Thesis, concerning Indulgences, were brought to *Rome*. His Treatise is intituled, *Luther's Errors discovered, and his Arguments refuted.* We have already spoken of this Work in the first part, and of the Design of a Treatise which he wrote of the Pope's Power and of Indulgences; the first was printed at *Rome* in 1520.

He wrote likewise several other Books but the most famous of them all, and that by which he ac-

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Silvester Prierias.
 quired the greatest Reputation, is his *Moral Summs*, called *Summe Summarum*, dedicated to Pope *Leo X.* The Epithet of *Summe Summarum* is commonly given to it, because he has therein collected and compiled the *Summs* of other Authors. It was printed at *Antwerp* in 1580. and at *Lyons* 1593. and elsewhere.

This Author wrote also a Volume of *Sermons upon the Gospels*, and the *Festivals of the Saints*, for the whole Year, It is composed of the Flowers and Roses of the ancient Fathers, and therefore it is called *Aurea Rosa*. It was printed several times at *Venice*; at *Pavia*, at *Hanaw*, and at *Lyons*; the best and fullest Edition of it, is that of *Venice*, 1599.

Besides these larger Works, he wrote an *Abridgment of Capreolus's Commentary upon the four Books of Sentences*, with some Additions printed at *Perugia* 1530. A Treatise in defence of the Doctrine of *Thomas Aquinas*, and the *Mallet of the Scotists*; a Treatise of *Sorcerers*, and of *Wonders wrought by Devils*, divided into three Books, printed at *Rome* in 1521, and in 1575. a Book of *Meditations*; a Treatise of

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the Care of dying People; the greater and the lesser Confessionary, and a Treatise of Exorcisms, printed at Bononia in 1573; a Book of the Immolation of the Paschal Lamb, printed at Milan, 1509. and some other Treatises of Devotion.

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PAULUS CORTESIUS.

Paulus Cortesius.

WE do not know any Particulars of the Life of *Paulus Cortesius*, except that he was an Italian by Birth, and Apostolical Prothonotary, and that he flourished in the Reign of Pope *Julius II.* to whom he dedicates his Works. He deserves to be highly commended, for being the first that treated of Divinity with Politeness and Elegancy of Style, which he does in his four Books of *Sentences*. *Rhenanus* caused that Work to be printed in the Year 1540. and in the Preface that he writes to it, he gives this Judgment of it: 'I know not (says he) which of the two I ought most to admire, whether the Elegancy of Style, or the divine Temper of this learned Man, who represents to us the different Opinions of Divines with so much Clearness, and in so few Words, and does it with so much Neatness and Perspicuity, that he seems to have aimed at nothing but only the Advantage of Students.' He exhorts the University of *Paris*, (upon which he bestow'd this noble Character, *That it was the Athens of Christendom*) to put *Paulus Cortesius*, because of his singular Merit, into the Rank of the Doctors of the *Sorbonne*. 'Tis certain that this Author's design was to join Elegancy of Style and Divinity together; for in the Preface of his Work, which is addressed to Pope *Julius II.* he writes against those who separate them from one another: And it may be said, that he has joined them perfectly well together in those four Books of *Sentences*, in which he follows *Peter Lombard*, both in his Method, and the Questions which he treats of: And he relates after a concise manner the Opinions of the Fathers and Divines upon every Question, and sometimes he cites Philosophers. He treats of many Questions problematically, and goes to the Depth of none: He makes use of some Terms that are not in use among Divines, avoiding carefully every Word that is not pure *Latin*.

The other Treatise of *Cortesius*, is concerning the *Cardinalship*; it is divided into three Books, printed by *Simon Nardi* of *Sienna*, in *Cortesius's* House the 15th. of November, 1510. It is also dedicated to Pope *Julius II.* and is nothing but a Collection of

This Author was not exempt from that Barbarity of Style that lasted till his time, and he seems not to have had any Inclination, either to polite Learning or the Sciences, which began there to revive, and to rise to perfection.

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Common Places; the last Book only relates to Cardinals; for in the first Book, he treats of moral Virtues, and of Learning, Rhetorick, Astrology, Philosophy, and the Mæss; all which are things that do no more relate to Cardinals than they do to other Men, only he gives us a List of 75 Cardinals that have been Authors. The 2d. Book is of the Revenues of the Cardinals, of their Houses, Domesticks, and Friends, of their Behaviour and way of living and of their Passions, their Audiences, and how they ought to employ their Money, all which he treats of after so loose a manner, that it agrees no more to Cardinals than to other Men. The third Book concerns them more nearly: He there maintains, that no other State is so compleat or perfect, as that is which is composed of the Pope and Cardinals: That the Power of the Cardinals is greater than that of the whole Body of the Clergy: He there treats of the Cardinals Offices and Prerogatives, of Legateships, and of their Power during the Pope's Life, and during the Vacancy of the Holy See: Of the canonizing of Saints, of Indulgences, Dispensations and Privileges. He designed one Chapter for the Ceremonies of the Cardinals, but he omitted it; because a Memoir which he expected from *Rome* upon that Subject, was not sent to him. There is a long Chapter in it concerning the Pope's Election, whether he ought to be chosen by God? Whether his Election belongs only to the College of Cardinals? Whether the Power devolves upon the general Council, in case the Cardinals fail to elect? Whether the Cardinals have power to make a Law, that the Person that has the greatest number of Votes for him shall be Pope? What are the Defects that make an Election void, &c. He speaks also of Consistories, and of the things that ought to be treated of in them, of Simony, of Protections of Order, of the Advices that the Cardinals ought to give the Pope, of Councils, of Schism, and of Heresy. In a word, he carries on this Work so far, that at last he comes to speak in it of eternal Glory. This Treatise is neither so well written, nor so useful as the former.

JACOBUS WIMPHELINGIUS.

J. Wimphelingius.

Jacobus *Wimphelingius* was born at *Slestad* in the Year 1449. He was educated in the Studies of Humanity, under *Dungebergius Westphalus* Rector of the College of *Slestad*. He continued his Studies at *Friburg*, and afterwards went to *Basil*, to *Heidelberg*, and to *Erford*, where he studied Canon-law and Divinity; he was a Man of good Skill in all kinds of Learning, but he excelled chiefly in Eloquence and Poetry; in which he was as excellent as we can suppose a Divine could be, in the Age he lived. About the Year 1494, he was called to be a Preacher in *Spire*, and for some time he acquitted himself of that Ministry with Reputation, till at length he resolved to retire wholly from the World. *Christopher Utenhemius*, who was also a Man of an exemplary Life, was his Companion in that Design. Before he retired, he resigned his Ecclesiastical Benefices, and made himself poor and naked to follow his naked Saviour. *Christopher* was recalled from his Retirement to be a Bishop, and em-

braced that Office by the Advice of his Friends, that he might gain the greater Number of Souls to Jesus Christ: But *Wimphelingius* continued in his Retirement and Poverty, which did not hinder him from explaining the Writings of some Christian Authors at *Heidelberg*, and among the rest, the Works of *St. Jerome*. He wrote some Treatises for the Instruction of Children, and for exhorting of Priests to Holiness and Purity of Life. He took care also of the Education and Studies of some Children, particularly of *Wolfgangus Levesteinus*, and *Jacobus Sturm*, and of his two Nephews, *Jacobus Spigelius*, and *Johannes Maius*, who all proved great Men. The Liberty he took in speaking his Thoughts, exposed him to the Strokes of Malice. The *Augustin* Monks caused this old Man, when he was troubled with a Rupture, to be cited to *Rome*, because he had somewhere written that *St. Augustin* was never a Monk, or at least that he was not of that kind that the *Augustin* Monks are of, tho' they represent him

J. Wimphelingius.

him in Pictures and Books, with a long black Beard, and a Cowl over his Head, and a Leather Girdle about his Waist.

Trithemius writes of it to him in one of his Letters, and warns him not to meddle in the Business of the Cloysters, in which he was not concerned. For what are you concerned (says he) whether St. Augustine wore a Gown or a Cowl. *Wimpbelingius* did not go to Rome, but his Cause was defended there by *Conradus Peutinger* of Augsborg, and by *Jacobus Spigelius*. He himself wrote an *Apology* upon this occasion to Pope *Julius II.* who suppressed this Debate to the great Satisfaction of all good Men; he was very much grieved, to see such a Rent made in the Church, by the Schism of the Lutherans. He died at *Slestad*, in his Sister *Magdalen's* House, the 17th. of November 1518. leaving behind him two Nephews, *Jacobus Spigelius* and *Johannes Maius*, who were afterwards of the number of the Emperor's Counsellors. Most of this Account is taken out of the 10th. Epistle of the 23d. Book of *Erasmus's* Epistles.

There is a Catalogue of *Wimpbelingius's* Works, in a Preface to a Discourse which he wrote concerning the Holy Ghost, published at *Strasbourg* by *Regianus Philofius* in 1516.

These are the Titles of the Books which are in that List:

A Treatise of the Education and Instruction of Children: The Elegances of the Latin Tongue: A Compend of Rhetorick: Three Books in Eligiack Verse, of the threefold Purity of the blessed Virgin; A Book of Purity of Heart, or Integrity, with his own Apology: A Treatise of Frugality, against those who were loaded with Prebends: An Abridgment of the Affairs of Germany: A Treatise of Youth: An Apology for the Christian Common-wealth: Some Treatises of the History of Germany: Some Notes upon the Hymns of the Church: An Abridgment of the four Gospels, besides Discourses, Letters, Poems, Histories; A Soliloquy in honour of the Princes and great Men of Germany: The Offices of the blessed Virgin and St. Joseph: Synodical Statutes which he drew up by Order of the Bishop of *Basil*: And many small Treatises.

His Treatise concerning Youth, contains excellent Maxims for the Education and Instruction of young People; there are added to it several other Pieces, written upon the same Subject. It is printed at *Strasbourg* in 1515.

The Treatise of the Authors of the Hymns and Profes of the Church, is a very curious Piece. His Design in composing it, was to undeceive those who undervalued the Study of Humanity, and especially that of Poetry, by obliging them to consider that the Church in her Offices did repeat and sing Verses and Pieces of Poetry: He attributes the first Origin of the Hymns to St. *Ambrose* of *Milan*, who being persecuted by *Justina* the Mother of *Valentinian*, and being obliged to stay with his People Night and Day, within the Church, caused some Hymns to be sung to take off the Tedioufness of so long a stay, as the thing is related in the ninth Book of St. *Augustine's* Confessions. This Custom (he says) was established by a Law, which is cited by *Gratian*, de *Consecrat. D. 1. Cap. de Hymnis*, where those are blamed, who did not approve of the Use of Hymns in the Church Office, or of Prayers that were composed by Men. He observes, that there are but very few Hymns in Prose; he gives an account of the different kinds of Verse in which they are composed, and in the last place, he tells us who were the Authors of them.

St. *Ambrose* composed these following Hymns, *Conditor alme Siderum*, &c. *Veni Redemptor Gentium*, &c. and the four Hymns for the lesser Hours. *Fortunatus* is the Author of these Hymns, *Quem terra, Pontus, Aethera*, &c. *Vexilla Regis*, &c. *Crux fidelis*, &c. *Prudentius* of these, *Corde natus est Parentis*, &c. *Inventor rutili*, &c. *Dux bone*, &c. *Paulus Diaconus* of St. *John's* Hymn, *Ut queant laxis*, &c. *Lactantius* of

this, *Salve festa Dies*, &c. *Sedulius* of these two, *A Solis Ortus Cardine*, &c. *Hofis Herodes impie*, &c. *Thomas Aquinas* of *Pange Lingua gloriosi*, *Corporis Mysterium*, &c. *Petrus Balandus* of this, *Stabat ad Lignum Crucis*, &c. The Use of the Sequences or Profes, which are said before the Gospel at the Mass, is not so ancient; the Germans were the first Inventors of them; *Notgerus*, a Monk of *Saint Gal*, composed several of them; *Hermannus Contractus* is the Author of others; one *Godescalcus*, Chaplain to the Emperor *Henry III.* and Provost of *Aix la Chapelle*, composed also some of those, which have been attributed to *Hermannus Contractus*. *Albertus* made two of them, the one upon the Trinity, which begins with these Words, *Profitentes Unitatem*: The other upon the Ascension, which begins thus, *Omnes Gentes plaudite*: *Thomas Aquinas* was the Author of the *Lauda Sion*, &c. which is sung on *Corpus Christi* Day: And *Robert King* of *France* is said to be the Author of that which begins *Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis Gratia*.

His Book of Uprightness or Purity of Heart, *De Integritate*, is one of the finest, most elegant, and most useful Treatises that ever he wrote; it is dedicated to *Sturmius*, who accidentally said to him once while they were conversing together, that the World might reproach him with two things: First, that he had written for Applause; and secondly, that the only Reason for which he had written his Apology for the Christian Common-wealth, against those who possessed great Benefices, was, because he could not obtain any Benefices to himself. He told him also, that he desired to be a Priest and to live unmarried, in imitation of his Grandmother's Brother *Peter Scot*. As to the first, *Wimpbelingius* answers him, that he acknowledges he was not absolutely free from the Love of Glory; but that that Passion was not so much to be blamed, as that of those, who had no other design in all their Labours, but only to gratifie their covetous Desires, and to gain Money. That yet, he could truly say his design in writing, was not so much to render his own Name immortal, as to avoid Melancholy and Idleness: And that he had composed the greater part of his Works at the earnest Request and Importunity of his Friends. His Defence against the second Reproach is, that he had refused two Prebends, which were offered him by *Bartholdus*, Archbishop of *Mentz*: But that he abhorred, and while he lived he would detest that odious Practice, that an ignorant Fellow should possess three or four Churches in one and the same City, besides several Prebends, Dignities and Rectories, and that he should likewise possess others under the cover of other Mens Names. He says, he knew some people who had no fewer than 23 or 24 Benefices. He then proceeds to the principal Subject of his Treatise, and takes occasion from what *Sturmius* has said to him, that he desired to be a Priest, to treat of Purity of Heart, and to prescribe Remedies against Lust. The first of these Remedies is, the Fear of offending God by a mortal Sin. And here he proves, that Fornication is a mortal Sin. The second Remedy against Impurity and against all Vices, is Prayer. He applies the seven Petitions of the Lord's Prayer, to the seven Petitions concerning the seven mortal Sins. The third Remedy against Impurity, is the reading of holy Books, and even Treatises of Morality composed by the Philosophers. The fourth is the avoiding of Idleness. The fifth is to avoid ill Company. The sixth is for a Man to reflect impartially upon himself. A Man that is resolved to be a Clergyman, ought to accustom himself betimes to that Continency, which after he is once put into Holy Orders, he will be obliged to observe; and he who resolves to marry, ought also to live in Continency till he be once married, that he may not by satisfying his sensual Desires, consume his Strength or his Substance. A Man ought also to consider the Person with whom he may be guilty of this Vice. 'Tis a horrid Crime to corrupt a Nun, and a Man makes himself infamous if he debauches a Maid,

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a Maid. The Laws both of God, and of Nature, forbid all familiar Conversation with married Women; common Whores are loathsome, and a Man has Reason to be afraid of conversing with them, were it merely for the Danger of a Disease, that has such terrible Consequences. The seventh Remedy against Uncleanness is, to consider that we are always in the Sight of God. The eighth is, to divide the Day into so many parts, and to appoint every part of it for some Business that is useful or lawful, and every Day to seek for Occasions that may hinder us from defiling our selves. As for Priests, they ought to be deterred from this Vice, by the consideration of the Sacrifice that they ought to offer up, at least once a Week. The ninth is to consider how brutal and disgraceful this Action is. Then he relates these Verses of *Scotus* upon this Subject.

*Ardet in affectu Venus anxia, sordet in actu.
 Inficit & fœtet, quando paratur opus.
 Post factum fecisse pudet, cito præterit illud,
 Quod juvat; æternum quod cruciabit erit.*

The Consequences of the Action, such as Grief, Remorse of Conscience, Diseases, &c. are likewise powerful Motives to deter us from it: And then in the twelfth Article, he prescribes several other Remedies against Uncleanness, and among others, Sobriety and Temperance. The second kind of Purity, is that of the Soul, which consists in Stedfastness, Integrity and Faithfulness. He complains of a certain Man, who for a long time had been one of his Friends, and yet had accused him to *Raymundus* the Pope's Legate, of being an Enemy to monastick Orders. He cleared himself of this Calumny by saying, that he was a Friend to the *Carthusians* and *Joannites*, that he always conversed with them, that he always treated the Monks kindly, that he had supported a Monastery of the *Dominicans*, and had procured considerable Alms to them. That he had given his Books to the *Benedictines*, to the *Canons Regulars*, and to *Mendicant* Friars: In a word, that he loved and esteemed all good Monks; but that he could not entertain the same Thoughts of certain Monks, 'Who have nothing of the Monk but the Cowl and the shaven Crown; who are full of Pride and Ambition; who absent themselves from Parish Churches, and seduce the People by preaching to them an easy Way to Heaven; who teach that a light Penance is sufficient for great Sins; who flatter the Rich, and debauch the Nuns; who revile all secular Divines, without sparing even *Gerson* himself.' In the third part, he speaks of several other Duties that relate to Purity, which consist in observing the moral Maxims of the wise Heathens. At last he treats of the Purity of Studies, for preserving of which it is necessary, not to make a Trade of any of the liberal Arts, and to apply our selves particularly to such Studies, as may render us better. He blames those, who spend the Church Revenues in Luxury or on good Cheer, instead of cultivating their Minds, and relieving the Poor with them. He observes, that it is but a small matter, that a Man stands in need of; and that a Priest may live honestly on a small Revenue out of Christ's Patrimony. He explains the Motives that may excite us to the Study of Theology, such as the Excellency of this Science, the Love of Blessedness, the Example of the primitive Fathers, our own Salvation, the Salvation of our Neighbours, and the Honour of God, &c.

The Rules which he prescribes for a Method in studying are these; In the first place, to apply our selves to the Study of scholastick Divinity, of the Master of the *Sentences*, and then to proceed to practical Divinity, and at last to mystical; he recommends to Students to read *St. Bernard* and *St. Augustin*. He advises them not to adhere blindly to the Opinions of any one Author, yet to make choice of some one, that they may read his Works oftner

than the Works of any other, and to despise none: He cannot endure, that Men should speak ill of Authors of great Reputation. He blames those, who follow or esteem only the Authors of their own Order, as the *Dominicans* have an Esteem for *Thomas Aquinas*, and the *Franciscans* for *Scotus*; he says, that this Affectation has a very ill Effect, that the Saints had no such Prejudices, and he thinks it a scandalous thing, to see Divines dispute with so much Heat, about Matters of small Importance. He treats occasionally of the Question, Whether *St. Augustin* was a Monk, and he maintains, that he was neither Hermit, nor *Mendicant* Friar, nor *Benedictin* Monk: And he says, that if *St. Augustin* had ever taken the Vows upon him, he would have mentioned it in his Confessions; and then he makes this Reflection, that the Author of *St. Augustin's* Life would not have commended him for not making a Will; for had he been a Monk, he could not have made one, so that the not making of it, would not have been part of his Character: He then proposes five Objections against his own Opinion, concerning *St. Augustin's* being a Monk; First, that it is said, that he parted with all things. Secondly, that he settled a Monastery in his own Church. Thirdly, that he is painted with a Cowl. Fourthly, that in a Church of the blessed Virgin, built in the time of Pope *Sixtus IV.* there was found a Marble Statue, about which there was an Epigram, which shew'd that it was the Statue of one of *St. Augustin's* Hermits. Fifthly, that there are some of *St. Augustin's* Sermons address'd to the Hermits. These are but frivolous Conjectures, which are soon answered: For he says, that *St. Augustin* did truly leave the World, that is, he left his Family, his Estate, &c. but that he did it voluntarily, and without embracing a monastick Life, and that a Man may lead a religious Life in secular Habit. That the Cowl which the Painters give *St. Augustin*, is of their own Invention; that the Marble Statue of the Hermit is forged and supposititious, or else it is not so ancient as is pretended; that the Sermons to the Hermits are not that *St. Augustin's*, that was Bishop of *Hippo*, but perhaps *St. Augustin's* the Apostle of *England*. He ends with a Refutation of the Proverb, *It is only in the Cowls that Learning is to be found: Scientia latet in Cucullis*, by giving us a List of great Men, who were eminent for all kinds of Learning, that were not Monks. This Treatise is dated in the Year 1505.

We have already said, that the Question concerning *St. Augustin's* being a Monk, brought him into trouble; that upon that account, he was cited to appear in person at *Rome*; and that he excused himself by an Apology, which is printed. But that was not the only thing in which *Wimpfelingius* opposed the Pretensions of the Monks; he wrote also a Treatise, intituled, *The Reconciliation of the Parish Priests and the Mendicant Friars*. In which he shews, that the Contests that were between them, were owing to two Causes; First, that the *Mendicants* were naturally malicious against those who were rich. Secondly, that the Diversity of Opinions that was between them and the Seculars, concerning some Philosophical and Scholastick Opinions, created a Strangeness between them: In this Book, he gives an account of the Errors and Impieties of a certain Monk, one *Martin of Hanaw*, who taught, that tho' 100 Monks should lie with one Woman, yet her Sin would not be so great, as it would be if but one Man of any other State of Life had lain with her; that it is not certain, that Lewdness is a mortal Sin; that we could not be sure, whether the Decalogue was from God or from the Devil, who contemned the Ceremonies of the Church, such as Holy-water, &c. He takes it ill, that the Regulars, of what Order soever they be, should take upon them to be Judges of the Seculars, and to condemn them: Tho' a Regular of any one Order, is not permitted to judge a Monk of another. On the other hand,

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hand, he exhorts the Parish Priests not to revile the monastick Orders, and not to despise them or persecute them. He opposes the Lives of the ancient Monks, to those of the modern. At last, he exhorts the Monks and the Parish Priests to be reconciled together, to act unanimously, and to be assisting to one another.

The Sermon concerning the Holy Ghost, was preached at Heidelberg, 1507. He does not trouble himself with explaining the Mystery of the Trinity, or the Manner of the Holy Ghost's proceeding from the Father and the Son; but only says with St. Bernard, that to dive into this Mystery, is an unaccountable Presumption: And that we ought simply to

believe it. He here explains the manner of the Holy Ghost's descending upon the Apostles, and speaks of the Effects which it produced in the Hearts of the Believers, and especially that of Charity. He speaks against several Disorders that were then in the University of Heidelberg, and in the close, he exclaims against Luxury, and a worldly Life, and the Tables that some Abbots kept.

This Abstract of Wimphelingius's Works shews, that he was a Man of great Freedom of Thought, who loved Virtue, and hated and reprov'd Vice; and wished for the Reformation of Manners, and who in the mean time adhered closely to the Doctrine of the Church.

ANTONIUS DE LEBRIXA, or NEBRISSENSIS.

Ant. de Lebrixa.

Antonius de Lebrixa, or de Nebrissa, was so called from the Place of his Birth, which is a Country Town upon the Guadalquivir in Andalusia, which in Latin is called Nebrissa. From whence this Author took the Surname of Nebrissensis, and by adding to his Christian Name that of Ælius, he called himself Ælius Antonius Nebrissensis. He was born in the Year 1444. his Father's Name was John Martinez de Cala, and his Mother's Catherine de Xanara. After he had gone thro' his first Studies at Salamanca, he went to Bonaonia, where he studied in the Spanish College, founded by Card. Albornoz. He applied himself not only to study the Law, which was then in greatest Esteem, but likewise to philological Learning, Languages and Rhetorick; and being called back to Spain by Alphonsus de Fonseca Archbishop of Sevil, in the Year 1473. he brought thither those precious Treasures, and began to drive out Barbarism from thence. After having stayed for some time in that Town, he went to the University of Salamanca, where he taught Grammar and Rhetorick; for almost 28 years and was pitched upon to write the History of the Kings of Spain. He thought he had reason to complain of the bad Treatment he met with from the Directors of the University of Salamanca; and therefore he betook himself to the Patronage of Cardinal Ximenes, who settled him in the University of Alcalá, and employ'd him in the publishing of his Polyglot Bible. He died of an Apoplexy the second of July, 1522. when he was 77 Years of Age. He married Elizabeth de Solis at Salamanca, he had six Sons by her, and one Daughter named Frances, who studied Humanity Learning and was so skilful, that when her Father was not able to make his Lectures for his Scholars in the University of Alcalá, she made them for him.

Antonius Nebrissensis was a Man of universal Learning; he was learned in the Languages, in the Belles Lettres, in Mathematicks, Law, Medicine and Divinity: And he compos'd some Works in every one of those kinds. His Treatises of Grammar were, a Dictionary, and some Methods for learning the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew Tongues; a Treatise of Rhetorick, taken out of Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian. Several Commentaries upon some Ancient Authors, as Virgil, Persius, Juvenal, Pliny, and upon the Hymns, and the Psychomachia of Prudentius. Some Treatises of prophane Learning, as of the Weights, Measures, and Numbers of the Ancients; one of Cosmography. Some Dictionaries of Law and of Medicine, two Decads of the History of Ferdinand and Isabella, two Books of the War of Navarre, and some other profane Treatises.

His chiefest Work in Divinity, was a Collection of Critical Observations upon several Passages of Holy

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Scripture, which he divided into three fifties of which the last is only remaining. The Title of it is, *Quinquagena seu ad 50 Questiones Biblicas ac alias Critica Responso*: It is likewise intituled, *Annotaciones in aliquot Sacre Scripturae loca*. It was printed at Paris in 1520. at Basil in 1543. and at Antwerp in 1600. and inserted in the great Critics printed in England. In this Work he explains a great many particular Terms and proper Names, that are in the Scripture, of which the true Significations were not known, or which had not been rightly Translated by the Latin Translator. It is a Critical Tract, and is full of Learning, and very curious Citations out of Profane Authors. The Terms which he explains in these 50 Chapters, and the Passages out of which they are taken, and the Observations which he makes upon the Words, are these following.

I. 2. Chron. 2. 8. He says, the *Ligna Archeutina* are Juniper (a).

II. Acts 27. 40. *Artemon*. 'Tis commonly taken for one of the Sails, but he shows, that it is a Machine compos'd of three Pullies for hoisting and turning the Sails.

III. The Septuagint reads *Azot* for *Asdod*; and on the contrary it reads *Esdra* for *Ezras*. The Reason of it is, because *sd* and *z* are put for one another.

IV. Rev. 1. 15. *Aurichalcum*, the Greek Word is *Κεραία*, which signifies Male Frankincense (b).

V. John. 5. 2. *Probatia Piscina*, quæ cognominatur *Hebraicè Bethsaida*, ought to be read thus, *Est in Probatia, piscina: quæ cognominatur Hebraicè Bethesda*. *Probatia* signifies the Place, into which they put the Sheep that were appointed for the Sacrifice: And we ought to read *Bethesda*, which signifies the House of overflowing, because the Waters flowed into this Pool (c).

VI. 1. Sam. 5. 2. *Dagon*, and Macc. 10. 33. *Bethdagon*. This *Dagon* is a Fish, and *Bethdagon*, the Temple of the Fish; it was the *Dercetus* which had a Head like a Man, and the rest of the Body like a Fish.

VII. Matth. 2. 16. *A bimatu & infra*, so it ought to be read, and not *ab imatu*, as it is in some Manuscript Copies, *infra* is put for *intra*.

VIII. Deuter. 14. 5. *Camelo pardalis* is a particular kind of Animal, which has a Body like a Camel, and spotted like a Panther.

IX. Acts. 28. 11. *Navis cui erat Insigne Castorum*: Was a Ship, whose Sign was Castor and Pollux.

X. Levit. 11. 19. and Deut. 14. 18. *Charadrius*, a Bird which lives in the holes of the Rocks.

XI. Daniel 13. 54. *Schino*. He shows, that it ought to be read so, and not *Cino*.

[(a) *Ἀγνιστός* is Juniper in Greek; and it is *ἀγνιστός* in the LXX.]

[(b) See Dr. Hammond upon the Place.]

V o L. III.

[(c) *Bethesda* in Syriac, or *Beth-hesed* in Hebrew, is properly a House of Mercy.]

XII. *To sleep* is taken in Scripture for *to die*. Hence it is, that a place where the dead are buried, is called *Cœmeterium*.

XIII. 2 Sam. 6. 19. Levit. 7. 12. *Collyridas*. He thinks it ought to be read *Collycidas*, which signifies Bread baked under the Ashes.

XIV. Numb. 34. 11. *Fontem Daplinen*. The Word *Daphne* which is added by the Translator, is not superfluous; for the great City of *Antioch* was distinguished from others, by the Name of this Fountain.

XV. Genesis, 35. 8. *Debora*, *Rebecca's* Nurse, and *Debora* the Prophetess, Judges, 4. 4. were two different Women. Some read *Debora* wrong.

XVI. Prov. 3. 16. *Length of Days is in her right Hand*. He thinks that this Expression refers to the manner of numbring or counting; that People counted on the Fingers of the left Hand, till they came to a Hundred; and then they began to count upon the Fingers of the right Hand: And this is the Reason, that *Juvenal* says of *Nestor*, *Suos jam Dextrâ computat Annos*.

XVII. On the Festivals of the Blessed Virgin, the *Dulcia Cantica Dramatis* are Sung. *Drama* is the Representation of an Action.

XVIII. Ezech. 1. 4. and 27. and cap. 8. 2. *Electrum*, in Hebrew *Hkafmal*. *Electrum* is taken for two different things: It is taken for a *Liquor that falls down from the Trees*, and for a *Metal that is made of Gold and Silver mixed together*: He thinks the Prophet speaks of the former.

XIX. Acts, 27. 14. *Ventus Typhonicus qui vocatur Euro-Aquilo*. *Typhonicus Ventus*, is a *Wirlwind*. Instead of *Euro-Aquilo*, the Greek Word is *Euxanthios*, which signifies a *Tempest which comes from the East*.

XX. Isaiah, cap. 28. 25. and 27. *Gith*, in Greek *μυρίστις*: These are two different Herbs.

XXI. *Gaius* is often put for *Caius* in the Holy Scripture.

XXII. Malach. 3. 2. Jer. 2. *Herba Fullonum*, in the Hebrew *Borith*, is an Herb, of which the Ashes are good for making of Soap.

XXIII. The Greek Word *Jesus*, and the Latin Word *Josue*, comes from the Hebrew *Jehosuah*.

XXIV. St. Peter's Father, who is called *Jona*, Matth. 16. 17. is called *Joannes*, Joh. 21. 16, 17.

XXV. He says that the *Lustrum* of the Romans when it was taken for a space of time, signified only the space of four Years, and that the Reason of their counting five Years, was because they counted both the Terms of the *Lustrum* (a).

XXVI. He shows, that the Hebrews, Latins, and Greeks, read *Moses*, and not *Moïses*.

XXVII. 1 Esd. cap. 6. *Mœnianum*, is a Balcony without the House.

XXVIII. Gen. 24. 63. and in other places the meaning of the Word *Meditari*, is to work or to exercise one's self, Es. 38. *Meditabor ut columba*, Prov. 8. *Veritatem meditabitur guttur meum*, is to be understood of the Exercise of singing.

XXIX. Acts 28. 1. *Melita*, the Island of *Malta*, and not *Melitene* or *Melitus*, as some have read it wrong.

XXX. 2 Sam. 2. 8. *Micol* is put for *Merob*.

XXXI. Levit. 11. 30. *Mygale*, a *Dormouse*, from *μύς*; and *νῆσος*, i. e. a *Weasel*, because its Snout is sharp pointed like a Weasel's.

XXXII. Gen. 8. 6. The Particle *Non* is added, and is superfluous.

XXXIII. Levit. 11. 18. *Onocrotalus*, in the Hebrew *Caath*, is a Fowl like a Swan, with a very great Crop.

XXXIV. *Pascha* is not a greek Word, it is the

Hebrew *Pesach*, with some Alteration, some read it *Phase*.

XXXV. We ought to read *Python* and not *Phyton*.

XXXVI. Levit. 11. 18. Deut. 14. 17. The Hebrew Word *Racham* signifies a certain Fowl of a Reddish Colour, which in the Spanish Tongue is called *Calamon* (b).

XXXVII. 1 Kings 10. 15. Neh. 3. 30. *Scrutæ*, Wares of small Value.

XXXVIII. Ps. 44. 15. *Circumamicta Varietati-bus*. St. Jerome, *In scutulatis ducetur ad Regem. Scutulata vestis* is a Garment of different Colours, which are formed by the different weaving of the Threads; whence it is, that the Hebrews call the *Recamoib*, that is empty spaces.

XXXIX. He affirms in this Chapter, that to be on the Left hand, is more honourable than to be on the Right; because he who is on the Left, has his Right side covered or defended by him that is on the Right.

XL. *Symbol* comes from *συμμετέχω*, which signifies to throw in a Share, or contribute to any common Stock.

XLI. *Simila*, *Similago*, which is often found in the Holy Scripture, does not signify the Flower of the Meal, that passes through the Search, but the Meal that is made of the most solid part of the Grain, which is in the middle of it, and from which the young Bud springs.

XLII. *Sin*, is often put for *Si*, of which he gives some Examples.

XLIII. 3. King 7. 24. *Histratarum*, it ought to be read *Striatarum* (c).

XLIV. 2 Kings 9. 30. and Jer. 4. 30. *Stibium*, in Hebrew *Puch*: It is a white Stone, which the Physicians call *Antimony*, or that which is called *Alabaster*, which is good for whitening and refreshing (c).

XLV. Mark 5. 41. *Talita* signifies a young Damsel, Acts 9. 36. and 40. *Tabitha* signifies a Roe, so those Words ought to be read, and not *Talitha* in both Places.

XLVI. Math. 9. 23. *Tibicines*. They made use of Flutes at the Funerals of Children, and of Trumpets at the Funerals of those who were of full Age.

XLVII. Matth. 1. 19. *Traducere*, the Greek Word is *παράδειγμα*, to make a public Example of a Person.

XLVIII. In this Chapter he explains the different way of pronouncing the Letter U, among the Latins, Greeks and Hebrews.

XLIX. Luk. 6. 15. Act. 1. 13. *Simon Zelotes*, so called to distinguish him from *Simon Peter*; he is surnamed the *Canaanite* from the City of *Cana*, of which he was a Citizen: Perhaps he was called the Zealot, in Allusion to the Hebrew Word *Canna* (a), which signifies Zeal; *Cananeus* in the Scripture is taken for a Merchant.

L. Matth. 10. 9. *Pecuniam in Zonis*. How can Money be put into a Girdle? *Zona* does not always signify a Girdle, but a Bag or Purse of Leather, which is drawn close together with Strings; of this he gives us several Examples.

Nebrissenfis likewise published some other Treatises in Divinity, namely, three Homilies Printed at Basil in 1569. an Exposition of the Hymns: Prayers to be Sung throughout the Year: A Collection of some Homilies of different Authors upon the Gospels: And an Explication of some Passages in the Epistles of St. Peter, and St. Paul, St. James, and St. John, taken out of the Prophets, and printed at Granada in 1541.

[(a) i. e. Five Years inclusively, the Year in which the *Lustrum* began, and that in which it ended.]

[(b) *Calamon* is a Water-Fowl something like a Heron.]

[(c) So 'tis mended in the Editions since *Sixtus V's* Time.]

[(c) *Stibium* is *Antimony*: But *Antimony* is not White.]
[(a) Or rather *Kin-ath*, *Kana*, and in Piel *Kinne* signifies to be zealous, jealous, and sometimes envious.]

Cardinal C A J E T A N.

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An History of the Lives, and an Abridgment of the Works of the Authors of the former Part of the sixteenth Century.

C. Cajetan

Thomas de Vio, was surnamed *Cajetan*, because he was of *Cajeta*, a Town in the Kingdom of *Naples*, where he was born in the Year 1469. He entered into the Order of the *Dominicans*, whilst he was very young, and he soon raised himself above others of that Order, by his Wit and great Learning. When he was twenty two Years of Age, he took his Degree of Doctor in an Assembly of the general Chapter of his Order held at *Ferrara*; where he publicly defended a Thesis, was honoured with the Presence of the Duke of *Ferrara*, and with having *Picus Mirandula* for one of the Disputants. He afterwards taught Philosophy and Divinity at *Paris* and *Rome*: And upon the Recommendation of Pope *Julius II.* he was elected General of his Order, in the Year 1508. he being then thirty nine Years old. Soon after, he undertook the Defence of the Pope's Sovereign Authority against the Council of *Pisa*; and for that very end, he wrote a Treatise on that Subject. The Services which he did on that occasion to the Court of *Rome*, were well rewarded. He was made Bishop of *Cajeta*, and afterwards Arch-bishop of *Parma*, and was at last raised to the Dignity of a Cardinal by Pope *Leo X.* in the Year 1517. and soon after, he was pitched upon by the same Pope, to go into *Germany* into the Quality of his Legate, there to oppose *Luther*, who was beginning to vent his Novelties. We have in the first part related the Steps that he made in this Affair, the Conferences that he had with *Luther*, and how unsuccessful he was in this Negotiation. He returned to *Rome* before the Death of Pope *Leo X.* and Pope *Adrian VI.* sent him in Quality of his Legate into *Hungary*, there to support the War against the *Turk*. Pope *Clement VII.* recalled him to *Rome*, where he made it his great Business to study the Sacred Scriptures, and to write Commentaries upon them, and would have spent the rest of his Days in great Quiet, if he had not been involved in the Misfortunes of the City of *Rome*, when it was taken by the Imperial Army, in the Year 1525, for he fell into the Hands of the Soldiers that pillaged it, and was treated with all manner of Indignitie, and could not obtain his Liberty, till he purchased it with paying five thousand Crowns of Gold. He then continued his Commentaries upon the Bible, and finished them before his Death. He fell sick at the same time Pope *Clement VII.* did, and died before him the tenth Day of *August*, 1534. His Body was buried in the Church of *Minerva*, under a Tomb near to the Gate of the Church, which was the Place, that whilst he was alive, he made choice of for the Place of his Burial.

The first Works that *Cajetan* wrote, were some Commentaries upon *Aristotle's* Philosophy: Then he wrote his Commentaries upon *Thomas Aquinas's* Summs and at length, having learned by Experience how necessary it was to understand well the literal Sense of the Scripture, he applied himself wholly to that Study, during the last Years of his Life; and being convinced, that the greater part of the Fathers, and of the Interpreters of the Holy Scripture, do not insist so much upon the literal Sense, as were to be wished, he resolved to write a Commentary that should be purely Literal, and only upon the Words of the Original Texts, to which he confined himself, without having any regard to the Explanations of the Fathers. In his Preface to this Work, he intreats the Readers, that if in his Commentaries, they meet with any new interpretations of the Text of Scripture, different from those

which the Fathers have given, they would not reject them immediately, but that they would more carefully examine the Words, and the Coherence of the Text: And if they find that the Sense which he gives is more agreeable to them, then they ought to make no scruple of following it; provided that this Sense contain nothing that is contrary either to the Holy Scripture, or to the Doctrine of the Church: And because he understood nothing of *Hebrew* he made use of *Jews*, who translated the Text word for word, (a) and then he made his Commentary according to that Version. In the New Testament he follows the Text, according to *Erasmus's* Version, and his Annotations, without adhering to the *Vulgar Latin*. This Method of explaining the Holy Scripture was censured by some Divines of that Age, who thought it gave too great an Advantage to the Protestants. *Ambrosius Catharinus*, who was of the same Order, wrote six Books of very severe Observations against him, and accused him for having in his Commentaries taught some things which were not only manifestly false, but even pernicious to the Christian Religion, and contrary to the Doctrine of the Fathers and of *Thomas Aquinas*, and of the Church, *Gretser* complains of him, because he almost never cites any of the Fathers in his Commentaries, and others were offended because he forsakes the Sense of the *Vulgar Latin* and confines himself to the Original Texts; yet this is not the thing that is most to be censured in his Commentaries, for it is not always necessary to follow the *Vulgar Latin* so closely as to prefer it to the Original Text: And we are not forbid to differ from the the Explanations of the Primitive Interpreters, in those things which do not concern the Principles of our Religion, especially when we find another Sense that is more natural: But that, which with greater Reason, may be censured in *Cajetan's* Commentaries upon the Bible is this, that he confines himself too scrupulously, and if I may so speak, too superstitiously, to the Grammatical Version of his Rabbins, who have sometimes imposed upon him and have made him give extraordinary and forced Senses of the Words. He wrote Commentaries upon all the Books of the Bible except the Song of *Solomon*, the *Prophets*, and the *Revelation*. He had but just begun before his Death, to write upon the *Prophets* and he finished his Commentaries upon the first three Chapters of *Isaiah*. As for the *Revelation* of *St. John*, he would not adventure to explain it, because as he himself confessed, he could not understand the Literal Sense of it, to which alone he resolved to confine himself. *Cajetan's* Commentaries are accompanied with an entire Version of the Text, which is Literal and Barbarous: He wrote also a Treatise upon the Scripture, intituled, *Novi Testamenti Jentacula*, which is a Literal Explanation of 64 Passages of the New Testament. It is divided into twelve Chapters, which he was pleased to call *Breakfasts*, *Jentacula*. This Treatise was printed at *Lyons* in 1565. the Commentaries upon the *Pentateuch* at *Rome* in 1531. and at *Paris* in 1539. those upon all the Historical Books at *Rome* 1533. and at *Paris* 1546. upon *Job* at *Rome* in 1535. upon the *Psalms* at *Venice* in 1530. and at *Paris* in 1540. upon the *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes*, and the first three Chapters of *Isaiah* at *Rome* in 1542. upon the Gospels at *Venice* in 1530, and at *Paris* in 1542. and 543. and at *Lyons* in 1574. those on the *Acts of the Apostles* at *Rome* in 1521 and at *Venice* in 1530. those on *St. Paul's* Epistles at *Paris* in 1542. there was also afterwards an Edition of all that

[(a) The Translation of the Old Testament into Latin by *Santes Pagninus* which is exactly literal appeared much about this Time.]

Cajetan wrote on the Holy Scripture, published at Lyons in 1639.

Cajetan's Commentaries on *Aquinas's* *Summs* are very short: He does not treat of the Questions more fully than *Aquinas* himself treated of them, and he adds no new Questions to them, as others who have written Commentaries on that Author have done. He contents himself with writing Notes upon *Aquinas's* Text. They were printed at Venice in 1514. and in 1518. and afterwards with *Aquinas's* Works, in the Edition which was published at Rome, under Pope Pius V. and with *Aquinas's* *Summs* at Antwerp in 1577. at Lyons in 1581. and at Bergamo in 1590.

The little Treatises that *Cajetan* wrote on different Subjects, and at different times, were collected together, and divided into three *Tombs* or Parts, at the end of that Edition of *Aquinas's* *Summs* with *Cajetan's* Commentaries, which was printed at Lyons in 1581.

The first of these Tracts, is that which he wrote for the Pope's Authority over the Council; which he published at the very time, that the Council of Pisa was sitting; the Title of it is *Traſtatus de Comparatione Auctoritatis Papæ & Concilii*: It is divided into 28 Chapters. The first Principle which he advances, is that the Pope's Authority is Sovereign in the Church, and that Jesus Christ gave the Keys only to St. Peter, that so he and his Successors might enjoy the Sovereignty in the Government of the Universal Church: And because it may be objected against this Principle, that according to the Opinions of many Divines, the other Apostles received the same Power that St. Peter did; he therefore examines whether all the Apostles did receive their Power immediately from Jesus Christ, and whether the Power which they received was equal to St. Peter's. After having produced the Testimonies and Arguments, that are made use of on both sides, he concludes, that the Apostles as they were Apostles, were equal to one another; and that they received their Commission of Apostleship immediately from Jesus Christ; but he alledges, that if we consider them as the Sheep of Jesus Christ, they belonged to St. Peter, whom Jesus Christ did constitute the only and the sovereign Pastor of his Flock. Upon this Foundation he reckons up five several things, in which the Power of St. Peter differed from that of the other Apostles; the first is, that it belonged to St. Peter according to the natural Order, but to the rest of the Apostles by a special Grace. The second is, that St. Peter was constituted the Vicar General of Jesus Christ, whereas the other Apostles were only Lieutenants or Delegates. The third is, that St. Peter was invested with Authority and Power over the rest of the Apostles, whereas they had no Authority over one another. The fourth is, that the Power of the rest of the Apostles, was to cease in their Persons, whereas that of St. Peter was to continue in his Successors. The fifth is, that the Power of the Apostles was only an executive Power, whereas that of St. Peter was legislative. These are Distinctions which were not heard of before, and which *Cajetan* founded only upon very frivolous Conjectures: As for Instance, to prove that the Apostles had only an executive Power, he brings his Argument from the Words in the Preface to the Mass, where it is said of the Apostles, *That they are the Vicars of the Work of Jesus Christ, Quos operis tui vicarios*, upon which he makes this Observation, that they are not said absolutely to be the Vicars of Jesus Christ, but only the Vicars of his Work; that is, says he, *Vicars for executing*. There can be nothing more trifling: And his Answers to the Objections which he proposes against himself, are not much more solid.

The next Question he treats of is, whether the Pope has a greater Power than the Church or the general Council, or whether the Church or the Council are above him. We may consider the Church

or the general Council, either held with the Pope, who is the Head of it, or authorized by him, or separated from him: He concludes, that if we take the Church, and the Council in conjunction with the Pope, they have no more Power or Authority than the Pope alone has, and that the Church and the Council without the Pope, have no power at all, being only an imperfect Body, a Trunk without a Head.

The Decisions of the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil* being directly contrary to this Principle, *Cajetan* endeavours to weaken their Authority, and to elude the force of the express Words of those Councils by frivolous Evasions. He pretends that the Church without the Pope, has no Authority to make Laws, or to judge of Persons, or to hold a full and perfect Council: Yet he confesses, that in some certain cases, a Council may be called without the Pope's Authority, as if the Pope refuses to call it when he is required, or if he deserves to be deposed for a Heretick, or if there be several Persons who pretend a Right to the papal Dignity, and contend about it: But he restrains the power of this Council to the single power of determining what concerns the Pontificate, and he affirms, that in every other case, if a general Council were called, when there is a Pope, whose Right is not controverted, and who is not a Heretick, the Meeting of such a Council would be to no purpose, because the Pope has power to make void every thing that the Council can do or order.

He is sufficiently puzzled to explain how the Council can depose a heretical Pope, if it has no Authority over him; he first produces the Solution of those, who say that the Pope who has fallen from the Faith is no longer a Member of the Church, and that at that very time he loses his Authority, and ceases to be Pope; but he does not approve of this Answer, because the Pope is not by becoming Heretick deposed *ipso facto*, but only he deserves to be deposed. *Non est depositus ipso facto, sed deponendus*. It may be said, that tho' the Pope has no Superior on Earth, in any other case, yet he has a Superior in case of Heresies: But *Cajetan* does not approve of this Opinion, and therefore he has recourse to another Evasion; that it is true, that tho' the Pope being a Heretick, has no Superior whose Power is absolute above his own, yet there is a ministerial Power, which may depose him: For explaining this Opinion, he distinguishes three things, the papal Authority, the Person of the Pope, and the Union of his Person with his Authority: Tho' the papal Authority be immediately from God, yet the Union of that Authority with the Person of such a Man, is made by the Consent of Men, that is, of the Person elected, and of those who elect him; so that a Man may be Pope, and may cease to be so dependently on a human Power, which is neither superior nor equal to himself, but which is even inferior to him: And which has no Right over the papal Power, but only over the Union of that Power with the Person of such a Man. Against this it may be objected, that the other Bishops are not any otherways deposed by the Council, and the Judges who are their Superiors, because the Episcopal Authority which is in their Persons is not destroyed, but is only disunited from the Person of that Man who was invested with it. To this he answers, that in this case the Power of the Deposer is a superior Power, but why is it superior? Is it not so, only because the Council or the Judge that is superior, is invested with all that Authority and Jurisdiction that is necessary for depriving such a Person of his Authority? And the case of a heretical Pope is the same with regard to the Council, and therefore *Cajetan* was in the wrong to confess on the one hand, that the Pope may be deposed by a Council in case of Heresy, if he be twice warned of it; and to maintain on the other hand, that he is superior to the Council; but he advances another Paradox, that is yet more dangerous, when he asserts, that the Pope cannot be deposed

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deposed for any other Crime but Heresie, according to this very false Principle, that it is only in the case of Heresie, that the Law of God does require, that he should be deposed, and that he is above all other Laws, and that Infidelity or Heresy are the only things that are directly contrary to the Conditions that are requisite for being Pope.

He then examines six particular Cases, in which it seems that the Council may depose the Pope.

The 1st. is the case of perpetual Captivity; he denies that the Church has power to depose him in that case, or to chuse another Pope, unless they be sure that he is dead.

The 2^d. is the case of perpetual Madness: In this case he says, that it is not necessary to depose him, because being dead as to his rational Life, the Church may proceed to the Election of another Pope, as if the Pope were naturally dead.

The 3^d. case is, if all the Cardinals should happen to die, after the Election of a Pope, and before that Election were made publick; in that case he says, that the Church could not be said to depose a Pope, of whose Election it was certain, and it ought to act as if there were no Pope; and upon the Matter, says he, it is the same in the 4th. case, when the Cardinals cannot prove that their Election was canonical.

The 5th. case is, if all the World were so prejudiced and incensed against the Pope, that there were no probability that they would obey him. In this case, he says, that the Pope ought not to be deposed.

The 6th. case is, if the Pope were obliged by Oath or Vow, to resign the Papacy, and yet would not do it. In this case, he thinks that he were obliged in Conscience to do it; but that the Church could not force him to it, or depose him for not doing of it.

Next after this Treatise of *Cajetan's*, there is an Apology which is divided into two Parts; in the first of which, he examines the two fundamental Principles of the contrary Opinion. The first is taken from the Law of Nature, according to which, it seems, that a free and compleat Community, such as the Church is, ought to be invested with a Power of providing it self of a Head, and of correcting, punishing, or deposing him, when he makes a wrong Use of his Authority. To this Principle he answers, that the Nature or Constitution of the Church-Society, in its first Origin depends upon its only Head, which is Jesus Christ, who has appointed St. Peter and his Successors, to be his Vicars and Deputies in the Church after his Ascension: But this is to take for granted the thing that is in question. The 2^d. Principle which was objected against him, is founded upon the Law of God, that is to say, upon the Passages of Scripture, where the Authority and the Power is given to the Church, as *Matth. 18. Tell it unto the Church: But if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an Heathen Man and a Publican.* He answers, that the Church to which we ought to complain of our Brother, is not the universal Church, but the particular Church to which he who has committed the Offence does belong, which Church is reduced to the Bishop who is the Head of it. Then he endeavours to overthrow this Principle, that the Ecclesiastical Power was given to the whole Church, and he endeavours to prove, that it was given to St. Peter, and by St. Peter to other Prelates and Churches: Yet he confesses, that if the Pope were dead, and if all the Bishops of the World were met together, they would have a Power over all Churches, except only that Church, which is under the immediate Care and Inspection of the sovereign Bishop.

In the second part of the Apology he endeavours to answer the particular Objections that are made against his Treatise, yet he does it only by taking his own Principles for granted. These two Apologies were finished at Rome the 29th. of November, 1512.

The Treatise of the Institution of the sovereign Bishop turns still upon the same Principles. He therein maintains, that the Words of J. Christ to St. Peter, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church*, ought to be applied to St. Peter's Person, and not either to the Faith of which he had just before made a Confession, or to Jesus Christ, or to the Church; that St. Peter was the only Person who received the Keys of the Church; that he was the only Person to whom Jesus Christ committed the Feeding of his Sheep, and the Care of his Flock; and that the Popes are his Successors in the same Power. He finished this Treatise the 17th. of February in the Year 1521.

In the 4th. Treatise, he resolves four Questions concerning Attrition and Contrition; the first is, Whether Attrition ever comes to be Contrition? Attrition may be taken in two several Senses; first, for a Sorrow for having offended God, accompanied with a bare Willingness not to offend him again; secondly, for an effectual Sorrow, which is accompanied with a Resolution not to offend him again. Tho' according to *Cajetan*, this second Attrition is a Disposition which approaches near to Contrition, yet it does not become Contrition: But there is an acquired Attrition, which comprehends the loving of God above all things, which may come at last to be Contrition; because this Act may last till Charity and sanctified Grace be infused. The second Question is, Whether Contrition be absolutely necessary for obtaining Forgiveness of every mortal Sin. His Answer is, that it is not necessary that a Man should have as many Acts of Contrition as he has committed mortal Sins; but only that in the Contrition, which he brings along with him to the Sacrament, there ought to be a true Sorrow for all the Sins that he remembers and confesses, tho' in the Contrition which he offers to God, it is sufficient to detest in the general, all the mortal Sins that he has committed; and he says, that a Man who in making his Confession, is affected with many several Attritions for particular Sins, is justified in the Sacrament by one single Act of Contrition in general. The 3^d. Question is, Whether it be necessary, that a Man be affected with Acts of Contrition, as often as he thinks upon his Sins. As for this he refers us to his *quodlibetical* Questions, where he determines it in the Negative. The 4th. Question is, Whether upon Contrition, the Punishment of the Sin be forgiven, as well as the Guilt of it. He says, that the Punishment which it deserves, and the Eternity of the Pain which is joined to it is forgiven; and that part of the sensible Pain is forgiven, because of the Pain that accompanies Contrition, and likewise on account of the sacramental Vow. The 5th. Treatise contains several Questions concerning Confession: As to the Necessity of it, he says, that all Christians who are guilty of mortal Sin, are obliged to confess; but that those who have committed only venial Sins, are not obliged to do it: No not by virtue of those Commands of the Church that enjoin us to confess at least once every Year; that a Man is obliged to confess his most secret Sins, such as those which are only in Will or Desire; that in confessing, a Man ought to confess the particular Kinds and Circumstances of his Sins. He says also, that a Man may reiterate the Confession of those Sins, from which he is already absolved. He enquires; whether a Man ought to reiterate an imperfect Confession? He says, that he ought to reiterate it, if it was imperfect thro' his own Fault, as when he has wilfully concealed any mortal Sin: But he is not obliged to repeat it, when it is imperfect only because he made it at a time when he was affected only with a simple Attrition.

The 6th. Treatise is concerning Satisfaction; he therein treats of two Questions: The first is, Whether a Man can make Satisfaction by the doing only of those good Works that he is obliged to do? And he answers affirmatively. The second is, Whether

ther the Satisfaction that is made while the Man who makes it is in mortal Sin, be effectual? He answers, that it is effectual with regard to the Court of the Church militant, but that it is not so, with regard to the Remission of the Punishment that God can inflict, so long as he who makes it continues in mortal Sin; yet if the Sinner shall afterwards do Penance, and have the Grace of Charity, it will then come to be effectual.

The 7th. Treatise is concerning the Minister of this Sacrament, and therein he determines only this one Question, that a Priest cannot absolve by virtue of his being in Priests Orders, if he have not also Jurisdiction; against which Proposition he makes this Objection, the Pope receives Absolution from a simple Priest; but no Priest has Jurisdiction over the Pope, therefore the Priest absolves the Pope by virtue of his being in Priests Orders: He answers, that in that case, the Priest has Jurisdiction over the Pope, because the Pope gives it him.

The 9th. and 10th. Treatises are concerning Indulgences: He there teaches, that by Indulgences the temporal Punishment is pardoned; that this Punishment cannot be pardoned, no not in Baptism, but by virtue of the Sufferings of Jesus Christ: that therefore we must suppose, that the Church dispenses the Treasures of his Merits by Indulgences, and likewise those of the superabundant Merits of the Saints, that is, their satisfactory and painful Work, which they have performed and endured, without being indebted upon their own accounts, to the Justice of God for temporal Punishments; that the Pope and the Bishops may dispense this Treasure separately from the Sacraments; that it is necessary, that the Indulgence be granted for a good Reason; but that it ought always to be presumed, that the Reason that is expressed in the Bull is such: And to the end that the Person who receives the Indulgence, may reap advantage by it, he requires of him that he be in a Disposition to make as much Satisfaction to God as he can, and that he be in a State of Grace, when he performs what is prescribed to him, for receiving the Benefit of the Indulgence.

The 11th. Treatise is concerning the manner of giving and receiving of Holy Orders; he thinks, that the Order of Deacons was at first instituted only for temporal Services, and therefore he pretends, that there is an Alteration made, both in the Matter and Form of the Deacon's Office.

The 12th. and 13th. Treatises are concerning Mariages: He there teaches, that a Marriage solemnized by a Proxy is not a Sacrament, if it be not afterwards ratified by the Parties present; that clandestine Mariages may sometimes be permitted; that a Marriage is lawful and valid, tho' the Parties have no grounds to hope for Children; but that it is absolutely unlawful, to converse together as Man and Wife, before they receive the Benediction of the Church.

The 14th. Treatise is concerning the Sinfulness of the Pleasure that People take in thinking of certain Actions: He excuses those Thoughts from being mortal Sins, if the Action it self be not forbidden.

He treats thoroughly of Indulgences in the two next Treatises; he says, that the first Rise of Indulgences is very uncertain; that we have no account of it either in the Scripture or in the Writings of the ancient Doctors, whether Greek or Latin; all we know is, that St. Gregory instituted the *Indulgences of Stations*: That after him some Popes granted Indulgences very imprudently, and to no purpose; that afterwards, Indulgences were granted to those who went to the Holy Land; and tho' we find nothing of it in the Law, yet no body doubts, but that the Crusade was accompanied with a plenary Indulgence. The Definition which he gives of an Indulgence is, that it is an Absolution from the Penance that is enjoined in the penitential Court. In the first of these Treatises, he explains and proves all the Parts of this Definition, and he enlarges chiefly

ly upon the last part of it; namely, that Indulgences are Absolutions only from the Penances that are already enjoined in the penitential Courts, and not from those which ought to be enjoined. He proves it first, by the *Lateran Council* under *Innocent III.* in which the Power of the Bishops, as to the Matter of Indulgences is limited; and it is declared, that the Indulgence is not to last longer than during the time of the Penance that is already enjoined. Secondly, because for a long time it was the Custom to express it plainly in the Bulls, that the Indulgence was only for Penances already enjoined, so that when that Clause was not expressed, yet it was always to be understood: By Penances enjoined, he understands only those that are enjoined by the Priest, and not those which are appointed by the Canons. He confesses, that if the Popes had pleased, they might have given Indulgences for those appointed Penances, tho' not enjoined, provided that the Guilt be forgiven; but he does not think, that ever the Popes have done it, and as to the Bull of Pope *Boniface VIII.* in relation to the Jubilee, in which that Pope declared, that it was his Intention to free those that should take the Benefit of it, from all punishment whether enjoined or to be enjoined. He answers, that the Pope spoke on that occasion like a private Doctor, and that he was mistaken in that particular, as he also was, when he said in the same place, that Vows are dispensed with by Indulgences; but those who by the Indulgence are absolved from the Penances enjoined by the Priests, are consequently absolved from the punishment which they owe to God; because it is by this Penance that the Penitent makes satisfaction unto God, and that the Indulgence is instead of the Penance. As for the Souls departed, *Cajetan* is of opinion, that Indulgences do not extend to them, unless it be by way of Suffrage or Intercession, as he explains it in another place. One of the principal Questions which he there treats of is this, Whether the Souls in Purgatory are ever delivered from their pains by Indulgences? He says, that Indulgences are effectual for delivering the Souls in Purgatory from their pains, *per modum Suffragii Satisfactorii*; but that this is owing only to the Mercy of God, who is graciously pleased to accept of satisfactory Suffrages, for the Relief of those Souls, so that the Dead cannot receive any Benefit by those Indulgences, according to the Rigor of divine Justice, but only on account of God's Mercy in accepting of them. He adds, that all those who are in Purgatory, may receive Benefit by Indulgences, but especially those who have merited in this Life, that they should receive Benefit by them. He says, that it is probable, that those who in this Life were forgetful of the Souls departed, and neglected to satisfy for their Sins, receive no Advantage from those Suffrages. It is in fine his Opinion, that the Pope grants Indulgences to the Souls in Purgatory by the same power that he grants them to the Living, tho' they be applied to the Souls departed by way of Suffrage, and to the Living in the Form of Absolution.

The 17th. and 18th. Treatises, which are of Contrition and Confession, contain nothing but ordinary Questions.

In the 19th. he treats of this Question, Whether Excommunication deprives a Man of all internal Communion with Christians, and he maintains, that it deprives him of partaking of the Suffrages of the Church, and of many other Blessings, which he might receive by being in Communion with other Christians, even tho' he were in a State of mortal Sin.

In the 20th. Treatise, there is only this one Question, Whether a Man who has not in this Life done the Penance that was enjoined by the Priest, be obliged to do it in the next. He says, that in that case a Man is obliged to undergo the punishment in the other Life, not as to the particular Actions, but as to the Substance of the punishment.

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In the one and twentieth Treatise he gives us his Opinion concerning this nice Question, Whether it be lawful for a Confessor to discover the Crime of a Penitent who accuses himself of a Design to Murther either King or Pope. *Panormitan* held the Affirmative, and *Cajetan* maintains the Negative.

The two and twentieth is of the Duty of a Confessor, when the Confessions that are made to him, excite in him carnal Desires.

In the three and twentieth, there are two Questions concerning the Souls which are in Purgatory: The first is, Whether they have any Merit, and whether their Charity is increased, which he resolves in the Negative; the second is, Whether all the Souls that are in Purgatory are assured of Eternal Salvation, which he determines in the Affirmative.

The twenty fourth is concerning the Fear of Punishment, and there are likewise two Questions in it; the first is, Whether a Man who dies while his Charity is but imperfect, be necessarily obliged to be afraid of the Punishment, and he says, he is not: Because a Man whose Charity is not perfect, may die after Baptism, in which the Punishment of his Sins are wholly forgiven. The second is, Whether the Fear of present or future Punishment be an ill thing, and he answers that it is not.

In the twenty fifth he asserts, that all Precepts do not oblige under pain of Mortal Sin; but only those Precepts that relate to Charity towards God, and our Neighbour; and that if a Monk be made a Bishop, he is no longer obliged by the Law to observe the Rules of the Monastick Order.

In the twenty sixth he says, that when a Bishop is ordaining, he is obliged to utter the Words at the very time that he gives the Instruments to be touched.

In the twenty seventh he enquires, Whether the Pope may permit a Priest of the Western Church to marry. He says first, That the Priesthood does not make a Priest absolutely incapable of Marrying, and that it does not make void a Marriage that is already contracted. Secondly, That the Priests when they enter into Orders, do take upon them the Vow of Virginity, but that the Pope may dispense with it. Thirdly, That he may also dispense with the Law that obliges them to live unmarried.

In the twenty eighth Treatise he maintains, that the Pope may dissolve a Marriage that is contracted provided it be not consummated, and that he may do this, not only when either of the Parties or both are to enter into a Monastery, but also for other Reasons; because the only Reason why the Sacrament of Marriage is indissoluble, is, that it is the Sign of of the Union of Jesus Christ with his Church, but Marriage is not a compleat Sign of that Union, till it be consummated.

In the twenty ninth, he says, That a Wife may live with her Husband, tho' it be manifestly known that he is guilty of Adultery.

In the thirtieth Treatise, he justifies the Explanation that the Pope had given of some Passages of Holy Scripture against the *Lutherans* who censured those Glosses.

In the next Treatise there are seventeen Resolutions of several cases of Doctrine and Morality, of which a particular account would be too prolix for my design; the first is against five Articles of *Luthers*. This is the last of the Tracts of the first part.

There are thirteen Treatises in the second.

The first is a Treatise of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin, in which he is favourable to the Opinions of those of his own Order, who maintain that the Blessed Virgin was conceived in Original Sin.

The second is, a Treatise of the Eucharist, in

which he gives the meaning of our Saviour's Words, both in the 6th. Cap. of St. *John's* Gospel; and at the Institution of the Eucharist. He therein treats likewise of the real Presence of Christ's Body in the Eucharist, and of the Sacrifice of the Mass, and of the effects of that Sacrament.

The third is a Treatise of the Celebration of the Mass; he therein determines two Questions, the first is, that the Priest after Ablution may eat the Remains of the Host, both those that are in the Chalice, and those that are not. The Second is, that the Sacrifice by its own Virtue is not offered for one Christian, rather than for another; that by reason of the Devotion and the Intention of the Priest that offers it, of those that request him to offer it for them, it may also be applied to many: That the case is the same as to the Prayer that accompanies the Sacrifice. Whence it follows, that the Sacrifice of the Mass is not in any respect offered for one Person rather than for another, tho' the Devotion of those who desire that it may be offered for them, and the Alms which they give, are of some Merit to them.

The fourth is a Treatise of the best way of hearing Mass; first, he thinks that the People will do much better to be attentive to the Sacrifice; than to repeat some vocal Prayers: Secondly, that a Man does not perform that which the Precepts for hearing of Mass requires of him, when in the time of saying Mass, he repeats those Prayers which he is obliged to repeat, tho' he were not at Mass. Thirdly that a Clergy-man, or a beneficed Person, does not perform what the precepts for hearing of Mass on a holy-day, and for saying his Office require of him, when he repeats his Canonical Hours, in the time of the Celebration of the Mass, unless we have so much leisure as to repeat them, while they are singing the *Kyrie Eleison*, or the *Gradual*, so as not to neglect any of the Prayers of the Mass.

In the fifth Treatise *Cajetan* vindicates *Thomas Aquinas*, whom some Divines had accused of denying the necessity of doing Alms-Deeds, or at least of reducing that necessity to some particular Cases that seldom or never happen.

The sixth Treatise is concerning the *Mounts of Piety*; he maintains, that that it is an unjust Practice, and that those who practise it are guilty of Usury.

The seventh is of the Justice and Injustice of the Law of Merchandising.

In the eighth there are several Questions concerning Usury.

The ninth is concerning Simony.

In the tenth he treats of this Question, whether it be a Mortal Sin for a Man to perform Spiritual Actions, whilst he is in a State of Mortal Sin: If those Actions do properly belong to his Ministry, and if they consist in consecrating, then he asserts that he is guilty of the Mortal Sin of Sacrilege; but if they are only Acts of Charity or good Works, then he does not Sin Mortally.

In the eleventh Treatise there are three Questions; the first is, Whether the Vow of living unmarried, be equivalent to the Vow of Chastity: He alledges, that as to the Matter of the Vows, they are equivalent, but that the Power of dispensing with the Vow of Chastity is reserved to the Pope, but not of dispensing with the Vow of living unmarried. The second is, Whether a Person who is going to profess himself a Monk, may leave to his Heirs an Estate, which he knows is not lawfully acquired: He answers, that unless he be sure that his Heirs will make Restitution, he ought not to take the Monastic Vows, till such time as he have taken care that Restitution shall be made. The third is, Whether a Vow to give an Image, or any other thing to a Church, gives that Church an acquired Right or a Legal Title to the thing: He answers

no; because the Superior may commute that Vow.

The twelfth Treatise contains this one Question, Whether a Man may lawfully employ a Sorcerer to deliver himself from the Effects of Sorceries. He answers, that if the Sorcerer can deliver him without invoking the Devil, he may employ him, but otherwise he ought not.

The last Treatise is concerning the Swooning of the Blessed Virgin; he rejects that History, and he thinks that the Feast of the Swooning of the Blessed Virgin, ought to be abolished in those Places where it is observed.

The third part contains fifteen Treatises.

The first consists of six Discourses or Sermons upon Theological Heads: The second is concerning the Infinity of God: The third is of his Power: The fourth of the Subject of Philosophy: The fifth of the Analogy of Names: the sixth of the Idea of Being: The seventh *de Ente & Essentia*: The eighth of some seeming Contradictions, in *Thomas Aquinas*: The ninth of the Law of Obedience, Whether a Man be obliged to obey the Commands of his Superiour when by so doing he runs the hazard of his

Life, he answers, that he ought to do it when he commands him to do nothing but what is virtuous: The tenth of the Sacrifice of the Mass against the Lutherans: The eleventh of Faith and good Works against the same: The twelfth of Communion under both kinds of Confession and Invocation of Saints: The thirteenth and fourteenth of the Marriage of the King of England with his Sister in Law, in which he maintains the Validity of that Marriage: And the last is an Answer to the Articles, which the Divines of Paris had censured in his Works, the most part of which he disowns, as having never asserted them.

The first Treatises are upon abstracted and Philosophical Subjects, and the latter are Treatises of Controversy and Divinity.

Cajetan treats of things in an exact Method, and with great Perspicuity; the Inferences which he draws from his Principles are just enough, but his Principles are not always true and solid. He takes abundance of Freedom in writing his Thoughts, especially in his Commentaries upon the Holy Scriptures.

MATHIAS UGONIUS.

Mathias Ugonius. **M**athias Ugonius, Bishop of Famagusta, in the Island of Cyprus, flourished in the beginning of the Sixteenth Century. There is extant a Treatise on his, intituled, *Liber de Patriarchali Præstantia*, of the Patriarchal Dignity, written by way of Dialogue, and printed at Brescia in 1507. but his principal Work is a Treatise of the Councils, intituled, *Synodia Ugonia*, which had the Approbation of Pope Paul III. by his Bull of the 16th. of December, 1543. and was printed at Venice in 1565. It was one of the best and fullest Treatises, that were written on that Subject, in the Sixteenth Century. He says, in his Preface, that the contempt of the Persons, and the Authority of the Clergy, proceeds from their Irregularities, and from their want of Zeal for the Re-establishment of Discipline, which cannot be procured by any other means; but by that of Councils. He makes good the Authority and the Necessity of General Councils, by a Passage of St. Gregory, who says, that he respected the four first General Councils as he did the four Gospels, and by the Decree of the Council of Constance, concerning the Authority of General Councils.

After this General Preface, he gives us (in that which he calls the *Prelude*) the Definition and Division of Councils: He treats of their Original, and of the Difference betwixt General and Provincial Councils. The Body of the Work is divided into three parts, in the first part, he treats of those things that are preparatory to a Council, in the second of its Power, and in the third of its Dissolution. In the first he explains, on what Occasions and for what Reasons a General Council may be called. It may be held either on the account of Schism, or during the Vacancy of the See, and at other times also for important Reasons, in which the Interest of the Catholic Church is concerned. He considers and determines these following Questions, what Persons ought to be called to a Council? Whether the Pope

has a right to call any one whom he pleases? Who are the Persons that ought to assist in it? What number of Bishops is necessary to make a General and Lawful Council; Who ought to preside in it? What ought to be the Order of the Sessions, and what Matters ought to be treated of in it.

Asto the Power of the Council, which is the Subject of the second part; he examines, whether it has any Jurisdiction? What Matters it has Power to treat of? Whether it has Power to dispense with either Positive, Divine, or Natural Law? Whether all Christians are obliged to appear before it? Whether the Pope's Power be above the Council's or the Council's Power above the Pope's? Whether the Pope's Decisions ought to be submitted to, in Opposition to those of a General Council? Whether the Council has power to depose the Pope? *Ugonius* makes the Decrees of the Council of Constance his Rule in all his Resolutions of those Questions and refutes Cardinal *Turrecremata*. He concludes that the Council is above the Pope, that it may depose him not only for the Crimes of Heresie and Schism; but also for any notorious and scandalous Crime, if he do not reclaim himself from it, after he is warned to do it. From this Principle he infers, that in Matters of Faith, and in those which concern the State of the Church or the Pope, the Judgment of the Council ought to be preferred to that of the Pope.

The last part is concerning the Dissolution or Translation of a Council. He therein shows, how long a Council ought to last, when and by whom it may be removed to another place, or dissolved; what Punishments those incur, who retire from a Council. He is of Opinion, that the Council cannot be dissolved till the Synodical Causes be dispatched, but that may be removed for pressing Reasons, and if there be any Debate concerning that Removal between the Council and the Pope, the Opinion of the Council ought to be preferred before the Pope's.

CHRISTOPHORUS MARCELLUS.

An History
of the
Lives, and
an Abridg-
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Works of
the Au-
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former
part of the
sixteenth
Century.

Christoph.
Marcellus.

Chrisrophorus Marcellus, a noble Venetian, and elected Archbishop of Corfu, was the first that published the *Ordo Romanus* with this Title, *De Ritibus Ecclesie Romanæ Libri tres*, printed at Venice, 1516. We have already taken notice, that this Work was prepared by Augustinus Piccolominiæus, and that Parisius de Crassis accused Marcellus of putting his Name to another Man's Works. But this was not the only thing that Parisius de Crassis laid to his Charge. He was displeased with him for publishing the Ceremonies, which as he thought ought to have been kept secret, and accused him before Pope Leo X. and he speaks of him in his *Ceremonial* after this manner; 'The elected Archbishop of Corfu having this Year published a Book of Ceremonies at Venice, or rather having prostituted it to the Publick, because perhaps he was not very well acquainted with the Ceremonies, and being from a Venetian Merchant raised to the Dignity of a Priest, but a little while before, he was not yet capable to understand these Matters: But like a Merchant he sent printed Copies of that Book to several places of Italy, to Rome, and even to foreign Countries. As soon as I knew of it, I complained to the Pope, and requested him that by his Authority he would put a stop to the Course of that Sacrilege, and not suffer the Ceremonies of the Holy Apostolick See, (which had been always concealed in the most secret place of the Library of his Palace) to be divulged under his Pontificate: His Holiness seemed favourable to my Request: But some of that Author's Country-men who were concerned in the Business, appeared for him and asked, why Books of Ceremonies might

not be published, as well as Mass Books and Pontificals? This past on the 11th. Day of May, 1517. The Pope remitted the Affair to the Consistory, and in the mean time he prohibited the selling of that Book, till the Matter should be determined there: Parisius appeared in the Consistory, where the Cause was debated, and there he read a long Letter, to shew, that the Ceremonies of the Christian Religion ought not to be made publick: He therefore desired, that the Book which was published by Marcellus Arch-bishop of Corfu elect, without the Author's Name, and with many Faults in it, might be suppressed, and both it and the Author of it burnt, or at least that a very severe Punishment might be inflicted on the Author.

The Pope ordered, that Parisius's Conclusions should be communicated to three Cardinals, to be examined by them: But Parisius did not obtain his Desire, for neither the Book nor the Author were condemned to the Fire; and the Book was printed several times afterwards.

The same Marcellus wrote a Treatise of the Authority and Rights of the Pope, against the impious Opinions of Luther; wherein he does not think it enough to refute what Luther taught against the Pope's Supremacy, but he maintains also the Opinion of the Ultramontans, that the Council is not above the Pope. He there treats also of other controverted Questions, concerning Penance, Satisfaction, Purgatory, Indulgences, &c. This Treatise was printed at Florence in 1521.

He wrote also a Commentary on seven Psalms, printed at Rome in 1523. and a Discourse on the 12th. Psalm, printed there in 1525.

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THOMAS ILLYRICUS.

Thomas Illyricus was born at Osimo in Italy, he was of the Order of the Friars Minors, and flourished under the Pontificate of Pope Leo X. and under that of Adrian VI.

He composed a Treatise of Controversie against Luther, it is intituled, *The Shield or Buckler of the Catholick Church*, divided into two parts; in the first, he treats of the seven Sacraments, and in the second, he refutes Luther's Errors in several other points. In this he has particular recourse to the Authority of the Censure of the Faculty of Divines at Paris against Luther, and he treats of the several Subjects after the manner of the Schools. This Treatise was printed at Turin in 1524. by the Care of Friar Masseus Fruzarchus, who was once Thomas Illyricus's Pupil, and of the same Order with him.

He had caused some other little Treatises of this Authors, to be printed the Year before, in the same Town.

The first is, a Treatise of the Keys of the Church, and of the Power of Bishops. In explaining the Effects of Absolution, he says, that the Priest remits the Guilt of the Sin, by declaring, that it is remitted upon an unfeigned Contrition; yet so, that oftentimes it is not a simple Declaration, but a perfecting and compleating the Pardon of the Sin. He then treats of Church-power in general, and considers wherein it differs from the Civil-power. He divides it into the power of Order, and the power of Jurisdiction, and speaks of every one of them in particular.

Next to this Discourse, which was delivered by Thomas Illyricus at Toulouse, there follows another longer Treatise concerning the Pope's Power: In which he asserts, that Jesus Christ gave the Keys to

St. Peter; that the other Ministers received them from him, and from the Bishops of Rome his Successors in the Supremacy, and Plenitude of power. That the Determination of all the Cause majores belongs to the Popes; that the Pope is supreme not only in the Church, but likewise over the universal Church, of which he is Head and Governor. He answers Luther's Arguments against the Pope's Supremacy. He proves, that tho' the Pope were a Man of bad Morals, yet he would not cease to be a lawful Pastor, and that he ought to be obeyed in what relates to spiritual Concerns. In the last place he shews, that the Popes may possess temporal Estates, and refutes all the Objections that can be brought against that Doctrine.

In his Conclusions concerning the Election of the Pope, he establishes these following Truths; First, that there is no necessity that God should immediately chuse the Pope without the Ministry of Men: Secondly, that it would not have been reasonable, either to have settled the papal Dignity by Inheritance, or to have put it in the power of every Pope to chuse his own Successor. Thirdly, that it was much more convenient, that it should be done by way of Election. Fourthly, that this Election has at different times been made after different manners, and by different Persons; that at first it belonged to the Church of Rome, that is to say to the Assembly of the Christians, who lived at Rome; that afterwards it was referred to the Christian Emperors, and by the New Law, the Cardinals are the only Persons that are intrusted with it; that to make the Election lawful, it is necessary that two third parts of the Votes do agree upon the same Person. He is of opinion, that the Cardinals are the only proper

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Judges,

Thomas
Illyricus.

Judges, whether or no the Election of the Pope be canonical, and in default of them, the general Council.

Next after this Treatise, there are printed (I do not know for what Reason) two of *Gerſon's* Treatises, the one concerning the ſeveral Caſes in which the Pope may be depoſed, and the other concerning the Manner how we ought to demean our ſelves in time of Schiſm. *Gerſon's* Principles in theſe two Treatiſes, are quite different from thoſe of *Thomas Illyricus*; and therefore they ought not to have been put in this place, ſeeing they are neither his Writings nor agreeable to his Doctrine.

But the ſame cannot be ſaid of the next Treatiſe, which is intituled, *A Refutation of ſome of Luther's Opinions*; in which he refutes the Errors of that Heretick, concerning Original Sin, Concupiſcence, Penance and Indulgences. He there aſſerts alſo, that the Prieſt does not by Abſolution pardon the Guilt, but only the Punishment of the Sin.

The laſt of *Thomas Illyricus's* Treatiſes conſiſts of two parts; the firſt is an Invective againſt bad Chriſtians, in which he cenſures many Abuſes that ought to be reformed. In the ſecond, he explains the Qualifications that a good Prelate ought to have. In the firſt, he declaims ſharply againſt the diſorderly Lives of the Clergy of his time, againſt Simony and the Plurality of Benefices, and againſt the bad practice of beſtowing Eccleſiaſtical Dignities upon Laymen. He looks upon the Diſorders to be ſo great, that he thinks it would be neceſſary to call a general Council for reforming all Ranks and Conditions of Chriſtians, but eſpecially the Monks and Laity, from whom all thoſe Evils did proceed. He not only exclaims againſt thoſe Diſorders, but he propoſes Laws and proper Expedients for putting a ſtop to them: And gives ſome Advices and Rules how the Clergy ought to behave themſelves, which are taken out of the Canons of the Church, and the Writings of the Holy Fathers of the Church. He thinks, that the Diſpenſation for plurality of Benefices is not lawful, except in theſe three Caſes; firſt, unleſs there cannot be found but one Man who is ſufficiently qualified for enjoying them; ſecondly, in caſe it be neceſſary for the Benefit of the Church and the Prelates; thirdly, in caſe of extraordinary Merits of the Perſon that is allowed to poſſeſs them. Cuſtom alone is not a ſufficient Excuse for this practice, becauſe to allow one Man to poſſeſs many Benefices, and to enjoy the Revenues that are deſtined for the Service of the Cures to which they belong, when he is not capable to ſerve thoſe Cures, is an eſſential Irregularity; for by this means it comes to paſs, that Divine Service is not ſo frequently performed, as otherwiſe it would be; that the Incomes of the Clergy are unequal; that the deſigns of the Teſtators who bequeathed thoſe Revenues, are thereby fruſtrated; that the Churches are robbed, and many good Clergymen deprived of that Relief, which otherwiſe they might have had, and a bad Example is given to others. Another Diſorder that he cenſures, is the pronouncing of the Sentences of Excommunication, for flight and frivolous Reaſons, which makes Excommunications to be deſpiſed. He ſhews, that by the Laws of the Church, thoſe Sentences ought not to be lightly pronounced, but for weighty Reaſons; he gives an ingenious Account of the Tricks and Fetches of Proctors and Advocates, for prolonging of Law ſuits, that they may gain more Money from the contending Parties. He then returns to the Diſorders of the Clergy, and exclaims againſt ſuch of them as bear Arms, and argues with them from the Laws of the Church, by which that practice is forbidden. The keeping of Concubines, and the Diſorders of the Nunneries, gave him alſo a fair Opportunity to exerciſe his Pen; and he answers the Objections that Concupiſcence frames againſt the Laws for Celibacy. He declaims againſt the Diviſions and Faſtions of *Guelphes* and *Gibellines*, and exhorts all Chriſtians and eſpecially the Emperor to extinguiſh them. He enlarges upon the

Obligations of the Kings and Princes of the Earth, and blames their Flatterers. He preſcribes ſome Rules for People of all States and Conditions of Life; he condemns dancing and gameing; he inveighs paſſionately againſt thoſe Preachers and Confefſors that do not do their Duty, whether thro' Ignorance, or Cowardice, or Covetouſneſs, and againſt thoſe who by their diſorderly practices, diſhonour their Miniſtry. He ſpeaks of the Abuſes committed in worſhipping of Images. Firſt he thinks, that it were convenient not to have ſo great a Number, or ſo great Variety of Images in Churches. Secondly, he would have the Preachers take care to inſtruct the People, concerning the worſhipping of Images, that they may not fall into Idolatry; and to tell them plainly, that they are not to be adored; and that the Worſhip that is paid to them, is only an external Worſhip. Thirdly, he declares, that it is a fooliſh Error to believe there is any Vertue or Holineſs in Images, or that they work Miracles, or that they procure the Cures of Diſeaſes, or that they preſerve from Danger, or that there is more Vertue in one Image than in another. He obſerves alſo, that in worſhipping of Saints, many People fall into Miſtakes, in asking from the Saints thoſe things that they ought not to ask from them, or which they ought to ask only as Acceſſary's, as when they pray to St. *Anthony* to cure their Hogs. He would have them in the firſt place, to ask ſpiritual Bleſſings which concern the Salvation of the Soul, and then to ask temporal Bleſſings. Thoſe who requeſt the Saints to gratiſie them in their ſinful Deſires, are in a yet greater Error. Thoſe are alſo in an Error, who addreſs themſelves to ſuch a particular Saint, for ſuch a particular thing, as believing that no other Saint can grant their Requeſt. 'Tis a ſuperſtitious and indiſcreet way of Worſhip, to obſerve the Feſtivals of the Saints of an inferior Order, with greater Solemnity than thoſe of the Saints of the higheſt Order, or than the Feſtivals of Jeſus Chriſt and the bleſſed Virgin. One of the great Abuſes in obſerving Feſtivals is, that the whole Solemnity of them is meaſured by external Pomp and publick Rejoicings. Another Cuſtom which is but too common, and which he looks upon as a very great Abuſe, and as coming near to Blaſphemy and Idolatry is, the attributing to them things that they never did; the counterfeiting of Legends and apocryphal Lives, the pretending Viſions and Miracles that are only fictitious, the impoſing of falſe Relicks for true ones. He is abſolutely againſt the honouring of new Relicks, or the expoſing of them to be worſhipped publickly, unleſs they have been approv'd of by the Pope. In ſhort, he finds fault with a great number of other Abuſes of this Nature; as the forſaking of the principal Churches to run after particular Chapels, where new kinds of Devotions are introduced; and the leaving the holy Sacrament without Lights, while ſome Relicks and Images have a great many Wax Candles about them. He exhorts the Prelates that ſhall meet in a general Council, to labour after the Reformation of theſe and many other Abuſes. He does not ſpare the Friars of his own Order, but takes all imaginable Liberty, in ſpeaking againſt the Diſorders that they were guilty of: And particularly the Faults they committed againſt the Vow of Poverty which they had made. When he ſpeaks of Diſpenſations he ſays, that they are only Declarations and Expositions, and not Relaxations of the Law. He thinks, that the Monks who are made Biſhops, are not abſolved from their Vows: He exclaims againſt thoſe Docters among the Monks, who under pretence of being privileged Perſons, think themſelves exempt from the Obſervation of the Rules of their Order. With this he concludes his Invective againſt bad Chriſtians, which conſtitutes the firſt part of the Conditions that he requires in a good Prieſt, and relates to his Fidelity: The ſecond Qualification is Humility; the third, Prudence; the fourth, Sincerity; the fifth, a paternal Spirit for viſiting,

An Hiſtory of the Lives, and an Abridgement of the Works of the Authors of the former part of the ſixteenth Century.

Thomas Illyricus.

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comforting and chastising; the sixth, Frugality; and the last, the Care of feeding of Sheep, first with the spiritual Food of the Word of God; secondly, with bodily Nourishment in relieving them in their Needs; and lastly, in edifying them by the good Example that he gives them. To this he exhorts

Pastors, Prelates, Cardinals and Popes. This Discourse is lively and eloquent, and shews that the Author was better qualified for preaching than for Controversy; it was indeed his principal Employment, for he preached long and with Success: Part of his Sermons were printed at *Thoulouse*.

HENRICUS CORNELIUS AGRIPPA.

Henricus Cornelius Agrippa of the Family of *Nettesheim*, was born at *Cologne* the 14th. of September 1486. His Ancestors having for a long time adhered to the Interests of the House of *Austria*, he entred while he was young into the Service of the Emperor *Maximilian I.* who at first made him his Secretary, but he quitted that Employment, and betook himself to the War, and served seven Years in the same Emperor's Army in *Italy*; where he signalized himself in many Rencounters, for which the Honour of Knighthood was conferred upon him. But to his military Titles he would needs add those that are bestowed by the Universities, and took his Degrees of Doctor of Law and Medicine. Being naturally unconstant, he could not stay long in one Country, and brought himself into trouble almost in every place to which he went. He made a Journey into *France* before the Year 1507. From thence he went into *Spain* in 1508 and returned to *Dole* in 1509. where he read publick Lectures, and at the desire of some Persons of Quality, he explained *Reuchlin's* Book *De Verbo mirifico*. He did it with good Success, and was associated with the Professors of Divinity in that Town. But this offended the Monks, who were Enemies to *Reuchlin's* Books, and he was attacked by one *Catelinet* a Cordelier, and forced to leave that Employment. Then he went into *England*, where he laboured upon *St. Paul's* Epistles, and soon after he returned to *Cologne*, where he publickly read Divinity, upon those that they call *Quodlibetical Questions*. Being wearied of these Employments, he betook himself again to the War, and went into *Italy*, and joined the Emperor *Maximilian's* Army, where he remained till the Cardinal *de Santa Croce* called him to *Pisa*, to be the Divine of the Council that was sitting there. He afterwards taught Divinity publickly at *Pavia*, and at *Turin*. He read Lectures at *Pavia* upon *Mercurius Trismegistus*, in the Year 1515. He there had a Wife and Children, but he was reduced to so great Poverty, that he was obliged to leave all that he had there, and to retire. His Friends were at great pains in several places to procure him some Settlement. Those of *Metz* offered to make him Syndick, Advocate and Orator of that Town. He accepted of those Employments, and discharged the Duties of them from the Year 1511. The Persecutions that the Monks raised against him, (both because he had refuted the common Opinion of those times, that *St. Anne* had had three Husbands, and because he had defended a Country-woman who was accused of Witchcraft,) forced him to quit the Town of *Metz*, in the Year 1520. and to return to his own Country. But it seems he met with no better treatment there, for he left it in the Year 1521. and went to *Geneva*, where he expected to have got some Pension from the Duke of *Savoy*; but being disappointed of his Hopes, he went to *Fribourg* in *Switzerland*, in the Year 1523. to practise Physick there, as he had done at *Geneva*. Next Year he went to *Lyons*, and got a Pension from the French King *Francis I.* and was chosen Physician to that Prince's Mother. But he soon incurred his Mistress's Displeasure; for he having received Orders from her, to enquire by the Rules of Astrology, what was like to be the Fortune of the Affairs of *France*, he answered with too great Freedom, that she ought not to make so ill an use of his Parts, as to employ them upon such an

unworthy purpose. This Freedom, and that which he had foretold of the Triumphs of the Constable of *Bourbon*, who was this Princess's Enemy, quite lost him her Favour; she caused him to be blotted out of the List of her Household, so that he was necessitated to seek for another Settlement. He resolved to go to the *Netherlands*, and having with some difficulty obtained a Pass at *Paris*, he came to *Antwerp* in the Month of July 1528. In 1529, *Agrippa* was invited at the same time by *Henry VIII.* King of *England*, by *Gattinara* Chancellor to *Charles V.* and by *Margaret* of *Austria* Governor of the *Low-Countries*. The last Invitation was what he chose, and he accepted of the Office of Historiographer to *Charles V.* he published the History of the Coronation of that Emperor as a Prelude, and soon after he made the Princess *Margaret's* Funeral Oration. After the Death of that Princess, he found that his Enemies had possessed her with an ill Opinion of him, and that if she had lived, he had been in danger of his Life. They did him the same ill Offices with his Imperial Majesty. The Treatise of the *Vanity of Sciences*, which he published at *Antwerp* in 1530. exasperated his Enemies extremely against him; his Treatise *de occulta Philosophia* which he published in a little time after, furnished them with more pretences to alperse him. Cardinal *Campegius*, who was the Pope's Legate, and Cardinal *de le March* Bishop of *Liege*, solicited in his behalf, but all they could do was to no purpose, for they could neither procure him the payment of his Pension, nor save him from being imprisoned for his Debts at *Brussels* in the Year 1531. He was not kept long in Prison, and as soon as he was set at liberty, he retired to the Bishoprick of *Cologne*, and staid at *Bonn* till the Year 1535. He then took an humour to return to *Lyons*, and his Misfortunes pursued him wherever he went. He was imprisoned in *France* for something that he had written against the Mother of *Francis I.* but he was enlarged at the Intercession of some Persons who were his Friends. He went from thence to *Grenoble*, where he died that same Year 1535.

It cannot be denied, but *Agrippa* was a Man of great Parts and Learning. He understood 8 several Languages, and not to mention Philosophy and the other Sciences, he had considerable Skill in Divinity, Physick and Law. Some Authors have accused him of Magick, and have published Accounts of his magical Tricks, but there is not the least appearance of Truth in them. *Paulus Jovius* who is the first Author of that Calumny reports, that he always led about with him a Devil, in the shape of a black Dog, who informed him of every thing that passed in the World; and that when he was a dying, and was exhorted to repent of his Sins, he took from off the Dog's Neck a Collar studded with Nails, by which some magical Inscriptions were formed: And said to the Dog, *be gone thou unhappy Beast, thou hast been my Ruin*, upon which the Dog ran away immediately, and threw himself into the *Stone*, and was never seen afterwards. But this is a feigned Story, for *Agrippa* did not die at *Lyons*, where *Paulus Jovius* supposes that this happened, and *Januarius* his domestick Servant bore witness, that the black Dog was a real Dog, that he had frequently led him, and that *Agrippa* lik'd him very much, and caressed him often. The passionate Love that *Agrippa* had for the occult Sciences, the ridiculous Apparitions and

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Visions that he relates, and especially his Fondness for the Jewish Cabala, where the occasions of his being accused of Necromancy. His Poverty, his Misery and his Conduct, show sufficiently that he was no great Conjuror. He lived always in the Communion of the Church of Rome. In the Sixth Chapter of his Treatise concerning the *Vanity of Sciences*, he expressly calls *Luther* an Heresiarch. When he sent *Erasmus* his Declaration concerning the *Vanity of Sciences*, he protested to him that he had no other Principles or Opinions but those of the Catholic Church. And in the Dedication of his Apology, he tells the Pope's Legate, that he wished that God would purge his Church of Hereticks. Yet in his Letters, he is much upon the Reserve as to *Luther*, and in one place he commends him, and in another seems favourable to his Party. His natural Inconstancy, and the Persecutions that he suffered, were perhaps the cause of those Variations: But it is certain that he lived and died in the Communion of the Church of Rome, and that he never defended *Luther's* Errors in his writings, though he fell into other Errors of his own.

Agrippa's Treatise of the *Incertainty and Vanity of Sciences and Arts*, and of the *Excellency of the Word of God*, which he printed at *Antwerp* in the Year 1530. Is the first of his Works in the *Lyons* Edition of them, published in the Year 1580. It is a Declamation like one of those of the Ancient Rhetoricians, in which he undertakes to prove this Paradox, that there is nothing more pernicious or more dangerous to a good Life and the Salvation of Souls, than Arts and Sciences. He asserts, that the greater part of the Sciences are ill of themselves; that there is not one of them but what is defective in something; that we ought not to have any Esteem for them; that there is nothing in them that is good, unless it be what they owe to the good designs either of those that invented them, or of those that teach them; that when a Man of vicious Inclinations is so unhappy as to learn them, they are very hurtful and make him still more vicious; that if a good Man of virtuous Dispositions be learned in them, the Publick may indeed in that case receive some benefit from them, but he that is learned in them, is never the happier Man, upon the account of his great Learning: For true Happiness does not consist in the Knowledge of that which is Good, but in a good Life. And it is not the Knowledge of curious things, but our good Inclinations that reconcile us to God. That Knowledge is at most, but a Qualification that prepares the Soul for Blessedness, and not the thing in which its Blessedness consists. Besides Happiness ought to be common to all Mankind: Whereas there are but few People that learn the Sciences. It is very difficult and almost impossible to be Master of them. It is much easier to come to the Knowledge of God by Faith and Religion, than to make enquiries concerning him, by Demonstrations and Syllogisms. In a Word, all the Sciences, being nothing in his Opinion, but the Assertions and Opinions of Men, he thinks they are sometimes hurtful and sometimes profitable, sometimes dangerous, and sometimes useful, sometimes good and sometimes bad, always imperfect, always uncertain and oftentimes the occasion of Errors and Disputes. To prove this he takes a view of all the several Arts and Sciences and he wittily discovers whatsoever is weak, uncertain or dangerous in every Art and in every Science, and shows the ill use that is or may be made of these things. He gives an Account of the nicest and most curious Things, and of those that require the greatest Learning upon every Subject; so that this Treatise may be accounted a prodigy of Learning. A Man will be convinced of this by Reading only the first Chapter where he speaks of the Letters or Characters that are made use of in Writing. Nothing can be more elaborate or just upon that Subject, than what *Agrippa* has summ'd up in few words.

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He observes that *Abraham* made use of the *Chaldaic* Characters, which he thinks were the first and the most Ancient, and the same with those which the *Affyrians* and *Phœnicians* used: He does not think, that the Characters that *Moses* used, were the same with those that the *Jews* use at present, and of which *Esdras* was the Author. He adds, that one *Linus* of *Chalcis* brought the *Phœnician* Characters from *Phœnicia* into *Greece*; that afterwards *Cadmus* the Son of *Agenor*, gave the *Græcians* an Alphabet of Sixteen new Letters, to which *Palamedes* added four more, in the time of the *Trojan War*: That after him, *Simonides* added other four: That the *Egyptians* were taught by one *Memnon* to use the figures of living Creatures instead of Letters, and that *Mercury* was the first that taught them the use of Letters: That the *Latins* owe the Invention of their Characters to a Woman call'd *Nicostrata* and Surnamed *Carmenta*: That Anciently there were seven several kinds of Letters, *Hebrew*, the *Greek*, the *Latin*, the *Syriac*, the *Egyptian* and the *Getic*, concerning the Invention of which he cites these six Verses that *Crinitus* found in an ancient Manuscript.

*Moyſes primus Hebræicas exaravit Literas.
 Mente Phœnices ſagaci condiderunt Atticas.
 Quas Latini ſcriptitarunt edidit Nicoſtrata.
 Abraham Syras, & idem repperit Chaldaïcas.
 Iſis arte non minore protulit Egyptias.
 Gulſita prompſit Getarum, quam videmus ultimam.*

Other Nations afterwards Invented New Characters. One *Gordan* a Bishop is said to have Invented the *Gothic*. The Characters of the Ancient *Franks*, differed but little from those of the *Greeks*, which *Wastaldus* used in writing his History in their Language. It is not known who was the Inventer of them. They had also two other kinds of Characters, one Invented by *Doracus*, and the other by *Illicus* a *Frank*, who is said to have come from *Scythia*, and to have accompanied *Marcomir* upon the *Rhine*. *Bede* describes some Ancient Characters of the *Normans*. Many other Nations after the same manner, either invented New Characters, or changed and deformed the Old; as the *Dalmatians* did the *Greek*, the *Armenians* the *Chaldee*, and the *Goths*, and *Lombards* the *Latin* Characters which they disfigured. The Letters of the Ancient *Tuscans* are lost as well as the Characters of the Old *Spaniards* and of other Nations. There is a great Controversy among the *Talmudists*, concerning the *Hebrew* Characters. *Rabbi Judah* maintains that *Adam* spoke the *Aramic* [or *Syriac*] Tongue. Another says, that *Moses* wrote the Law in the Characters of the Ancient *Hebrew*, which was changed by *Esdras* into the *Aramic*. That afterwards the *Hebrew* Characters were restored, and the *Aramic* left to the *Samaritans*. Others say, that the Law was originally writ in the same Characters in which it is writ at present. That they were changed by reason of the Sins of the People, but were restored upon their Repentance. *Rabbi Solomon* the Son of *Eleazar* does not believe, that either the Language or the Characters of the *Hebrews* were ever changed. So that we cannot have any certainty concerning the *Hebrew* Tongue, even from the *Hebrews* themselves. After this manner, *Agrippa* treats of other matters. Speaking of Magick, he confesses, that while he was young, he wrote a Treatise of Magick, entituled, *De Occulta Philosophia*. But now that he is come to be wiser, he retracts and disclaims that Youthful Fault of being over Curious; that he repents that ever he should have bestowed so much Time and Money upon those Vanities; that the only Advantage that accrued to him from thence was that he had learned by his own Experience, to deter others from that Study; for '(says he) all those that will meddle with Divination, and with foretelling of Future Events, and who are not war-

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ed by the Truth and Spirit of God, but do it thro' the Delusion of Devils, and by the Operation of a malicious Spirit, and who work by Magical Tricks, by Exorcisms, by Songs, by Drinks, and by other Diabolical and Idolatrous Practices, who make Ghosts and Visions to appear and pretend to work Miracles, are destinated with *Jannes and Jambres*, and with *Simon Magus*, to be burnt with eternal Fire.' We have related this Passage, only to shew his Opinion of Magick; we shall not insist upon the Observations he makes upon the other prophane Sciences, but only on those that relate to Religion. There is a whole Chapter concerning Religion in general, in which he proves, that all the Religions that were upon the Earth, before the coming of *Jesus Christ*, were false except that of the *Jews*. 'Consider, says he, how many Religious Ceremonies, and Laws there have been since the beginning of the World. The true Religion has been made known only by the Word of God; and this Incarnate World, who triumphed over his Enemies upon the Cross, has overthrown the Temples, and the Idols, and destroyed the Power of the false Gods, and made the Oracles to cease; for since the Word of God began to make himself known to the World by his Gospel, all the Gods of the Gentiles are fallen as if they had been Thunder-struck, as our Saviour says in *St. Luke, I beheld Satan as Lightning fall from Heaven*,' *Agrippa* considering that which is External in Religion, treats first of Images. He observes that of Old, all People did not receive the Worshipping of them. That the *Jews* abhorred them because they were forbidden by the Laws of *Moses*; that the ancient *Romans* and *Persians* had no Statues or Images; that of all People the *Egyptians* were the most Superstitious and Extravagant in this Matter. And here he is too bold in declaring his own Thoughts of Images, and saying that this Heathenish Custom has also spoiled our Religion; and that from thence, Images, have been brought into the Church, as well as many useless Ceremonies, which were not customary among the primitive Christians. He adds, that it cannot be expressed, how much this Practice makes Superstition and Idolatry to prevail among the ignorant and rude People, by the connivance of the Priests; who make a great Advantage by it to themselves. He objects against himself the Saying of *St. Gregory*, that Pictures were the Books of the ignorant: But he does not approve of that Maxim, how wise soever it may be in it self; and he will needs have the Holy Scripture and not Images to be the Book of the ignorant People, as if the unlearned Christians could not be both instructed out of the Holy Scripture, and also put in mind of the Truths that they read there, by the Representations that are made of those things in Pictures. *Agrippa* is more moderate with regard to the Relicks of Saints: He confesses they are Holy, and says, 'That no Man ought to make any Question of it; that one Day they shall shine in eternal Glory; that we ought to have a great Veneration for the Saints: And that though they hear the Prayers of those that invoke them with holy Intentions, in what place soever these Prayers be made to them, yet they hear them with greater Satisfaction when they are said in those Places, where any of their own Relicks are kept. But because we are so uncertain, whether the Relicks that were shown to us, be the true Relicks of those Saints whose they are said to be: He therefore thinks it were much better to worship the Saints in Spirit and in Truth by our Lord *Jesus Christ*, by imploring their Assistance: And besides that we have no Relick that can be compared to the Sacrament of the Body of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, who is the Saint of Saints, and who is kept in all our Churches, and in whose Body we adore *Jesus Christ* himself who is present after a corporeal Manner.' He blames the Covetousness of those Priests, who adorn the Sepulchres of the Saints, who expose their Relicks and celebrate their Festivals, with great Solemnity: And who for their own Interest, speak extravagant things in Praise of them. He condemns also the Superstition of those who ascribe a particular Virtue and Office to every particular Saint. He confesses that *Jesus Christ*, who is the Soul of his Mystical Body the Church, dispenses his Graces by the Saints, and that if he pleases, he may grant some Graces by the Ministry of one

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Saint, and others by the Ministry of another; And that it is more Probable, that those Martyrs and Saints, who themselves have undergone such and such Punishments or Diseases will deliver us from those Evils, than that others do it. But he laughs at those who attribute such and such Virtues to the Saints, only because there is some resemblance betwixt their Names and such and such Diseases. In fine, he protests that he will not derogate from the Power of God, and from the Merit of the Saints; because it is an impious thing to have bad Thoughts of the Christian Religion and of the Miracles of the Saints. But he avers, that it is a superstitious and malicious thing to make false Miracles pass for true ones, and like so many Oracles to certify the ignorant People of the Truth of false and feigned Stories: That they that give credit to those Fables and Dreams are destitute of common Sense. In the close of what he writes on this Head he says, that as the Excess in the Worship of Images is Idolatry, so an obstinate Aversion to them is Heresy; And that as the Abuse of the Relicks of the Saints is an execrable Crime, so want of Reverence towards them is a detestable Heresy, which *Vigilantius* maintained long ago, and which *St. Jerome* refuted, and which began lately to revive in *Germany*. From Images he goes on to Temples: And he observes, that there were several ancient Nations formerly which had no Temples, and among the rest the *Persians*; that the *Hebrews* had one only Temple at *Jerusalem*, and that God took care to inform them that he did not dwell in Buildings made with Men's Hands: that the Church which is animated by the Holy Ghost in all that it does, built some places where Christians might meet to hear the Word of God, and do all the other Exercises of their Religion with greater Convenience and Purity. That Christians have always paid a Respect to those places, and the Emperors have annexed some Privileges to them: But that the Number of them was come to be so great by reason of the Oratories of the Monks, and domestic Chappels, that it seemed necessary to suppress many of them. And that Men might be without those stately and magnificent Buildings, upon which there is every Year bestowed as much of the Money that is given in Alms, as might maintain a great many poor People, who are the true Temples of *Jesus Christ*; and entertain those who are the true Images of him, and who are in danger of being starved to Death with Hunger, or Thirst, or Cold, or of Dying with excessive Heat and Labour, with Weakness or Misery.

'The Church's Design in instituting of Holy Days has always been to consecrate certain Days for the peculiar Service of God. It was for this end that our Fathers pitch'd upon some Days, on which People were obliged to abstain from all kinds of external Works and bodily Actions, that with greater freedom they might serve God and give themselves to Prayer and Meditation, and join with others in the Divine Offices, and hear Sermons, and do every thing that can contribute to their Salvation. But the Devil who loves to subvert all order, and who makes it his business to throw down every thing that the Spirit of God hath built, has almost ruined this Edifice; for the greater part of Christians, do never so much as think of exercising themselves on those Days in the employments for which they were appointed; but in Diversions that are altogether profane, such as Dancing, and Gaming, and Beholding Public shows, and Feasting, and in a great many other worldly and carnal Actions contrary to the Spirit of Christianity.'

Agrippa finds as little fault with the Institution of Church Ceremonies: He confesses that they were appointed for the Ornament of the Church, but he finds fault with the Excess and Abuse of them, he says that it is a lamentable thing, that People should put too great Confidence in those indifferent things, and that they should observe them with greater Exactness than they do the Commands of God. He adds, that tho' the Ceremonies of the Church are no Ground of Heresy, yet they have often times been the Cause of Schisms and Divisions in the Church. And he does not think that the Unity of the Church ought to be broken, for Matters of small Consequence which make no part of our Faith.

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In the Chapter concerning the *Church-Magistrates*, he commends the Ancient Custom of the Church, not to promote any to that Dignity but those who were truly called, who were virtuous and every way capable to perform their Duty. He censures those who do not seek for those Preferments, but out of a Motive of Interest, who think of nothing but enriching themselves, who neglect their principal Duties, and are addicted to all sorts of Vices, who appropriate to their own use the Revenues of their Benefices which belong to the Poor; who lead worldly Lives, and in a Word who abuse their Character and their Authority: For this he cites the Example of *Boniface VIII.* and of some other Popes. He acknowledges that the Ecclesiastical Power is good and useful, but he condemns those that make a wrong use of it. He would have People obey all those who are lawfully ordained Bishops in the Church of Jesus Christ: He says that it is an irreligious thing to condemn the Priests: And he concludes, that Priests are good; that Bishops are yet more Excellent than they; and that the Pope is the Prince of the Priests and above all things; that God hath intrusted him with the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and with his most Secret Mysteries; that he that honours him, shall be honoured by God; and that he that dishonours him shall be despised and punished.

The Chapter concerning the *Monks*, is one of the most Satirical Chapters in the whole Book. He acknowledges that their Rules are Holy, But he says, that in his time, there were a great many debauched and profligate wretches among them: He represents them very disadvantageously: He inveighs against their Privileges and Exemptions: Yet he does not think that what he says will offend the good Monks, since his only Design is against the bad, who are ravening Wolves covered with the Skins of Lambs; Foxes disguised with the Skins of Sheep; Hypocrites who seem to be humble and lead an austere Life, while in the mean time they are full of a boundless Ambition, and deny themselves nothing. He protests, once more, that he is far from having any ill thoughts of those Monks, who live suitably to their Profession, and who after the Example of the Holy Fathers aspire to the highest degrees of Perfection. He acknowledges that their Order and their Profession is Holy; that there are also good Monks and good Mendicant-Friars, holy Anchorets and devout Canons Regulars: But he says withal, that it must be confessed, that there are likewise many among them who are without Faith, who are Reprobates and Apostates, and who dishonour their Profession.

He exclaims also against the *Begging-Monks*, in the Chapter concerning Begging, and in the close of it he says, that *Richard* Bishop of *Armagh*, *Mallecolus* Provost of *Tubing*, *John* Bishop of *Chartres*, and some others, have written against the *Mendicants*. He adds, their Writings would have been more tolerable, if they had not condemned all religious Begging, but only the ill Use that some People made of it.

Agrippa after having treated of many other Subjects, comes at last to treat of the Canon-law and of Divinity; this also comes within our Bounds. He says of the Canon-law, that it took its first Rise from the Civil: That it may appear very holy; but that the means and ways upon seizing of other Men's Goods, for satisfying of covetous Desires, lie concealed in it under the appearance of Religion; that there are but few of its Constitutions that do really concern Piety, Religion, the Worship of God, and the Rites of the Sacraments; not to mention things therein, that are contrary to the Word of God. The greater part of the other Laws relate only to Differences and Suits of Law, to the Pomp and Magnificence and Interests of Popes, who are not satisfied with the ancient Canons of the Fathers, but who have daily multiplied new Decrees in their Pa-

lea's, their *Extravagants*, their Rules of Chancery, insomuch, that these new Canons are without End and without Limits. The Popes have carried this so far, that they have commanded the Angels themselves to obey their Orders. 'There is (says he) at *Vienna* a Bull stampt with Lead, granted by Pope *Clement*, in which, he orders the Angels to carry straight to Paradise the Souls of the Pilgrims that died in going to *Rome* to get Indulgences. It is the Canon-law that has introduced these Excesses, that the Patrimony of Jesus Christ consists in Kingdoms, Fiefs, and other Estates; that the Priesthood of Jesus Christ, and the supreme Power of the Church, is an Empire and a Royalty; that the Sword of Jesus Christ is a temporal Jurisdiction and Power; that the Pope's Person is the Foundation and Rock upon which the Church is built; that Bishops are not only Ministers but Heads; and that the Church's Goods and Possessions do not consist only in the Doctrine of the Gospel, in an ardent Faith, and in the contempt of the World, but in Tributes, in Tithes, in Offerings, in Collections, in purple Robes, in Mitres of Gold and Silver, in Jewels and in Lands; that the Pope's Power extends to the making of War; that he can dissolve Alliances, dispense with Oaths, and Obedience due to Superiors, depose a Bishop without any Ground, and give his Revenues to another; that he cannot be guilty of Simony; that he can dispense with the Law of Nature, even in contradiction to the Laws of the New Testament; that the Office of a Bishop is not to preach the Word of God, but to confirm, to ordain, to consecrate Temples, Altars, and Chances, &c. It is also from this very Source, that the Custom of merchandizing in Church-Benefices, Indulgences and Dispensations has arisen: He cites several Decretals to prove that many of those Laws are artificial and tyrannical.

The Inquisition is founded upon the Canon-law, and upon the pretended Infallibility of the Pope. *Agrippa* shews, that this is a Practice very different from the ancient Mildness of Christianity; he condemns the Proceedings of that Court and asserts that it has no lawful Authority.

At last he comes to consider Theology: He speaks nothing of the Theology of the Heathens, which the Fathers refuted; he confines himself intirely to that of the Christians. He begins with School-Divinity, which consists of Citations from Scripture, and philosophical Reasons mixed together; the Method of which is quite different from that of the Ancients; because it treats of every thing by way of Questions and Syllogisms, without any Elegancy; but he confesses, that it is full of good Sense, and that it has been very serviceable to the Church, for refuting of Hereticks: The Authors of this Art were, *The Master of the Sentences*, *Thomas Aquinas*, *Albertus Magnus*, and many other excellent Men; *Jobannes Scotus* was a subtil Doctor; but he was too much in love with disputing. It is this Itch of disputing, that has made the School-Divinity degenerate insensibly into Sophisms. Some new Sophisters in Divinity, who have no other pretense for being called Divines, but only that they have purchased that Name to themselves, have turned this sublime Science into a meer Logomachy. These kinds of People run from one School to another, and make it their business to debate about frivolous Questions, and to frame Opinions according to their own Fancies, and to put forced Senses upon the Holy Scripture, and to seek for Occasions of endless Contests: They expose our Faith to be laught at, and make the wise Men of the Age to suspect the truth of it, by neglecting the Divine Books of the Holy Scripture, and applying themselves to Questions that are fit for nothing but for disputing, in which they exercise their Wit and consume their Time, and make all the Doctrine of Divinity to consist: If one would oppose to them the Authority of the sacred Scriptures, they are ready to cry out, *The Letter kills, it*

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 is pernicious, it is useless, and we ought to search for what lies hid under it; and then by the means of their Glosses and Arguments, they give a Sense very wide from the literal; if one presses them, they give him nothing but abusive Language; and will allow none to be called Divines, but those who have the Art of disputing, of pushing their Arguments and inventing of new Senses, and of using monstrous Terms, that no body can understand; from thence it comes to pass, that the School-Divinity has begotten Errors and Heresies, and from thence also come those perpetual Controversies among Divines, and that great number of different Opinions, and that variety of opposite Sects.

The *Interpretative-Divinity* which consists in enquiring after those Truths, that are hid under the Letter of the Holy Scripture, by allegorical, anagogical or moral Senses, has no fixed or certain Rules, but depends entirely upon the Liberty that a Man gives to his own Fancy. It is a kind of Science distinct from the Holy Scripture; for in this matter, every Man abounds in his own Sense. Some of those Interpreters, by giving too much way to their own Fancies, have fallen into Errors, tho' otherways they were very devout Men, and are honoured as such in the Church. That a Man may not fall into Mistakes, he has need of a more excellent Light, which discerns what is good from what is evil; that is to say, of the Word of God, who is the only Person that knows his Father's Meaning.

The *Prophetical-Divinity* of Men inspired by God, is not subject to Error, seeing God cannot deceive them, and they cannot lye in those things, that they have written by Divine Inspiration: But in other respects they were subject to Error, and might have been deceived. Jesus Christ, who is God-Man, is the only Person that could never be deceived or deceive others; because he is the only Person that ever was constantly and without Interruption, endued with the Holy Ghost; he is the only perfect Divine. Yet we must not think upon that account, that the Books of the Old Testament are of no use after his Coming: They live and shall always live, because they are the Word of God, which Jesus Christ did not come to destroy but to fulfil, and to make perfect. Agrippa alledges, that we have not all the Books that were written by Divine Inspiration, and that there is only a small number of them remaining, which yet makes up the Rule of our Life.

After all he concludes, that all human Sciences being uncertain or imperfect, it cannot be known where the Truth is, nor can it be found out but only by the Key of Knowledge and Wisdom, which is the Word of God, which discerns that which has only the appearance of Truth, from Truth it self, and which cannot be overcome, neither by Lyes or by Sophisms, nor by all the Address of Philosophers. He that will not surrender himself to this Word, or he that forsakes it, is as St. Paul saith, proud and ignorant: This is the Touchstone with which we ought to try all Sciences, Arts and Opinions: We ought to have recourse to this solid Foundation, and to make use of it for finding out the truth of all things, and for judging of all the Opinions, and of all the Thoughts of Men. This Science is not taught in any School of Philosophers, it is God alone and Jesus Christ that teaches it, by the Holy Ghost, in the canonical Scriptures, to which nothing can be added, and from which nothing can be taken away. This Scripture has so much Majesty and so much Energy, that it will not admit of any Gloss or Exposition from Men, nay not from the Angels themselves; we must not change it into whatsoever Forms we please: It has only one Sense, which is constant, simple, and holy, which establishes the Truth, and triumphs over Irreligion and Error. The other Senses, that are moral, mystical, cosmological, typical, anagogical, tropological, and allegori-

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 cal, may instruct and edifie the People, but we ought not to make use of them for proving, refuting, or condemning. It is only the literal Sense, that ties and binds; so that we ought always to stick close to it, all other Sciences pass away but this is eternal; we ought not to think that the Divines are the only Persons that are concerned in it; all Christians ought to be instructed in it, some more, some less, according to their Capacities, some must be nourished with Milk, and others with strong Meat; but no Person ought to be deprived of the necessary Food of Truth.

He ends this Treatise with a Peroration, in which he exhorts Christians to search for Truth only in the Bible, where he says, a Man may find all the Secrets of Nature, all the Doctrine of Laws and Manners, and a perfect Knowledge of all that is past, present and to come; 'Why, says he, do you run with so much Precipitation, to be instructed in Knowledge by those who have spent their whole Lives in searching for it, but all in vain; who in that Search have lost all their Time, and all their Labour? Stupid and irreligious People that you are! Why do you labour to no purpose? And why are you not attentive to the Gifts of the Holy Ghost. You would learn from impious Philosophers and Teachers of Error, that which you may be taught by Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost, Do you think that Socrates's Ignorance can teach you Knowledge? Or, that you shall be enlightened by the Darkness of Anaxagoras? Can you fetch Virtue out of Democritus's Well? And do you expect to be made wise by the Folly of Empedocles? Or to find Piety in Diogenes's Tub? Can the dull Carnades make you witty? Do you hope to learn Religion from the impious Aristotle, and the Infidel Averroes? Or to be instructed in the Faith, by the Superstition of the Platonic Philosophers? You deceive your selves, and you shall be deceived by those who themselves have been first deceived.' He then exhorts Men to hearken to the Voice of God, and to apply themselves to this divine Science, in which nothing is wanting, to which nothing can be added, and which comprehends all things. 'It is not by Toil and Labour, that this Science is acquired, but by Prayer and Faith; the Study of it does not require much time, but an humble Spirit and a pure Heart; nor does it require a great many Books, but a purified Mind. The single Volume of the Bible contains all, and reaches all, to those whose Minds are illuminated with Divine Knowledge; as for the others, the things it contains, are to them but Parables and dark Sayings: It is a Book that has many Seals; pray therefore to God with a lively Faith and without doubting, that the Lamb of the Tribe of Judah may come and open to you this sealed Book. This only holy, this only true Lamb, who only has the Key of Knowledge and Judgment; who opens what no Man can shut, and who can both open and shut: This Lamb is J. Christ, the Word and Son of God his Father, the deifying Wisdom, the true Master who was made Man like unto us, that he might make us the Sons of God, to whom be Glory for ever.'

Agrippa having published this Treatise at Antwerp, in the Year 1530. the Doctors of Louvain found many things in it, which in their Opinion deserved to be censured, and having made a Collection of the Propositions that they disapproved of, they laid them before the Emperor: He gave them to be examined by his Privy Council, who referred the Cognizance of the whole Matter to the Parliament of Mechlin, Tho' these Propositions were in the hands of many Persons, and tho' the Cause was depending before the Parliament of Mechlin for a whole Year, yet Agrippa had never seen them, nor did he so much as know any thing of them. But when he was informed of what had passed, he desired they would give him a Copy of the Propositions, that thereby he

might know what he ought to explain, correct or retract; declaring that he was ready to do it with all possible Humility. They actually gave him a Copy of them, the 15th. of November, 1531. But it was told him at the same time, that it was the Emperor's express Will that he should retract them. Agrippa persuaded himself, that either his Thoughts were not rightly understood, or that they were not faithfully represented; and therefore he did not think himself obliged to obey that Order that was given him, without being heard: And he chose rather to complain of the manner of their Proceedings against him, and to write an Answer to the Censure of the Doctors of Louvain.

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In the first Treatise he complains of the Malice of some Persons, that were Enemies to Men of Learning, that calumniated them and aggravated their smallest Faults, and accused them of Error and Heresy, for what they had said only in jest; and condemned every thing to the Fire that did not please them. After having declaimed against this Conduct, he adds, that he himself had the Experience of this, on the account of his Book concerning the Vanity of Sciences, and the Excellency of the Word of God; which was no sooner published, but some School-Divines, and especially the Monks, fell a declaiming against it, and resolved to condemn it, and began to calumniate and persecute him. He clears himself from the Charge of Magick: He makes an Apology for what is said in that Book with too great Freedom, because it is a Declamation, the Subject of which is commonly feigned, and in which a Man sometimes defends what is false, and praises Vice, and speaks against Virtue, only for exercising his Parts; and not for establishing any Truth. Out of Hatred to the School-Divines he says, that it is not their business to judge, but to dispute doctrinally; and that it belongs to the Lawyers to give Decisions: And then he makes a Satyr against the Divines full of Anger and Passion.

In his Answer to the Censures of the Divines, he also defends his Book by the same general Reasons; that it is a Declamation, in which he does not pretend to affirm any thing for certain, but only to exercise his Wit: He complains, that those things that his Adversaries had censured in his Declamation, were by them called Assertions, and that they had suppressed the one part of the Title of the Excellency of the Word of God, which implied that his Design was only to shew, that all Sciences are vain and uncertain in comparison of the Word of God; tho' in themselves they might be useful and true, as the Angels are said to be impure if compared with God. These kinds of Hyperboles are ordinary, and 'tis not thought an unpardonable Fault in an Author, to make use of them: No body blames St. Jerome for saying, that Marriage is an Evil, in comparison of the Deity. He adds, that tho' there were some Faults in his Book, yet they ought to pardon them, because of the good things that are mixed with them. He produces many Errors, into which the Fathers and the most learned Divines have fallen; he upbraids the Divines of Louvain, for having condemned Reuchlin, Erasmus, Faber Stapulensis, and Petrus de Ravenna; he accuses of them writing with Passion, Envy, and Jealousy. He then defends the Propositions that those Divines had censured, and addressing his Discourse to the Counsellors of the Parliament of Mechlin, he demands Justice of them, and complains very much, that they had made use of this Pretence to exasperate the Emperor against him.

His Treatise of the Three several Ways of knowing God, by his Creatures, by the Law, and by the Gospel, runs also upon the same Principle of the Excellency of the Gospel: For tho' he confesses that God is known by his Creatures, and by the Law, yet he shews, that the Knowledge we received from Jesus Christ, is much more clear and perfect, than that which we have by the other two means.

It is from the same Principle, that he endeavours to dissuade Christians from the Study of the Heathen-Theology, and the Writings of the Philosophers, because the Gospel affords us a much purer and more sublime Theology: He therefore advises Divines to confine themselves to the Doctrine of the Gospel, and to make use of the Commentaries of the primitive Fathers, for understanding it aright, before they consult the Moderns, and to avoid curious Questions concerning the Godhead. When the Mind is once confirmed in those Truths, and enlightened with the Knowledge of them, a Man may then adventure, without any Fear to tread in the dark Paths of other Sciences.

We have already mentioned a Difference that fell out at Dole, betwixt Agrippa and Catelinet the Cordelier, because of Reuchlin's Treatise *De Verbo mirifico*, which he explained in that Town. This Cordelier having accus'd him of being a Judaizing Heretick, because he had introduced the *Cabala* into the School, which (as he thought) was a very bad Art and justly condemned. Agrippa made a Complaint against him, in which he cleared himself of the things that this Franciscan charged him with; and shews, that the Accusation was founded only on his knowing nothing of the *Cabala*, tho' he had fallen foul upon it.

Agrippa loved to shew his Wit, in maintaining Paradoxes in the Declamations, which he made in imitation of those of the ancient Rhetoricians; that which he composed concerning the Pre-eminence and Dignity of Women, *De Nobilitate ac Præcellentia Fæminæ Sexus*, is of the same kind; it is full of Wit and Learning.

But of all the Opinions that Agrippa maintain'd, that which is the most extraordinary, and the most extravagant, is that which relates to the Fall of Adam; that his Sin was nothing else but the carnal Conversation he had with Eve: And which is yet more ridiculous, that the Serpent or Devil that tempted Eve, was Adam's Privy-Member. I am apt to think it was only a Whimsey of Agrippa's, which he did not believe, tho' he asserts it, and endeavours to prove it very seriously, in a Declamation which he made expressly upon that Subject: But granting he was only in Jest, yet must he be allowed to play at that rate with the most important Matters of Religion?

His Treatise of the Sacrament of Marriage is more rational and more agreeable to the Doctrine of the Church: He extolls that Sacrament for the Antiquity of its Institution, for its Generality, and for its being indissoluble; because that by Marriage the Man and the Wife become one Flesh, and that a Man cannot part with his own Flesh; tho' he excepts the Case of Fornication. He then explains the three great Ends of Marriage, mutual Assistance, Procreation of Children, and avoiding of Fornication. He thinks, that for some of these Ends, all Men ought to marry, except those that are impotent, and those who being influenced by the Spirit of God, have embraced perpetual Chastity; Religion hinders these from marrying, and those are incapable of it by Nature. He blames those Men, who in chusing of Wives consider only Interest and the Advantages of Fortune: He blames also those that condemn second Marriages, and the Custom of making those that marry a second time pay a certain Sum: And of obliging them to be of the Confraternity of St. Joseph. He gives some very useful Instructions for making a prudent Choice of a Wife. He had dedicated this Treatise to Louisa of Savoy, Mother of King Francis I. but the Court was not well pleased with it; and Cappellanus the King's Physician, durst not present it. He was accused of having spoke too advantageously of Marriage. Robertus Cenalis, who was at that time Bishop of Venice, of whom Agrippa said, that he was *Vir admodum Sorbonice doctus*, informed him, that two things were

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 were censured in that Treatise; the first was, that he had said that Marriage could be dissolved in the case of Adultery. The second was, that those who had embraced Virginity for ever, were the only Persons that he had excepted from the Obligation of marrying. This Term for ever, seemed to insinuate that it was not lawful for People to keep their Virginity, unless they vowed to do it forever. Agrippa explains himself upon these two Difficulties: As to the first he says, that he never asserted, that married Persons who were separated for the Cause of Adultery, might contract another Marriage, but only, that Adultery was contrary to their being united in the same Flesh; that suppose he had said, that Marriage was dissolved by Adultery, there were some of the Fathers, as Origen and St. Ambrose, who were of the same Opinion; that it was the Opinion of the greater part of the Lawyers; that St. Augustin disputes against Potentius upon this Subject, as if this Question were no matter of Heresy; that there are Examples of these Separations; that many Canonists are of opinion, that it is in the Pope's power to dispense with them; that this Question was debated betwixt Erasmus and Lee; and that the Notes of the former were still to be seen; that for his own part, he adhered to his first Explanation, without entering upon that Question. As to the second Article that was found fault with, he denies that ever he had said, that a Man was obliged to marry, unless he vow'd perpetual Virginity: But he said only, that it was necessary to chuse this last State of Life, by the Motions of the Holy Spirit; that so long as a Man continues in these good Dispositions, he may continue unmarried. These Explications are in the 7th. Letter of the 4th. Book, and he says, that Robertus Cenalis was satisfied with them, and desired him to put them in Writing for the full Satisfaction of others.

The Sermon concerning a Monastick Life was composed by Agrippa, for the Abbot of of Brouiler who preach'd it. He there treats of this Subject after a very noble manner; He first shews, what the contemplative, and what the active Life is, and then shews, that they are both united in the monastick Life, of which he finds some Instances in the Old Testament, in the Life of Jesus Christ, in the Lives of his Apostles, and of the primitive Christians, and which since that time, has been revived by the Holy Fathers, who have prescribed Rules for it. He highly commends the Holy Monks, and gives us their Character, and treats of the three Vows of Poverty, Chastity and Obedience, to which all the Duties of a Monastick Life do relate.

The Sermon upon the Invention of the Relicks of St. Anthony, was composed for a Monk of the Order, that bears the Name of that Saint. It is a Performance of the same nature with the former: He relates the History of the miraculous Invention of the Relicks of that holy Anchorite, by the Bishop Theophilus, who was conducted by a Star to the place where those precious Bones were deposited. He inveighs against the ancient and modern Hereticks, who have no respect for the Relicks of the Saints. At last he reckons up those of St. Anthony; the Merit of which he highly extols.

We have already mentioned the Controversy that Agrippa had at Metz, concerning the three Husbands of St. Anne. The Occasion of it was this: There was a Story, that at that time was generally believed, that St. Anne had had three Husbands, Joachim, Cleophas and Salomas; by whom she had three Muries, one married to Joseph, who is the blessed Virgin, the Mother of God; another to Alpheus, and the third to Zebedee. Faber Stapulensis had refused this Opinion, in a Book of the one only Marriage, and the one only Child-birth of the blessed Anne, intituled, Of three and one: Agrippa maintained Faber's Opinion, and had a Conference upon this Subject with a Magistrate of the Town of Metz. Some Monks prepossessed with the vulgar Opinion,

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 set themselves to exclaim against him in their Sermons, which obliged Agrippa to reduce the Question to certain Propositions, in form of Theses: He therein maintained, that it was false to say that the Church believed that St. Anne had three Husbands; that those who would have burnt the Book that Faber wrote against this Opinion, were not passionate Men; that it is more pious, more probable, and more agreeable to the Testimony of the Ancients, to say that St. Anne had but one Husband, than to say that she had three; that the contrary Opinion is erroneous, scandalous, and impious; erroneous, because it contradicts the Truth of the History: Scandalous, because it is contrary to good Manners, and to the Custom of the Law and of the Jews, and to the Virtue of the Mother of the blessed Virgin: Impious, because it is contrary to the Explanation of the Figure, to the Prophecy, to Miracles, and to the Gospel; that Mary of Cleophas had that Surname from her Husband, and not from her Father; that according to Hegesippus, Eusebius and St. Jerome, Cleophas and Alpheus are but two Names for the same Man; that the Children of Cleophas being older than our Saviour, it was impossible that this Mary should be her second Daughter. But it is yet a greater Error, to say that there was another Mary, the Daughter of Salomas, seeing Salome is the proper Name of a Woman and not of a Man; that Mary and Salome are two several Women; that Salome is the Mother of Zebedee's Children; that she is not the blessed Virgin's Sister; and that St. John who was her eldest Son, was a Year younger than our blessed Saviour; that this Trigamy of St. Anne, gives us no high Notion of her Virtue, and that besides, it was not the Custom among the Jews, for an old Woman to marry the third time; and much less to give the same Name to the three several Daughters: That it is also contrary to the Figure, to say that St. Anne had three Husbands: For as there was no other Woman formed of Adam but only Eve, so the Analogy requires, that there should be no other Daughter born of St. Anne, but the Virgin Mary the Mother of God, the second Eve. The Prophecy in the Song of Solomon, which is applied to the blessed Virgin, My Dove is the only one of her Mother, does also favour the Unity of St. Anne's Marriage. If it be said, that St. Anne had other Children, then it will follow, that the Birth of the blessed Virgin was not miraculous, as it is generally believed. Lastly, the Text in the Gospel shews expressly, that Cleophas was the Husband of this Woman, that is called Mary of Cleophas, and that Salome is a Woman, and not a Man.

Claudius Faber Prior of the Dominicans, drew up and published some Conclusions contrary to those of Agrippa: They were writ in a barbarous Style, and drawn from Principles that had very little Solidity in them. Agrippa wrote a full Answer to them, and therein treats of the same Matter more at large. And because this Monk reproached him for not being a Divine, therefore in the beginning of this Treatise, he gives an account of the theological Employments he had had, and of the Treatises of Divinity that he had composed; and besides those that we have already spoken of, he mentions a Treatise of Man, A Commentary upon the Epistle to the Romans, and A Commentary upon Mercurius Trismegistus: None of which are among his printed Works. But there we find two little Treatises upon the Art of Raymond Lully, A Receipt against the Plague, Seven Books of Epistles, Ten Orations, The History of the Coronation of Charles V. and some Epigrams. His Epistles are curious and well written. There are some that tell us, that he wrote a Treatise for the Divorce of the King of England: But that is a Mistake. We may perceive by some of his Epistles, that he was inclined to write for the Queen, and that he was very angry with the Divines that approv'd of that Divorce.

Agrippa was certainly a Man of great Wit and Learning. He wrote well, and composed some Treatises that were very exact. But he was too much

given to declaiming, too satirical, too passionate, too free and too bold. He did not sufficiently reflect upon what he wrote, and Judgment was not the thing in which he most excell'd. Like the old Declaimers, he did not regard the Solidity of his Reasonings, but only the Impression that they might make. Probability was enough for him, he did not trouble himself about the Certainty of things. The following Lines that were made upon him, do sufficiently express his Character (a).

Inter Divos nullos non carpit Momus.

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Agrippa.

[(a) These Verses are put immediately after the Contents of his Declamation, concerning the *Vanity of Sciences*, in an Edition in 1536; So that I am apt to think Agrippa made them of himself.]

Inter Heroas monstra quæque insectatur Hercules.
Inter Dæmones Rex Erebi Pluto irascitur omnibus umbris.

Inter Philosophos ridet omnia Democritus.

Contrà deflet cuncta Heraclitus.

Nescit quæque Pyrrhon.

Et scire se putat omnia Aristoteles.

Contemnit cuncta Diogenes.

Nullis hic parcat Agrippa, contemnit,

Scit, nescit, deflet, ridet, irascitur, insectatur, carpit omnia.

Ipse Philosophus, Dæmon, Heros, Deus & omnia (b).

[(b) The curious Reader will be pleased to compare with Monsieur Du Pin's Account of Agrippa, what Monsieur Bayle has said of him in his Dictionary.]

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JOHN FISHER, Bishop of ROCHESTER, and Cardinal.

John Fisher was born in the Diocese of York, about the Year 1455. We know no Particulars of his younger Years: He studied at the University of Cambridge, and 'tis probable, that there he took his Degree of Doctor of Divinity. When his Learning and Piety came to be known, he was chosen to be Confessor to Margaret Countess of Richmond, the Mother of Henry VII. King of England; and it was by his Counsel that that Princess founded St. John's and Christ's Colleges at Cambridge, and that she gave Endowments for the Maintenance of Divinity-Professors in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, gave great Sums of Money for the Encouragement of Preachers of the Gospel, and for the Relief of the Poor. It was likewise by his Care, that a great many learned Divines and Professors of Languages, were invited into England, by whom the Sciences and especially Divinity, were restored in the Universities of that Kingdom. He was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, about the beginning of this Century, and was also named to the Bishoprick of Rochester by King Henry VII. tho' he himself did not seek for it, and tho' none of his Friends made any Interest at Court for obtaining it to him; Henry VIII. who loved him, and had a great Esteem for him, designed to have given him a greater and richer Bishoprick (a); but he would never leave that Church which God had given him for his Spouse. He kept himself always in favour with King Henry VIII. till the Matter of the Divorce was set on foot, against which he declared himself. Yet he did not altogether lose the King's Favour upon that account, but he, and all the other Bishops of England, being required to take the Oath of Supremacy, he refused to take it in the Terms in which it was conceived. Upon that Refusal, he was taken up and carried to Prison in the Year 1534. He was there kept very close, and was very hardly used, and languished a whole Year in Prison. Pope Paul III. being desirous to reward his Sufferings and to crown his Virtue, created him Cardinal. But this Favour did only hasten his Death. Henry VIII. looking upon this Promotion as an Affront done to himself, resolved to put him to Death. He caused him to be examined whether he had ever desired that Cardinals Cap, or whether he knew that it was designed for him? the Holy Bishop protested, that he had never in his Life desired that Honour, and least of all did he desire it the condition he was then in. The King gave Orders that he should be speedily brought to his Tryal. He was condemned to suffer the Pains due to Men convicted of High-Treason, the 17th. of June 1535, and was beheaded the 22d. of the same Month.

Bishop
Fisher.

K. Henry VIII's Treatise against Luther is prefix'd to the B. of Rochester's Works. It is intituled, *Affertio Septem Sacramentorum contra Lutherum, The Defence of the Seven Sacraments against Luther*, and dedicated to Pope Leo X. After having upbraided Luther with his Inconstancy and Rashness, and reproved him sharply for writing against Indulgences and the Pope's Authority, he refutes his Errors concerning the Sacraments, and begins with the *Sacrament of the Altar*, upon which he enlarges more than upon any other, that he might shew that the Bread and Wine are changed into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; that Communion under both kinds is not necessary for the Laity; and that the Mass is a true Sacrifice. He then defends the three parts of *Penance*, and proves the necessity of Confession, and Sacerdotal Absolution. As to the Sacrament of *Confirmation*, because we do not clearly see the Institution of it in the Gospel, he shows, that Jesus Christ has taught and appointed many things that are not writ in the four Gospels: He adds, that the Holy Ghost might teach the Apostles and the Church some Truths, which Jesus Christ had not taught before; besides that the Ceremony, the Minister, and the Virtue of this Sacrament are founded upon Holy Scripture, authorized by the practice of the Primitive Church and the Testimonies of the Primitive Fathers. He proves *Marriage* to be a Sacrament, from the fifth Chapter of the Epistle of St Paul to the *Ephesians*. He treats of *Order* very fully, and after having shown that it is a Sacrament, he refutes Luther's Errors concerning the Hierarchy.

Bishop
Fisher.

Luther being puzzled with the passages of the Epistle of St. James concerning the Anointing of the Sick, had rejected the Authority of that Epistle, and asserted boldly, that it was not worthy of the Apostolick Spirit. The Author of whom we are now speaking shows, that it is an unaccountable boldness for him to say so: He then makes use of that passage for proving, that *Extreme Unction* is a Sacrament. In his Peroration, he gives us Luther's Character in a very lively manner: He censures his Arrogance, in despising the Customs, Opinions, Laws and Faith of the Church; nay and the whole Catholick Church itself. He again censures his conduct and his proceedings. He concludes with an Exhortation to all Christian Princes, not to give ear to his gross Impieties, not to cherish those Schisms and Disorders, not to suffer themselves to be in the least tainted with those Heresies that are broached by a Man who is void of Charity, full of Pride, supported with weak Reasons, and intigated only by a Spirit of Envy and Jealousie. And in short to

[(a) The Bishoprick of Rochester before the Reformation, was much the least in England.]

employ the same force and the same courage against this growing Heresy, that they would do against the Turks, Saracens, and Infidels,

Luther having Written an Answer to this Treatise of King Henry VIII. with much passion, and without having any regard to the Person of a King, to whose Royal Dignity he ought at least to have pay'd respect, that Prince was highly offended with him, and complained of him to the Princes of Germany: Upon which Luther found himself obliged to write to him in more civil Terms, and to beg his Pardon for what might be offensive to him. In that Answer, he said, that he had persuaded himself, that his Majesty was not the Author of the Book that had been published under his Name, but that some other Persons, and particularly the Cardinal of York, whom he calls the very plague of this Kingdom, had abused his Name. He says likewise, that he believed that his Majesty was favourable to what he calls the Gospel, by which he means his own new Doctrine. And he endeavoured to justify what he had done, in writing against the Church and the Pope, and he ended his Letter with this wish, that the King of England might suddenly become a perfect Disciple of Jesus Christ, and profess the Doctrine of the Gospel. This Letter is Dated the first of September, 1525.

Henry VIII. wrote an answer to this Letter, in which he owned himself to be the Author of the Book against Luther: He complains of him for treating the Cardinal of York in such a contumelious Manner; and lets him know, that he adhered as closely to the Doctrine of the Gospel and the Church, as he was an Opposer of that which Luther falsely called the Doctrine of the Gospel. He upbraids Luther with his Arrogance, his Impieties, his Obstinacy, his Passions, his Irregularities, with the Insurrections and Wars that he had been the cause of, &c. He tells him, that he will not vouchsafe to give him any more Answers, seeing it was to no purpose. At last he exhorts him either publicly to revoke his Errors, or to shut himself up in a Monastery, there to bewail them all the rest of his Days.

The King of England did not think it proper for him to enter the Lists any more with Luther, and therefore the Bishop of Rochester undertook the Defence of his Prince and wrote a Treatise against Luther's Answer: This Defence is divided into twelve Chapters, the Subjects of which he explains in his Preface. In the first he exposes Luther's Arrogance in asserting boldly, that all his Principles were from Heaven, and for advancing a great many other Propositions, that are as unjustifiable as that. In the second Chapter he shows, that 'tis in vain for Luther to endeavour to colour or disguise manifest Errors. In the third, he justifies the Custom of the Church, in making the Laity to communicate under one kind. In the fourth he refutes Luther's Principal Error, that after the Consecration of the Eucharist the Substance of the Bread and Wine is Consubstantial with the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. In the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth, he proves, that the Mass is not a Testament or a Promise as Luther pretends, but a Sacrifice. In the ninth, he shews that Luther charged the King of England with things that he never said. In the tenth, he maintains, that those Explanations of Scripture, that are approved of by the unanimous Consent of the Fathers, ought to be received as the true and genuine sense of the Scripture. In the eleventh, that it belongs to the Prelates, and not to the People to judge of the Principles of Religion. In the twelfth, he undertakes to prove, that Orders and Marriage are Sacraments that confer Grace.

The Bishop of Rochester wrote also a more considerable Book against Luther, and that was a Refutation of Luther's Defence of the Propositions, that were condemned by the Bull of Pope Leo X. before he enters upon the Matter he settles these ten ge-

neral Principles; first, that the greater part of those that have trusted only to their private Spirit, for the Interpretation of holy Scripture, have fallen into Errors, and that it is from thence that Heresies have ordinarily had their rise. The second is, that if that befel the ancient Hereticks, the same may and ought still to befall those who follow the same method. The third is that when there is any Controversy above the Holy Scripture, or about any Truth that concerns the Catholick Church there ought to be a Judge; and that the Pope who is the Head has always had the Perogative in this Judgment. The fourth is, that all Controversies cannot always be determined by the sole Authority of Holy Scripture. The fifth is, that the Holy Ghost was given to the Church, to remain with her always, to enlighten and inform her of the Truth, whensoever Errors should arise. The sixth is, that the Holy Ghost has always made use of, and always will make use of the Tongues of the Holy Fathers of the Church, for the extirpating of Heresies, and teaching of true Doctrine. The seventh is, that it is clear, that all those that do not receive the Doctrine of the Fathers, despite the Doctrine of the Holy Ghost; and have not the Spirit of God. The eighth is, that if the Holy Ghost spoke by the Mouth of every Father in particular for the Instruction of the Church, then we have yet more reason to believe, that he does it in General Councils. The ninth is, that what is of Apostolical Tradition, tho' it be not contained in the Holy Scripture, ought to be observed by Christians. The tenth is, that we ought not only to receive what is conveyed down to us by Tradition; but also the Customs that are approved of by the Universal Church.

After having settled these General Principles, he relates one by one, the Articles that were condemned in the Bull of Pope Leo X. and what Luther wrote in Defence of them, and refutes it Paragraph by Paragraph. The Article concerning the Pope's Supremacy, is one of the longest and most elaborate of them all.

Fisher afterwards wrote against Oecolampadius, as he had done against Luther; and composed five Books of the real presence of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist against Oecolampadius's Treatise upon the Explanation of the Words of the Institution of the Eucharist. He therein relates Oecolampadius's own Terms, and after every Article, sets down the Refutation of it, and shows, that Oecolampadius has either mis-cited or mis-understood the Passages that he quotes, and that what he endeavours to prove is false and impious.

These are the Bishop of Rochester's two principal Treatises of Controversy: He wrote also a Treatise in form of a Conference, against Luther in Defence of the Necessity and the Authority of the Priesthood, a Refutation of the Treatise that Velenus wrote, proving that St. Peter was never at Rome, and a Sermon against Luther's Writings, Preached upon the Day that they were burnt in England, it was translated out of English into Latin by Mr. Paice.

The rest of the Bishop of Rochester's Works are these, three Books of one only Magdalen, against Faber Stapulensis: A Moral Commentary upon the seven Penitential-Psalms: Two Sermons, one upon our Saviour's Passion; another upon Christian Justice: A Treatise of the Means of attaining to the Sovereign Perfection of Religion, which he composed while he was in Prison: A Discourse upon Charity: A Treatise of Prayer and some Paraphrases of some Psalms.

This Author was an excellent Divine; he had studied the Holy Scripture and the Fathers; he was a Man of great Sense and a Solid Judgment; and may pass for one of the exactest and best Writers of Controversy of that Age: His Works which were Printed separately in England, were Collected and Printed in one Volume at Wurtsburg in 1597.

An History of the Lives, and an Abridgement of the Works of the Authors of the former part of the sixteenth Century.

Sir Thomas More.

Sir THOMAS MORE, Chancellor of England.

An History of the Lives, and an Abridgement of the Works of the Authors of the former part of the sixteenth Century.

Sir Thomas More.

Sir Thomas More, was of a good Family of London, though it was not of very great Quality, Authors do not agree about the Year of his Birth, for some of them say, he was born in 1473, others in 1477, and others in 1483. His Father, whose Name was John More was a Counsellor at Law in London; whose Business was to resolve and give his Opinion upon any Questions in the Law that were put to him, which was at that time, a very honourable and profitable Employment in England: He took care of the Education of his Son, who applied himself wholly to the Study of Philological Learning, against his Father's Will, who tore him from his Studies and forced him to follow his Employment, to which he applied himself for some time, and was much esteemed for his Advice, but yet he did not neglect the *Belles Lettres*, and he read also the Works of the Fathers. While he was but a young Man, he read publickly St. *Augustin's* Books *de Civitate Dei*; and he would have devoted himself intirely to that Profession, but that he was sensible, that he could not easily live without a Wife; he chose, rather says *Erasmus*, to be a chaste Husband than a lewd Priest; he was married three times, and had a Son and three Daughters by his first Wife; He was for a long time (a) Recorder of the City of London (b), and administred Justice with so much Integrity and Prudence, that King Henry VIII. thought him capable of more considerable Employments: He call'd him to Court against his Will, and sent him to France and to the Low-Countries, in Quality of his Ambassador, for Negotiating some Affairs of State: He loaded him with Honours and Offices, making him a Privy Counsellor, a Knight, Vice Treasurer of England (c) Chancellor and Administrator of the Dutchy of Lancaster, and at the last upon the 26th. of Oct. 1529. he made him Chancellor of England (d) in the room of Cardinal *Woolsey*: Yet for all these Honours, More did not in the least change his Manners, he retained always the same Love for Justice, the same Sweetness of Temper, and the same way of Living that he had before: His Carriage was so prudent, that he was in Favour with his Prince, valued by the Nobility, loved by the People, esteem'd by Men of Learning, and in a general Reputation for his Wisdom, Probity, and Religion, having no other Enemies but those who were Enemies both to Church and State. But in a short time he came to be uneasy in the eminent Station to which he was raised, and being taken with Sickness, he pretended that the ill state of his Health made him unable to discharge his Office, and therefore desired leave of Henry VIII. to lay it down, that he might retire, no doubt foreseeing the Revolutions that were then approaching. He laid down his Commission, and retired from Court the 15th. of May, 1531. that he might have nothing to do all the rest of his Days, but to prepare himself for another Life. But he did not long enjoy that Quiet, which as he thought, he had procured to himself: For having refused to sign the Act of Parliament, by which the King of England was declared Head of the Church of England, he was committed to the Tower of London, where he was kept in close Prison for fourteen Months, and was many times solicited but all in vain, to approve of that Act of Parliament. He was brought to his Tryal the first of July 1535. and being ask'd why

he would not acknowledge the King to be the Supreme Head of the Church of England, as the Clergy had acknowledged him to be, and according to the Act of Parliament. He answered that he had never heard of that Acknowledgment of the Clergy, and that being separated from the World, and cast into prison as an Enemy, who was not any longer a Member of the State. It was not necessary that he should give his Opinion of the Act of Parliament; that he would never meddle with worldly Affairs any more, and was resolved to think of nothing but of serving God, and meditating on the Passion of his saviour, and preparing himself for Death. He was accused of having written to the Bishop of Rochester, to confirm him in his Resolution. He was urged to tell his Thoughts of the Act of Parliament: And he could not abstain from telling openly what he thought of it: Upon which he was condemned to be beheaded, and Sentence being pronounced against him, he was carried back to the Tower. He was not in the least surpris'd with the Sentence of Death; he employed the five Days that remained of his Life, in preparing himself for it; and upon the sixth (e) of July, he went to the Scaffold with the Cheerfulness and Constancy of the ancient Martyrs.

Of all the Treatises that More wrote, his *Utopia* is that wherein the Author's Ingenuity does most appear, in which, he has in Imitation of *Plato*, given the Plan of a perfect Common-Wealth. Nothing can be more pleasant and at the same time more instructive and more useful for a civil Life than that Book is: It is filled with a great many Maxims and Laws, which may be made good use of in the State; and it discovers the true Original of all the Evils that befall Common-Wealths: But there is little in it that concerns Religion, except what he says of the Religion of the *Utopians*: Upon which he makes some Remarks, that may be applied to the Religion of Christians: As for Instance, that the *Utopians* allow People Liberty of Conscience, and that they do not force any Body to embrace their Religion; that they permit every Man to Reason calmly, and to discourse with Moderation for the propagating of that which he believes to be the true Religion: But they forbid all manner of violence to be made use of upon that Account, and all insolent and seditious Discourses; that they have some People among them whose Religion consists in serving the Publick, as in assisting those that are Sick, in repairing the High-ways, Bridges, and Causeys, in building publick Houses, &c. That there are some among them, that profess perpetual Virginity, that abstain altogether from eating of Flesh, and that lead a very austere and toilsome Life; that there are others, who marry, and live as other Men do; that the *Utopians* pay the greatest Respect to the Former, because it is from a Religious Motive that they chuse to live after that Manner; that the *Utopian*-Priests are Exemplary for their Holiness; that there are only thirteen of them in every City, that is one in every Temple; that they all obey one High Priest; that they are elected by the People; and consecrated by the College of Priests; that they have a right to exhort, to reprove, and to debarr People from the Use of things Sacred; that this is a Punishment which the *Utopians* are more afraid of than of any other, because those upon

(a) [*Erasmus* says only for some Years.]

(b) [*Juze ou Syndic* says Dupin. He has it out of *Erasmus*, who says in an Epistle to *Ulricus Huttenus* of Sir Thomas More, that, in *Urbe Londinensi, inquinatus est, annos aliquot Judicem egit in Causis Civilibus*.]

(c) [In French it is *Vice Thresorier du Roiaume d'Angleterre*; what place he means I do not know.]

(d) [Sir William Dugdale in his *Origines Judiciales* says that the Seal was delivered to Sir Thomas More Oct. 25. 1530. and upon his laying down to Sir Thomas Audley, May 20. 1531. And for these Dates, he quotes the Original Patent Rolls.]

(e) [The Account of Sir Tho. More's Death, Printed at that time, says he was beheaded, July 7.]

whom it is inflicted, are esteemed infamous; that in that case, their Consciences are tormented with the Horrors that their Religion raises in them; and that the Magistrates inflict bodily Punishments upon them if they do not speedily do Penance. These *Utopian* Priests are allowed to marry, yet there are but few of them that do it; and if they take Wives, they are ordinarily Widows or old Maids, and of very regular Lives. What he says of the Temples, Priests, Habits, Festivals, Obsequies, and other Ceremonies of the *Utopians*, may tho' a great way off in some manner also be applied to those of the Christians. What he says of their Custom on Holy-days, to confess their Faults, and to beg pardon of one another before they enter into their Temples, is the literal Practice of one of the Precepts of the Gospel.

An History of the Lives, and an Abridgement of the Works of the Authors of the former part of the sixteenth Century.

Sir Thomas More.

As for his History of *Richard III.* King of England, which is not compleat, and his Epigrams, and his Versions of some Treatises of *Lucian*, they do not concern our Subject.

But his Answer to what *Luther* wrote against the King of England, is a Treatise of Divinity: It is writ in a more elegant Stile than the Bishop of *Rochester's*; but it is neither so learned nor so solid: It is a Controversy, in which there is too much of what is only personal, and in which he gives *Luther* many home Thrusts. This Treatise is divided into two Books.

His Explanation of the Passion of Jesus Christ contains some moral Reflections, upon the History of our Saviour's Passion, taken out of the four Gospels, according to the Method of *Gerson's Monotessaron*: He ends at these Words, *Then came they and laid hands on Jesus.* *Sanders* says, that *More* wrote this Treatise while he was in Prison, and that he was taken away to be carried to the Scaffold, at the very time that his Thoughts were employ'd in explaining this Passage of our Saviour's Passion. The same Author speaks also of another Treatise, of *Comfort in Tribulation*, which *More* wrote in the *English* Tongue, while he was in Prison: But it has never been either translated into Latin or printed. He wrote also an excellent Prayer, taken out of the Book of *Psalms*, for imploring God's Assistance against Temptation, and for expressing his Contempt of the Devil, and his Hope and Confidence in God. These are the Treatises written by *Sir Thomas More*, that were printed at *Louvain* in 1566 (f).

If any Man desires to have *Sir Thomas More's* true Character as to his Body, Parts, and Behaviour, he

may read the 13th. Epistle of the 10th. Book of *Erasmus's* Epistles, which is written to *Ulricus Huttenus*: He there represents him to be a Man of great Accomplishments, to be truly pious, learned; virtuous, prudent, and just; of a good Humour, and agreeable in Conversation; humble; charitable, and constant, and in a word, adorned with all the excellent Qualities that any Man can desire: His House was as it were the Dwelling-place of the Muses. He wrote very good Latin, but he was yet a greater Master of the Greek (g); he exercised himself in all the several Stiles of Language, that he might attain to a good one; no Man could speak better *ex tempore* than he: He had a ready and penetrating Wit; his Memory never failed him; his Thoughts were fine, and his Discourse lively, elegant and sublime; he wanted neither Smartness nor Subtlety; he was very sharp and severe in disputing, as appears by his Treatise against *Luther*; he was generally esteemed by all the Men of Learning of that Age, and had never any other Adversary among the Learned, but only *Germanus Brixius* who wrote his *Antimorus*: The Occasion of which Quarrel was this; *Brixius* had written a Description of a Sea-fight, betwixt a *French* Ship commanded by one Captain *Harvey*, and two *English* Ships. *More* wrote some Epigrams against that Description; and *Brixius* was so exasperated, because *More* had exposed him in such an insulting manner, that he wrote a very bitter Satyr against him, under the Title of *Antimorus*, which was not published till long after *Sir Thomas More's* Epigrams. *Brixius's* Book was not well received by the Publick, and the Men of Learning were very much offended at it. *Erasmus* let *Brixius* know; that he did not approve of what he had done, and told him that by that Writing he had done more harm to himself than to *Sir Thomas More*: He advised him, if it could possibly be done, to call in all the Copies of it: On the other hand, he persuaded *Sir Thomas More* to suppress the Answer that he had writ to it: The 35th. Epistle of the 13th. Book, and the 15th. and 16th. Epistles of the 15th. are concerning this matter. The last of them is from *Sir Thomas More*, who writes to *Erasmus* upon this Subject with great Moderation: There is also among *Erasmus's* Epistles, an excellent one writ by *More*, upon his laying down his Office of Chancellor, together with his Epitaph: It is the 9th. Epistle of the 27th. Book.

[(f) Besides these, *Sir Thomas More* wrote several small Pieces of Controversy in *English*, against *Tindal*, *Frith*, and *Barnes*, who were the first considerable Men that in-

troduced the Reformation into England, which are all printed in the *English* Collection of *Sir Thomas More's* Works.]

[(g) *Erasmus* does not say this, nor indeed is there any reason to think so.]

JOHANNES DRIEDO.

Johannes Driedo, in the Dutch Language *Driedoens*, was born at *Tournhout* in *Brabant*. He studied at *Louvain*, and applied himself very much to Philosophy and Mathematicks. He commenced Doctor of Divinity in August 1512. *Adrianus Florentius* (who was afterwards Pope by the Name of Pope *Adrian VI.*) was the Person that gave him his Degree, and in performing the Ceremony, he told him, that he ought not to confine himself so much as he did to the profane Sciences; and that after having studied them for some time, he ought to apply himself to Divinity, and to make the other Sciences serviceable to it. He followed his Advice, and came to be Professor of Divinity in the University of *Louvain*; he was also Rector of *St. James's*, and Canon of *St. Peter's* in the same Town: Tho' he was a publick Professor, yet that did not hinder him from preaching and from writing Books: He was a very rigorous Opposer of *Lutheranism*; but

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he wrote modestly, without Heat or Passion, for which *Erasmus* commends him, *Lib. 12. Ep. 18.* He died at *Louvain* the 4th. of August 1535; the Day is expressed upon his Epitaph, but by some Mistake, the Year 1555 is writ instead of 1535.

His Works are, four Books of the sacred Scriptures and the Doctrines of the Church: A Treatise of the Reconciliation of Free-will with divine Predestination: A Treatise of Grace and Free-will: A Treatise of the Captivity and Redemption of Mankind: And A Treatise of Christian Liberty, in three Books. The first of these Treatises was printed at *Louvain*, in 1533, and 1550. the rest were printed in the same place, in 1547, and 1552.

There is an Advertisement printed before the Treatise of the holy Scriptures and the Doctrines of the Church, which is worth reading: There *Driedo* demands two things for the Re-establishment of Peace; the first is, that the ancient Traditions of

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the Church may be carefully enquired into, and that they may be taken for a Rule. The second is, that the Writings of the School-divines may be thoroughly examined. By the first we shall find, that the Errors that the Church rejects are Novelties, contrary to what the Apostles and their Successors taught. By the second we shall see, that the School-men agree in all the Opinions that relate to the Fundamentals of Religion; and that all their Controversies are only about problematical Questions: He confesseth, that the modern School-divines may perhaps have disputed about some useless Questions; but yet he observes, that the Heresies that have risen of late, have obliged them to treat of some Questions, that they would never have thought of, if the Truth to which those Questions relate, had not been called in question. He then sets down the Articles that the School-divines are unjustly charged with, and the Errors of which they are accused; as of teaching, that Faith in Jesus Christ is not necessary in order to Justification; and that a Man merits Grace by his own good Works; and that he obtains Remission of Sins by his own Strength. He maintains, that nothing can be more contrary to the Doctrine of the Schools; and that the School-divines teach, that a Man cannot be justified or saved without Faith in Jesus Christ; and that there was never any Man, whether Jew or Gentile, saved without this Faith: But that they teach withal, that in order to Justification, this Faith must be lively and accompanied with Charity; that all Divines agree in this, that Man ought not to depend upon his own Merits, but on Grace and the Mercies of God; and that there are no Merits but what are by and thro' Jesus Christ.

In the first Book he examines, Which are the canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, and answers the Objections that are made against those that are received by the Church.

In the 2d. he treats of the Versions, the Editions and Meaning or Sense of the holy Scripture; he prefers the original Texts to the Versions, and confesses that the vulgar Latin is not free from Faults; he is of opinion, that one and the same Passage may have several literal Senses. The Rule that he gives for understanding the meaning of the Scripture, is the Doctrine of the Church and Tradition.

In the 3d. he explains the Rules that St. *Augustin* gave for understanding the holy Scripture. And there he treats of the Obscurities and Difficulties that a Man may meet with in the Scripture, either in the Expressions or in the Things that are expressed. There is a great deal of Learning in this Book, and it comprehends a great many things: When he treats of Chronology, he suffers himself to be imposed upon, by the false *Berosus*, and the other spurious Authors of *Annius* of *Viterbo*, whom he cites as Authors that deserve to be credited.

The 4th. Book is concerning the Doctrines of the Church; there are six Chapters in it. In the 1st. he treats of the apocryphal Books, and the Authority of the Writings of the Fathers. In the 2d. of the true Church of Jesus Christ. In the 3d. of the Church of St. *Peter*, or of the holy apostolick See; whether it ought to be acknowledged and honoured as the Head and Mother of all other Churches, and whether all Christians be obliged to submit to the Bishop of *Rome*, as to the universal Pastor of the Church. In the 4th. of the Authority and the Power of the Church; whether we be obliged to adhere to its Decisions, as we do to the Books of the holy Scriptures. In the 5th. he treats of those things, that ought to be believed upon the Authority of the Church, tho' they are not contained in the Holy Scripture, such as Infant-baptism, the Sacraments, Celibacy, monastick Vows, the Sacrifice of the Mass, Invocation of Saints, Purgatory, Prayers for the Dead, the Intercession of the Saints. The 6th. Chapter contains an Answer to the Objections that may be made against those Articles.

Dricdo treats of all these Matters according to Tradition, and proves the Doctrine of the Church, by the holy Scripture, by the Decisions of Councils, and by the Opinions of Fathers; of whom he cites the Passages that are best for his purpose, and most applicable to it, and does not spend time, as some other Writers of Controversy do, in cavilling and personal Debates. His only Business is to establish Truth, without falling foul upon Mens Persons. It was this that made *Erasmus* prefer him (with Justice) to all the other polemical Divines of that Age. He may even be compared with the most famous Writers of Controversy of this: And it may be said, that the only thing that he failed in was, a little more Criticism upon his Authors, and therefore he often cited the false Decretals of the Popes, and the Works of *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, and other supposititious Writings.

The Question concerning Grace and Free-will, is one of the most abstruse and difficult Questions in Divinity; it began to be debated at that time, because it was one of the principal Points of Controversy with *Luther*; it is also the Subject which *Dricdo* studied with the greatest Application, and upon which he wrote more Books, than upon any other. The first of them is his *Treatise de Concordia Liberi Arbitrij & Prædestinationis Divine*. 'The Readers perhaps may think (*says he in his Preface*) that I ought not to speak of so difficult and so sublime a Matter, as that of Predestination and Reprobation, and it will be thought a rash and needless Attempt, to endeavour to sound the secret things of God's Will.' Then he endeavours to shew, that this is a Mistake: Because nothing is oftner represented in holy Scriptures than the Will of God, acting sometimes in Mercy, and sometimes in Justice; and that our Salvation is attributed in Scripture to his Will, his Grace, and his Mercy; and Damnation and Sin to our Will. So that God giving us by Predestination, a Grace which he is not bound to give us, and denying us the same Grace by Reprobation, the consequence of which is the Punishment that our Sins deserve, this cannot but be a very profitable Doctrine to all Christians, as well for abating the Pride of Free-will, as for magnifying the Greatness and the Glory of divine Grace and Mercy. Predestination magnifies God's Mercy, and Reprobation manifests his Justice. So that Man is thereby made sensible of his own Misery, and sees the Need he has of the Grace and Mercy of God; the Knowledge of which two things is of great Importance, and no Man can be ignorant of them, without continuing miserable. Every Christian ought to know, that he is born a Vessel of Dishonour, and that he cannot be a precious Vessel but by the Will of God, who has freely predestinated him, and that it would not have been any Injustice on God's part, to have left him in that state of Damnation which his Sins deserved. He concludes with these Maxims, that the Doctrine of Predestination and Reprobation ought to be divulged and rendered popular, and that it is so far from being hurtful, that on the contrary it is necessary for the People, and very proper for confirming, strengthening and preserving them in the Christian Faith, provided it be seasonably preached; yet he adds, that because there are some Persons that treat of Predestination and Reprobation after too severe a manner, and who absolutely deny Free-will, therefore Men ought to be prudent and cautious in explaining of this Doctrine, especially when they speak to the Common-people. He therefore advises those that treat of this Subject, to avoid two dangerous Extreams; the one is, the quite destroying of Free-will, for the exalting of the Grace of Jesus Christ; the other is, the derogating from the Grace of Jesus Christ, for the maintaining of Free-will.

He divides this *Treatise* into two Parts, and the first Part into three Chapters: In the 1st. he explains the Terms that are made use of in this Controversy.

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In the 2d. he enquires, whether the Will of Man as foreseen by God, be any Cause of Predestination and Reprobation. In the 3d. he endeavours to reconcile the Expressions in the holy Scripture and in the Writings of the Fathers, that seem to contradict one another. According to him, Predestination is not only the Will of God, by which he determines to bring those to eternal Happiness, who die in Righteousness: It comprehends not only the Foreknowledge of their Salvation, but also the Decree, the Intention, and the Will of God; for saving of those whom he has predestinated, by the Means that he himself has appointed them, for attaining eternal Life; and just so, Reprobation is not only a Foreknowledge of the Sin and Punishment that shall follow upon the Sin of a Reprobate, but also the Decree appointing the Punishment that is due to the Sin. The Difference betwixt the one and the other is this; that Predestination includes the Preparation to the Glory to which we are predestinated, and the Means that lead us thither. Whereas Reprobation is not a Preparation of the Means that lead to eternal Punishment, because tho' it prepares a Punishment for those that sin, yet it does not prepare their Wills to commit Sin, and tho' God permits the Sin, yet he does that, not for the sake of punishing it, but only that he may manifest his Justice, in the Punishment of the Sins that Man has committed by his own Will.

Then he enters upon the principal Question, namely, Whether God predestinates Men to Glory, in consequence of his Fore-knowledge of their Merits, that is to say, of the Actions they do by their own Free-will, assisted by Grace. He rejects this Opinion, and concludes, according to St. Augustine's Principles and Reasonings, that Predestination is absolutely gratuitous, and that the good Use they make of Grace and Merits, are not the Cause but the Effect of divine Predestination.

As to Reprobation, this is his Opinion, that as it is not upon the Foresight of any Merit, that God grants the first Grace to those that are predestinated, so it is not on the account of any Demerits of the Reprobate, that God permits him to fall into Sin, or that he is corrupted with Original Sin. It was not on the account of Adam's Demerits, that God permitted him to sin, for he had none; and young Children do not by any precedent actual Sin deserve to be born in Original Sin. It is on the account of Adam's Disobedience, that God permits his Posterity to be born in Original Sin. Adam was created in such a state, that he might have sinned or not have sinned; God permitted him to sin, by not giving him an Assistance that would have infallibly secured him from the possibility of sinning; but God was not bound to give him that Assistance. His Sin rendered all his Posterity guilty and liable to Death and Damnation. And then it depended entirely upon the good Will of God, to chuse out of this Mass of Corruption, those whom in his Mercy he was pleased to chuse; and to leave the rest to continue in that state unto which they were reduced by Original Sin. Thus Driedo explains Predestination and Reprobation, agreeably to St. Augustine's Principles. He proposes the Objections that may be made against this Doctrine, and answers them according to the same Principles, and by some Passages of that Father's Writings.

That he may reconcile this Doctrine of Predestination with Free-will; he lays down these following Maxims. First, that tho' the Prescience of Merits be not the Cause of Predestination, yet the Prescience of Sin is the Cause of Reprobation; taking Reprobation for the Condemnation of a Sinner to eternal Punishments. The second is, that tho' the Apostle says, that God has Mercy upon whom he will have Mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth, yet this Will of God is not without Reason; nay, on the contrary, it is full of Wisdom; but yet it is not Man's Merit that is the Reason of God's Will, but the

Manifestation of his Justice upon the Reprobates, and of his Mercy towards those that are predestinated; that he may also have some particular reasons for calling some of the Reprobates, to Faith and Grace, but they are either altogether concealed or very uncertain. The third Maxim is, that our Damnation is entirely owing to our selves, and our Salvation to God; for no Man is condemned but for his own Fault, and no Man is saved but by the Grace of God, for it is either original or actual Sin, and not God's Resolution to permit Sin that is the cause of Punishment. The fourth is, that tho' the Saints and those that have near access to God, cannot by their Merits obtain the things that are not within the Order of Predestination, yet upon their Intercession, God may grant to those that are predestinated, the Grace of doing those good Works, as also those Rewards that are agreeable to his Will. The fifth is, that tho' the Will of God be the sole cause of all Predestination, yet among the Effects of this general Predestination, there are some that are the cause of one another, and that Faith is the Principle and the first Cause of good Works. The sixth is, that God abandons Men and hardens them, by denying them the Grace of his Holy Spirit, and that because of former Sins, which have merited this abandoning and hardening. The seventh is, that a Christian ought not to wonder, that God chuses some out of the Mass of Corruption, and leaves others, because his Faith ought to teach him, that all Mankind have merited this Condemnation by the sin of the first Man. That if it be asked, what is the reason that God gives Grace to one, and not to another, it may be answered, that that Question is the same, as if a Man should ask the reason why God has not made the World otherwise than he has done.

In the second Part, he proposes the strongest Objections that can be made, to shew that gratuitous Predestination can never be reconciled with Free-will: And then he lays down some other Maxims. The first is that no necessity of Constraint is imposed upon the Will: Nor is there any Immutability wrought in it, either by Predestination or by Grace. The second is, that Reprobation does not destroy Man's Liberty, seeing he follows his own Inclinations and his own Will. The third is, that if we abstract from all other things, and consider only the Mutability of the Will of Man, who may incline to either Good or Evil, and may fall from Righteousness and Faith; It may be then said, that he who is predestinated may be reprobated, and that he who is reprobated may be predestinated. The fourth Maxim is, that as it is said, that God may do many things which he will never do, and which he has resolved never to do; so it may be also said, that Man may do what God fore-sees he will never do. The fifth is, that Man's Liberty in this Life consists not only in this, that his Will acts without Constraint, and according to its own Inclinations; but also in this, that it acts without necessity, and after a contingent manner, giving its free consent to whatsoever it pleases, while in the mean time, it is in its own power not to consent to it. Sixthly, he makes use of the famous Distinction of a *Compound*ed and a *Divided* Sense, tho' he does not make use of those Terms, as for Instance in this Proposition, *A Man that is predestinated cannot die in mortal Sin*: This Proposition is certainly true, if we consider nothing in it but only the Inconsistencies of the Attribute with the Subject taken in its full Extent, as when it is impossible that a Man that is asleep can walk, that is to say, so long as he is asleep; but then these Propositions would not be true, if the meaning be, that these things are absolutely impossible.

From these Principles he draws the following Conclusions. First, that tho' a Man that is predestinated serves God with that Faith and Charity that God has inspired him with, and tho' he perseveres unto the end in those good Resolutions that the Holy

Ghost has put into his Heart, yet he retains always a Power of committing Sin, and that just so, a Reprobate serves the Devil with a perverse Will which God did never give him, but which is entirely owing to himself, who consents to the Suggestions of the Devil. The second is, that tho' the Free-Will of Man cannot hinder the Effects of Predestination and Reprobation; yet his Will is not constrained by either the one or the other, or necessitated to do any thing; but remains always free, and that it is in its Power to do either good or evil. The third is, that though God has predestinated those to Righteousness, whom he has predestinated unto Glory, yet he has not predestinated those to Guilt, whom he has predestinated unto Punishment; for he crowns his own Works in the Persons of those that are predestinated to Glory; but in the Reprobates he condemns the Actions that do not proceed from himself. The fourth is, that Reprobation did neither excite the Will to Sin, nor prepare the Malignity of Concupiscence, nor incline it to Lust, nor was it in any manner the Cause of Man's Fall. The fifth is, that though Predestination and Reprobation do not depend upon the Free-will of Men, yet the good Works to which Men are predestinated, and the ill Actions which God permits the Reprobates to fall into, are done by the Free-Will of Man after a contingent Manner: So that tho' one that is predestinated cannot from all Eternity be reprobated, yet he may do some things to which he was not predestinated: And tho' one that is predestinated cannot be reprobated for ever, yet he may be so for some time. The sixth is, that God before the Creation of the World did elect, not those who he foresaw would believe and obey by the strength of their own Free-Will, but those whom he resolved to make such, and whom he would make to believe and obey willingly: Yet for all this, it cannot be said that he takes away their Free-Will, because God does so incline their Wills to believe and to do good things, that he makes them believe and do that which is good, not by Constraint, but freely and of their own Accord.

Among a great many Objections that he answers, one of the most remarkable is this, that the rest of the Fathers did not speak after the same manner that St. Augustine did, and that St. Prosper confesses, that many Catholicks were persuaded that his Doctrine was contrary to that of the Ancients. He answers, that those who are of that Opinion are mistaken; that those who lived before St. Augustine, did not speak so clearly of Election and the Calling of those who were predestinated, as he did, because the Heresy that gave him occasion to write fully on that Head, was not heard of in their time, yet they said nothing contrary to St. Augustine's Doctrine: that they even approved of it either tacitely or expressly, seeing they were persuaded, that God foresaw every thing; that he governed all things according to his own Will; that he could not be mistaken in his Prescience, or disappointed in his Designs, or hindered in the Execution of them; that no Man could be delivered from the Mass of Perdition but by the Grace of God, and that every Man that was taken out of it, was chosen and written in the Book of Life from all Eternity; but yet though he is so written, these Elect are not constrained against their Wills to believe and to do that which is good; that they are called to believe voluntarily and freely; that those Fathers who opposed the *Manichees* laid greater Stress upon these Expressions than upon the former: And this was what deceived the Presbyters of *Marseilles*, who did not well understand the Opinion of the Fathers: He occasionally defends the Opinion of *Faustus*, but he writes very fully in explaining St. Augustine's Doctrine, and his famous Distinction of two kinds of Graces: That of the State of Innocence, and of the State of corrupt Nature. The first was an Assist-

ance without which it was not in Man's Power to have persevered, but which did not make him persevere; and the second is an Assistance that makes him persevere,

It is the Foundation and the Key of St. Augustine's System that *Driedo* lay's down and explains in this Treatise, and in the next, which is concerning Grace and Free-Will, where he lays down the same Principles, in refuting the Errors of the *Pelagians* concerning Grace and the Power of Free-Will and Original Sin. He treats of this Question Probematically, whether Infants that die without Baptism suffer sensible Pain: And he looks upon the Affirmative as most probable; he shews that Concupiscence and the Miseries of this Life are the Effects of Sin. After having refuted the *Pelagians*, and those who ascribe too much to Free-Will, he attacks the *Manichees*, who make God to be the Author of Evil; and in the second Book he refutes those, who destroy or deny Free-Will; or who do not explain it well: And there according to his usual Method, he first proposes the Objections against Free-Will: Then he lays down his Principles, and lastly answers the Objections that he proposed to himself: This is what the first Part of this Book consists of. In the Second he answers *Pelagius's* Objections against Grace and Original Sin; And in the Third he answers the Objections of the *Manichees*; and he always follows St. Augustine's Principles and Opinions very exactly.

His Book of the Captivity and Redemption of Mankind, was written after the former; But he says in his Preface, that it ought to have been writ before them, because no Man can reason well concerning Grace and Free-Will, unless he hath right Notions of the Captivity and Redemption of Mankind. He divides this Work into six Treatises, in the first he gives an Account of the Heresies and Errors concerning this Mystery. In the second he shows the Cause and Original of the Captivity from which *Jesus Christ* has delivered us, and explains the Greatness of those Graces which *Jesus Christ* has merited for us. In the third he refutes the Arguments of Heretics and Heathens against the Mystery of our Redemption. In the fourth he gives the Reason for which the Benefits of Christ's Passion are applied to some and not to others. In the fifth he examines, whether in this Life every Man has a sufficient Assistance to enable him to be made a Partaker of the Benefits of the Sufferings of *Jesus Christ*: and in the last he Establishes some general Principles concerning Grace and Free-Will. In this Treatise, there are some very excellent things concerning the Fall of Man and the Redemption of Man by *Jesus Christ* and our Saviour's Merits, and concerning the Merits of the Saints, and the Satisfaction of *Jesus Christ* for us Men, and the Benefits and Effects of his Death and Passion, &c. He shows, that the Benefits of Christ's Passion are not applyed to us only by that Faith by which a Man does firmly believe, that his Sins are forgiven, but that the Faith that Justifies us, ought to be accompanied with good Works. The external means that bring Men to this Faith, are the preaching of the Word, the Ministry of Men, Fear, Opportunities, &c. And it is wrought in them inwardly by the grace of *Jesus Christ*, which prevents their Wills. Though Christ died for all Men, and tho' they may reap Advantage by his Death, if they will believe, yet the Benefits of his Passion are not applied to all Men, because all Men are not equally called, and have not all received the same Grace: And some of them are deprived of it, because they will not believe, and others, because by their Sins they have lost that Faith and that Righteousness which they once had, and others, because they have not deserved, that it should be granted them. he is not of opinion that every Man has such an Assistance as is sufficient to him for believing and for recovering him from his Fall, when he has fallen from

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An History of the Lives, and an Abridgment of the Works of the Authors of the former part of the sixteenth Century.
the Grace that he has once received. Yet he says, that we ought never to despair of any particular Person, but believe that God gives to every Sinner at certain times and on certain occasions, some internal and sufficient Assistances, by which they are enabled to believe, that there is a God who rewards the Just, and not to despise *Jesus Christ*, who is the Author of that Salvation that is revealed to them. If young Children have not this Assistance in their own Persons, yet they have it in their Parents, or they had it in *Adam*, who having made a wrong use of it, is the cause of their Ruin.

Johannes Driedo.
After *Driedo* had written concerning the Redemption of Mankind by *Jesus Christ*, he thought fit to treat also of *Christian* and *Evangelical-Liberty*, for the Innovators had so far abused that Name as to maintain, that that Liberty which we have by the Gospel, gives every Man a right to live as he pleases, and that he is obliged only to follow the pretended Motions of the Holy Ghost, in the Observation of those Rules that concern the Love of God and our Neighbour, and of the Laws of the Gospel taken in that sense that they seem to have. This is the Error that *Driedo* refutes in the first Book, and in order to do it after his own Way, he considers what Liberty is; He distinguishes the Servitude mentioned in the Holy Scripture into three several Sorts, the Servitude of Sin, the Servitude of Misery, and the Servitude of Constraint or Necessity. There are likewise three kinds of Liberties. The first consists in an Exemption from Constraint or Necessity; the 2d. an Exemption from Sin; and the third is an Exemption from Misery: And, in the Exemption from Sin and Misery he says, there are three Degrees of it; the first is, not to be capable either of Sinning or of being Miserable, which is the Condition of the Blessed in Heaven. The Second is, to be capable of not Sinning and of not being Miserable, which was the Condition in which *Adam* was in the State of Innocence. The third is, to be necessarily liable to the Miseries of this Life, and not in a capacity of being absolutely exempt from all kind of Sin; but yet to be so far delivered from it by Grace, as that it shall no longer reign in this mortal Body. This last kind of Liberty is what *Jesus Christ* has merited for us. It does not consist in doing whatsoever we please our selves. It does not exempt us from that Subjection that is introduced by Laws, Civil or Natural; or from the Obedience that Subjects owe to their Prince, or that Citizens owe to their Magistrates, or that Servants owe to their Masters. It does not absolve us from the Obligations that we are under by Vows or Oaths; It does not make all Goods to be common; It does not authorize us to violate all human Laws, without being punished for so doing. This gave *Driedo* an Occasion of treating fully of human Laws, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, and of shewing that every Person is obliged in Conscience to submit to them, and observe them, He examines

particularly the Cases in which they oblige the Conscience, and in which they do not: He there treats of the Power of Popes and Kings, of Plurality of Wives, and of several other Questions that belong rather to Law than Divinity.

In the first Chapter of the second Book, he examines more particularly the Cases in which human Laws are binding, and in which they are not: He rejects *Gerson's* Opinion, that they are not obligatory upon the Conscience, unless there be some Connexion between them and the Laws of God of Nature: He thinks, that Laws that are unjust in themselves do not in the least oblige the Conscience, but that positive Laws which command the doing of a thing, that is neither commanded nor forbidden by any Divine Law, are Obligatory; yet he says, that Laws may admit of Interpretations. In the second Chapter he treats of ecclesiastical and civil Powers, and is very favourable to the Ecclesiastical.

In the third he condemns the Prohibitions against bequeathing of goods to the Church. The fourth is against those of the Clergy that retain the goods of the Church, without discharging the Office for which the Benefice was intended; and against Non-residence of Pastors and Plurality of Benefices. In the fifth he treats of the Lawfulness and Unlawfulness of Taxes. In the sixth of the Lawfulness of War, and of Punishments by Death. He enquires whether a Malefactor be obliged to put himself in Prison; and whether he may lawfully break Prison and make his escape, and he is of opinion he may lawfully do it, provided that he do no violence either to the Judge or to the Officer that keeps him. He does not think that a Criminal is obliged to confess a Crime when he knows that either he himself or any other Man will be put to death for it; and he is displeased, that any Questions should be put to Malefactors for discovering their Accomplices, unless it may be probable, that those Accomplices may act the same Crimes over again. In the two next Chapters, he treats of the Ordinances of Bishops, and of Excommunications. In the ninth, of excusable Ignorance; and in the last, of several particular Cases concerning Excommunication.

In the first Chapter of the third Book, he proposes thirteen Arguments against the Obligation of obeying human Laws under pain of Sin, and he answers them in the following Chapters. In the seventh he shows, that Hereticks do truly administer the Sacraments, and that they have the Power of binding and loosing so long as they are not separated from the Church. In the tenth and eleventh he shows, that Christians may lawfully receive the Sacraments from their Pastors and Bishops, even tho' those Pastors and Bishops be wicked Men, and that they ought never to separate from their Communion, unless they in particular have been excommunicated by their Superiors.

PHILIPPUS DECIUS.

Philippus Decius of Milan, was a famous Lawyer, who studied the Law at *Pisa*, and commenced Doctor of that Science, when he was two and twenty Years of Age, and taught the Canon-Law in that University, where *Felinus* was both his Colleague and his Antagonist, but he quitted the Field and retired to *Rome*, tho' afterwards he had so much Interest as to oblige *Decius* to leave *Pisa*; yet he was very soon recalled thither, after he had for some time professed the Law at *Sienna*, but his singular Merits which made him contemn his Colleagues, rendered him so odious to all those of his own Profession, that he was forced to shift from

one University to another, without ever being able to reside long in any one place. The French King *Lewis XII*, required him as his Subject to leave *Pavia*, where he then was, and appointed him to be Professor at *Pavia*, and gave him two thousand Florins a Year Pension: He was thereby obliged to defend the Council of *Pisa*, to which he was called; and in defence of which he wrote, which brought upon him the Indignation and Thunderbolts of the *Vatican*; and when the Enemies Army entred into *Pavia*, his House was pillaged, and all his Goods were taken from him; so that *Decius* being left quite destitute, saw himself forced to retire into *France*,

and to supplicate the King for a Gratification: He stayed two Years at *Bourges*, and at last obtained a Salary of 250 Crowns of Gold, with the Office of Councillor of the Parliament of *Grenoble*: He was afterwards made Professor of Law at *Valence*, and his Reputation brought a great many Scholars to him. Pope *Julius II.* (who had excommunicated him) being dead, his Successor Pope *Leo X.* took off that Sentence, and called him to *Rome* to teach the Canon-law there; but he durst not accept of that Call, for fear of displeasing King *Francis I.* who would not suffer him so much as to return to *Pisa*: He stayed for some time at *Pavia*, but finding that his Pension was not paid him, and that *Milan* was besieged by the Emperor *Maximilian*, he returned at last to *Pisa*, which was the Place in which he did afterwards ordinarily reside. He died however at *Sienna* in the Year 1535, being 81 Years of Age. While he was alive, he caused a magnificent Marble Tomb to be made for himself at *Pavia*, on which there was an Epitaph that was not much to his Honour.

We have not mentioned this Lawyer upon the account of his Counsel, or Writings in the Civil-

law, for which he ought not to be listed among the Ecclesiastical Authors, but upon the account of his *Commentary upon the Decretals*, printed at *Lyons* 1551, and for the Counsel which he gave concerning the Authority of the Church, in favour of the Council of *Pisa*, and the Discourse which he composed in defence of that Council, which are to be found among the Collections of *Goldastus*, in the second Tome of his *Monarchia Imperij Romani*.

In these two Treatises, he does not entirely follow the Principles of the Divines of *Paris*, concerning the Authority of the Council above the Pope; but he pretends, that there are some cases in which the Pope may be judged by a Council, and among the rest the case of notorious Scandal given to the Church. In his defence of the Council of *Pisa*, he shews, that the Church had need to be reformed, both in its Head and in its Members; that Pope *Julius II.* being sensible of this, would not call a general Council to labour after this Reformation; and therefore the Cardinals were in the right to do it for the general Good of the Church; that this Council could not meet at *Rome*, for fear of the Pope's Violence, and that its meeting at *Pisa* was lawful.

NATALIS BEDDA.

Natalis Bedda, Doctor of the Faculty of Divines at *Paris*, and Principal of *Montague-College*, was in his time one of the Doctors of the greatest Interest and Authority in that Body. He was Syndick, and signalized himself not only in his Censures against *Faber Stapulensis* and *Erasmus*, but also in putting a stop to the Decree in favour of the Divorce of King *Henry VIII.* of *England*, tho' it was carried by plurality of Votes. He was a Man of a hot Temper, and offended the Court with it, yet he was so far from becoming calm on the account of its Displeasure, that on the contrary he carried things so far, by preaching publicly against the Government, that by a Decree of the Parliament of *Paris* in the Year 1536, he was condemned to make an *Amende honorable* (a) before the Church of *Notre-Dame* at *Paris*, declaring that he had spoken against Truth, and against the King, as *Latomus* writes to

Erasmus, in his Letter dated 29 June 1535. which in the 27th. of the 28th. Book of *Erasmus's* Epistles; after which *Bedda* was carried back to Prison, and afterwards sent to the Abby of *Mount S. Michael*, there to be kept close all the rest of his Days; and there he died soon after.

His Works are these; *A Treatise concerning one Magdalene*, against a Book written by *Faber Stapulensis* and *Jodocus Clichtovæus*, printed at *Paris* in 1529. *Two Books against Faber Stapulensis's Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles*, and a third against *Erasmus's Paraphrase* ibid. in 1526. *An Apology against concealed Lutherans* ibid. in 1529. *An Apology for the Daughters and Grand-Children of St. Anne*, against *Faber Stapulensis*: A little Treatise intituled, *The Re-establishment of the consecrating of the Paschal Wax-Taper*, and a *Confession of Faith* in French.

[(a) *Amende Honorable* is a publick begging of pardon for Offences: Sometimes the Person who is thus to beg pardon, goes to the place where he is to acknowledge

his Fault, with a Rope about his Neck, and a Torch in his Hand: But that is in very ignominious Cases; *Bedda* only publicly acknowledged his Offence.]

JACOBUS FABER STAPULENSIS.

Jacobus Faber is distinguished from others of the same Name, by the Surname of *Stapulensis*; which was given him from the Town of *Etaples* (a), which is a little Burrough upon the Sea-coast of *Picardy*: He was of a very mean Birth, and of a very low Stature. He was educated in the University of *Paris*, but he got above the Chicanry of the Schools, and was one of the first that began to drive Barbarism out of the University, and to revive the Study of Languages, and to improve solid Learning. At first he applied himself to Philosophy and Mathematics: Then he studied Divinity, and took his Degree of Doctor of that Faculty; but being suspected of favouring *Luther's* new Doctrines, he was forced to leave *Paris* and to go to *Meaux*, where for some time he was maintained by the Bishop: But the Innovators being expell'd that Town, *Faber* retired to *Blois* and afterwards into *Guienne*: It was then that he was degraded from his Doctor's Degree.

The Parliament of *Paris* being resolved to proceed against him, an Order was brought from *Francis I.*

who was then a Prisoner in *Spain*, to superlede the Proceedings. *Margaret* Queen of *Navarre*, Sister to *Francis I.* received him into her Protection at *Nérac*, where he lived at Liberty all the rest of his Days: He made a Journey to *Strasbourg* by order of the Queen of *Navarre*, to confer with *Bucer* concerning the Reformation, notwithstanding which, he never separated from the Communion of the Church, and and died of a very great Age in the Year 1537. *Thomas Hubert* Counsellor to *Frederick II.* Elector *Palatine* tells us, in the Relation of a Journey which his Master made into *Spain*, that that Prince falling sick at *Paris* in his Return from *Spain*, received some Visits from the Queen of *Navarre* in 1538. and that at one of those Visits she gave him the following Account of *Faber's* Death: That he being at Table with some other Men of Learning, fell a weeping, upon which she ask'd him the Reason of his Sorrow; and he answered her, that it was the Remembrance of his Sins that afflicted him: Not that he had ever been guilty of Lewdness, for by the Assistance of God's

[(a) In Latin *Stapula*.]

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 Grace, he had kept his Virginity to the Age of a hundred and one Years: And that he found no Checks of Conscience, on the account of any other sinful Passion; but that he repented that *he had not taught the Truth, at the peril of his Life, as others had done; and that he had had the Weakness to stay in that place of Refuge*: She endeavoured to comfort him, by a Discourse that she made to him; after which he said to her, I have nothing to do now after I have made my Will, but to go to God; and then he told her, that he had made her his Heir, on condition that she should give all that he had to the Poor; and then he retired, and lay down on his Bed and died without any struggling.

It is difficult to believe all the Circumstances of this Relation, and particularly, that *Faber* was a hundred and one Years of Age when he died; for if he was a hundred and one Years old in 1537. then it follows, that he was born in the Year 1436. and that he was upward of eighty six Years of Age when he went from *Meaux*, which is not credible: Yet some of those Circumstances may be true enough; as

when it is said, that he disposed of all his Goods for the Relief of the Poor, for this Circumstance was expressed in the Epitaph that was writ on his Tombstone, which *Florimond Remond* (an Author whom we need not suspect in this matter) says he once saw in the Church of *Nerac*. The Words are these,

Corpus humo, mentemque Deo, bona cuncta relinque Pauperibus; Faber hæc dum moreretur ait.

which agrees well enough with the Discourse that *Thomas Hubert* tells us he had with the Queen of *Navarre*.

Faber Stapulensis's Works are these, *A Commentary upon the Psalms, the Gospels, St. Paul's Epistles, and the Canonical Epistles*, printed at *Paris* in 1515. The *Psalter* in five Columns, to wit, the *Gallican*, the *Roman*, the *Hebrew*, the *ancient Vulgar*, and the *reconciled One* (b), printed at *Caen*, 1515, and at *Paris* in 1523. A *Treatise of the three Magdalen's* at *Paris* in 1531. and a Pamphlet against *Erasmus*, which we have already mentioned.

[(b) The Latin Title is, *Quintuplex Psalterium, Gallicum, Romanum, Hebraicum, Vetus, Conciliatum.*]

PETRUS SUTOR.

Petrus Sutor.
Petrus Sutor, Doctor of Divinity of the Faculty of *Paris*, retired to the *Carthusian* Convent, and entered into that Order, and was afterwards made Prior of several of their Houses, and Visitor of the Order. He died the 18th. of June 1537.

He was in his time, one of the most zealous Adversaries that *Erasmus* had, against whom he wrote an Apology for the vulgar Version, an Antapology printed at *Paris* in 1523, and a *Treatise of the Translation of the Bible*, and of condemning the new Versions, printed in 1525. He likewise maintained the three

Marriages of *St. Anne* against *Faber Stapulensis*, in a Pamphlet printed at *Paris* in 1523. He published also a *Treatise of the Power of the Church*, printed at *Paris* in 1546. and a Pamphlet against the *Anticomarites*, printed at the same place in 1525. And last of all he wrote two Books of the *Carthusian Life*, printed at *Paris* in 1522. and afterwards at *Louvain* in 1572. and at *Cologne* in 1609. In which he succeeded better than he did either in Critick or in Controversy.

EUSTACHIUS de Zichen, surnamed RIVIUS.

Eustachius Rivius.
Eustachius of *Zichen*, a Burrough of *Brabant*, surnamed *Vander Rivieren*, in Latin *Rivius*, of the Order of the *Dominicans*, was the first of the Divines of *Louvain*, that wrote against *Luther*. The Works which he composed against him are these, a *Treatise of the seven Sacraments*, printed

in 1523. and a *Refutation of the Errors condemned by the Faculties of Divines of Louvain and Cologne*. He also wrote a Pamphlet against the 5th. Article of *Erasmus's* Manual, printed in 1531. This Author died at *Louvain* the 16th. of April 1538.

JEROME HANGEST.

Jerome Hangest.
Hieronimus Hangestus, born at *Campiegne*, was in his time one of the most famous Doctors of the whole Faculty of Divines at *Paris*. He was long a Professor of Divinity; and was afterwards Canon and Director of the School of the (a) Church of *Mans*, and Great Vicar to Cardinal de *Bourbon* Bishop of that Town. Hangestus died the 8th. of September 1538.

He wrote some Treatises of Controversy and Morality. His Treatises of Controversy are these, a *Treatise concerning Universities* against *Luther*, in which he defends the Universities, and the Custom of taking Degrees in them; shews the Usefulness of Arts and Sciences; defends the School Divinity, which he calls the Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, according to the Sense that is approved of, by the Church's making use of the Interpretations of the Orthodox Doctors, and not condemning the Assistance of other Arts or Sciences. He opposes

this Definition to that Notion that *Luther* had given of School Divinity, and refutes the Calumnies and Invectives of that Heresiarch, against that kind of Divinity, and against the Divines. This Treatise was printed at *Paris* in 1531, with the approbation of the Faculty of Divines at *Paris*. He refuted also *Luther's* Error concerning the Impossibility of keeping God's Commands, in a little Treatise printed in 1528. in which he collected many Passages of Scripture, to prove that by the special Assistance of God's Grace, Men may be enabled to keep his Commands, and he answers *Luther's* Objections to the contrary. There are also two other Treatises of Controversy written by this Author; the one is intitled, *An Antilogia against false Christs*; printed at *Paris* in 1523. The other is concerning the Eucharist; printed at the same place in 1534. His Works of Morality were likewise printed at *Paris* in 1521.

[(a) *Ecolatre*. This is the Name of a Dignity in some Churches, in which he that possesses is bound to teach, whether as a Preacher or a School-Master, I am uncer-

tain. The French Academy's Definition of *Ecolatre* is, *Dignité en quelques Eglises qui a pour fonction d'enseigner.*]

An History of the Lives, and an Abridgment of the Works of the Authors of the former

part of the sixteenth Century.

J. Lanspergius.

JOHANNES LANSPERGIUS.

An History of the Lives, and an Abridgment of the Works of the Authors of the sixteenth Century.

J. Lanspergius.

Johannes Lanspergius, so named from *Lansperg* a Town of *Bavaria*, in which he was born, did from his very Infancy consecrate himself to God, in the Monastery of the *Carthusians* at *Cologne*. Few Men have written a greater number of Treatises on moral and spiritual Subjects than he. He composed *Paraphrases upon the Epistles and Gospels* for the whole Year, with *Sermons for every Lord's Day*. This Work was printed at *Cologne* in 1545. and in 1553. and at *Antwerp* in 1575. There are also two Volumes in Folio, consisting of Treatises of Devotion, written by this Author; they were prin-

ted at *Cologne* in 1555. the Titles of them are these: *A Manual of the Christian Warfare. Dialogues betwixt Jesus Christ and the faithful Soul. Rules for a Spiritual Life. Exercises and Prayers for the Sick. Two former Books of Epistles. Other spiritual Exercises. The Life of our Saviour. The Arrow of divine Love. Several Hymns. Meditations and Soliloquies. Fifty six Homilies upon our Saviour's Passion. A Demonstration of the Religion of the Gospel. A Dialogue betwixt a Lutheran and a Monk. The Mirrour of the Christian Life. Sermons preached at the Chapters.* He died the 3d. of *August* 1539. in the 30th. Year of his Profession.

JOHN MAJOR.

J. Major.

J. Major.

John Major was born at *Haddington* in *Scotland*. He came to *Paris* while he was but young, and studied Humanity in *St. Barbara's College*, under *John of Boulac*, who was afterwards Principal of *Navarre-College*: Then Major entered himself Pupil to the famous *Standouk*, Principal of *Montague-College*; and there he began to study Divinity. *Standouk* being banished in the Year 1498. Major entered into the College of *Navarre*; yet without quitting *Montague-College*, where he taught Philosophy and Divinity. He took his Degree of Doctor of Divinity in the Year 1505. after which he went into his own Country, where he taught for some time in the University of *Glasgow*. But he chose rather to live at *Paris*, than to continue in that Post; and so returned thither and continued his Lectures in *Montague-College*. He had a great many Pupils, who came to be famous Men; and among the rest, *Almainus*, *Jerome Hangeft* and *Robertus Cenalus*, who was afterwards Bishop of *Auranches*.

Of all the Divines who till that time had written on the Works of the Master of the Sentences, there was none that had written either so learnedly, or so full of Commentaries as those are, which were written by *John Major*, by which he very justly acquired a great Reputation. His Commentary upon the first and second Book of the Sentences was printed

at *Paris* in 1515, that on the third Book in 1517, and that on the last Book in 1509, and 1516. Besides which, he wrote a literal Exposition upon the Gospel of *St. Matthew*, with 308 Doubts or Difficulties for the clearing of several Passages; it was printed at *Paris* in 1518. He wrote also a Commentary on the four Gospels, with some Disquisitions and Questions of Controversy against the Heretics. At the end of this Commentary there are four Questions treated of. The first is, Whether the Law of Grace be the only true Law. The second, What is a catholick Truth, and how many Degrees are in it. The third is concerning the Number of the Evangelists. The fourth, concerning the Situation of the promised Land. This Work was printed at *Paris* in 1529. He wrote also six Books of the History of *Scotland* and *England*, printed there in 1518. and several Books of Philosophy, printed at *Lyons* in 1514. There is one Book more, of which he is said to be the Author: It is intituled, *The great Mirror of Examples*; it was printed at *Cologne* in 1555. *John Major* went to *Scotland* there to end his Days, and died there when he was 62 Years of Age; about the Year 1540. In his Writings he has vigorously defended the Judgment of the University of *Paris*, concerning the Power of the Church.

JACOBUS MERLINUS.

Jacobus Merlinus.

Jacobus Merlinus.

Jacobus Merlinus was born in the City of *Limoges*: He took his Degree of Doctor of Divinity in the Faculty of *Paris*, in the Year 1499. He was for some time Rector of the Parish of *Montmartre*, and afterwards Canon of *Notre-dame* in *Paris*: In the year 1525. he was elected Great Penitentiary. His Zeal transported him so far, as that he declaimed against those Courtiers who were suspected of favouring the new Opinions. King *Francis I.* being prejudiced against him, caused him to be imprisoned in the Castle of the *Louvre*, April the 9th. 1527. where he was kept for the space of two years; and then at the request of the Canons of *Paris*, he was taken out of that Prison; yet he was not set at full Liberty, but was banished to *Nantes*; to which Punishment he was condemned by the Commissaries that the King had appointed to be his Judges. The Church of *Paris* wrote a Letter of Recommendation in his favour, to the Church of *Nantes*; and at last the King being pacified, permitted him to return to *Paris* in the Month of *June* 1530. Af-

ter his Return, he was honoured with the Title of Vicar General to the Bishop of *Paris*, and was made Rector and Arch-priest of *S. Mary Magdalen's Church*. He died in the 26th. of *September* 1541. in *Navarre-College*; and was buried in the Church of *Notre-dame*. *Merlinus* is the first Man that in publishing of *Origen's Works*, ever undertook to defend the Errors which he is charged with, which he did by an Apology that he prefixed to the Edition of that Father's Works in 1511. He was likewise the first Man that ever publish'd a Collection of all the Councils; of which Collection there are three Editions; the first at *Paris* in 1524; the second at *Cologne* in 1530; the third at *Paris* in 1535. He published also the Works of *Richardus de sancto Victore*; which were printed at *Paris* in 1518. And those of *Petrus Blesensis*, printed also at *Paris* in 1519. And those of *Durandus à sancto Portiano* printed in 1515. *Merlinus* wrote also six Homilies upon those Words of the Gospel, *the Angel Gabriel was sent to a Virgin, &c.* which were printed at *Paris* in 1538.

G A S P E R C O N T A R E N U S.

An History of the Lives, and an Abridgment of the Works of the Authors of the former part of the sixteenth Century.

Gasper Contarenus.

An History of the Lives, and an Abridgment of the Works of the Authors of the former part of the sixteenth Century.

Gasper Contarenus.

Gasper Contarenus Cardinal Bishop of Belluno, a noble Venetian, was the Son of Lewis Contarenus and Polixena Malipetri; after having learned Grammar at Venice, he went to Padua, where he studied under the learned Pomponatius. He was sent Ambassador from the Republick to the Emperor Charles V. and at his Return from that Embassy he was honoured with considerable Offices. He was also chosen to be Ambassador at Rome, and he was sent to Ferrara for the Deliverance of Pope Clement VII. He was made Cardinal by Pope Paul III. in the year 1536. and was sent to Germany in quality of the Pope's Legate, in the year 1541, and was named to be President of the Council that the Pope intended to have called at Mantua, or at Vienna. But that being a Design that would not be put in execution, the Pope gave him the Legateship of Bononia, where he died in the year 1542, being 59 years of Age, at which very time he was named to go in quality of Legate to the Emperor Charles V. His Treatises of Divinity are these; *A Treatise of the Immortality of the Soul against Pomponatius*, in which he shews by natural Reasons, that the Soul is immortal, contrary to the Opinion of that Author, who thought that it could not be demonstrated by Reason. *Four Books concerning the seven Sacraments of the Church.* *Scholia upon St. Paul's Epistles.* *Two Books of the Duty of Bishops.* *A Catechism.* *A Sum of the most remarkable Councils.* *A Treatise of the Power of the Pope.* *A Refutation of some Articles or Questions of Luther: Some Treatises of Justification, Free-will and Predestination: And an Explication of the Psalm Ad te levavi*, not to mention some Treatises of Philosophy, and a Treatise concerning the Magistrates and Republick of Venice. All these Works which were printed separately, were afterwards collected into one Volume, and printed at Paris in 1571.

This Cardinal wrote very good Latin, and in a very polite Stile, but he had much more Skill in Philosophy than in Divinity: He touches things but very slightly in his Treatise of the Sacraments, which is rather a fine Instruction, than a Treatise of Controversy in Divinity. His two Books of the Duty of Bishops contain some very useful Precepts and Maxims, for the Conduct and Behaviour of Bishops: His *Scholia* upon St. Paul's Epistles are wonderfully useful, for explaining the literal Sense of the most difficult Passages: His Sum of the Councils is nothing but an Abridgment of the most famous Councils till

the Council of Florence, which he calls the ninth general Council. In his Treatise of the Pope's Power, he maintains that the Power which the Pope has to govern the Flock of Jesus Christ, was given by our Saviour to St. Peter, and that it is of Divine Right.

In his Treatises of Controversy against Luther, his Method is to explain the Doctrine of the Church; and to shew that it is agreeable to the Holy Scriptures; and that the Innovators always proceed upon false Suppositions or ill Reasons. When he speaks of Predestination, he makes no scruple of owning that he is not satisfied with St. Augustine's Opinion; and that he does not think, that Men are reprobated upon the account of Original Sin, but for the actual Sins that they commit in resisting Grace; and that it does not depend upon the Efficacy of Grace, but upon our Wills to overcome that Resistance. As to Predestination he acknowledges, that it ought to be attributed to the Mercy of God, who by his Grace prevails upon our Inclinations; yet in such a manner, that the Will makes no Resistance to it: He advises the Preachers who are obliged to speak of these Matters, not to do it too often, and to do it with great Caution, and always to have recourse to the Depth of God's Judgments: He answers the Objection of those irreligious People who say, If I be of the number of the Elect, I shall be saved, and if I be of the number of the Reprobate, I shall be damned, let me do what I will. First, by shewing them, that the same may with as good Reason be said of every other thing that comes to pass in this Life, which God foresees as clearly as he does the Salvation or Damnation of Men. Then he shews, that Predestination and Reprobation are not the necessary Causes of Salvation and Damnation: And that tho' without all Question, God did from all Eternity foreknow both the Elect and the Reprobate; yet that Foreknowledge of his does not destroy the Contingency of future Events, and the Liberty of Man's Will; and that it cannot be doubted, but that if a Man live well he shall be saved; and that if he die in Sin he shall be damned: In fine, that in such an Uncertainty of his future State, he ought with Confidence to work out his own Salvation. In the end of this Treatise, he condemns the execrable Opinion of those, who say, that God is well pleased even with the Sins of the Elect; and that he abhors even the good Actions of the Reprobates.

J O D O C U S C L I C H T O V A E U S.

Jodocus Clichtovæus.

Jodocus Clichtovæus.

Jodocus Clichtovæus born at Newport in Flanders, was one of the best Writers of Controversy of the sixteenth Century. After having studied for some time at Louvain, he learned a Course of Philosophy in the College of Cardinal Le Moine at Paris, under Faber Stapulensis, and taught Philosophy in that College; he entered into the College of Navarre, and performed his Acts of Licence, and at last took his Degree of Doctor of Divinity the 3d. of December 1506. After which he was for some time Tutor to the Cardinal of Amboise's Nephews, out of the College of Navarre, to which he returned in 1513. He is the first of the Divines of Paris that wrote against Luther: He was the leading Man in the Council of Sens, which was held at Paris against the Lutherans: He preached with great Reputation, both at Tournay where he was Rector, and at Paris where he was very exemplary and disinte-

rested in his Life and Conversation. All the Authors of that Age speak highly in his Commendation, for his Learning and his Piety: He died at Chartres (where he had a Divinity Prebend (a)) September 21. 1543.

Clichtovæus composed a great many Books, of which his *Anti-Luther* is one of the principal; it was printed at Paris in 1524, and at Cologne in 1525. It is divided into three Parts. The first is against Luther's pretended Christian and Evangelical Liberty; in which he proves that the Church has power to establish Laws, that oblige Christians even under pain of mortal Sin. The second is against the abolishing of the Mass, which was what Luther was then labouring to introduce: He therein particularly refutes what Luther had advanced, that all Christians were Priests; and shews, that there ought to be a Distinction betwixt the Priests and the Laity; and that

(a) **C**hanoine Theologal. That Prebendary in a Collegiate Church whose Office it was anciently with V o r. III.

us, and still is in the Church of Rome to read Divinity in the Chapter is called by the French, *Chanoine Theologal.*

the Mass is a real Sacrifice. The third part is in defence of monastick Vows. In the first part he proves, that ever since the times of the Apostles, there were Constitutions and Laws made by their Authority, which were not comprehended in the Gospel. He asserts, that *Dionysius the Areopagite* is the Author of the Books that are attributed to him; and that he is the Apostle of *Paris* and of *France*. After this Digression he returns to the Ecclesiastical Laws, and maintains by strong Arguments, that they do oblige under pain of mortal Sin: He maintains also, that tho' the Gospel be sufficient for Salvation, yet it does not contain all that is necessary for being saved: He proves, that general Councils are infallible; and that every Man is obliged to obey their Decrees under pain of Damnation. In fine, he maintains that the Laws of the Church are very reasonable: He treats particularly of those that enjoin the Celibacy of Priests, and that enjoin Fasts; and refutes *Luther's* Principles concerning those Matters. In the second part, he explains the different Orders of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy: He defends the Use of private Masses; and he pretends, that in the times we now live it is not convenient to oblige all Christians to communicate every *Sunday*: He brings a great many Arguments to prove that the Mass is a Sacrifice; and answers *Luther's* Objections to the contrary: He defends the Canon and Office of the Mass against the Invectives of that Heretick: He pretends, that the Words of Consecration ought to be repeated privately: He shews, that the Custom of consecrating and receiving the Eucharist fasting, is rational. In the last place, he treats of the Obligation of repeating the *Canonical Hours*, and of Purgatory and Prayers for the Dead, and of the Usefulness of Universities. The third part is only a Justification of the monastick Vows and Life: He therein disputes occasionally against some other of *Luther's* Errors.

He wrote also another Treatise, on purpose to defend the ancient Custom of celebrating the Mass, and the Continency and Celibacy of Priests, and the Laws for Abstinence and Fasting; it is intituled, *A Defence of the Church against the Lutherans*, printed at *Paris* in 1526. He quotes a great many passages to prove, that our Ritual for the celebrating of the Mass, as to the Substance of it is very Ancient, and to justify all the particular Parts and Ceremonies of which it is composed: He there treats also of Communion under both kinds. In the second Book he pretends, that tho' Pope *Siricius* was the first that ever made a Law for the Celibacy of Priests, yet that Law is agreeable to the Law of both the Old and New Testament, nay and to the Law of Nature too: He owns that Pope *Siricius's* Law was not received in all Churches: He thinks that Sub-Deacons Orders were not always looked upon as Holy, tho' they be at present: He pretends that in the Age we live in, the Vow of Chastity, even when it is solemnly made, is annexed to the taking of Holy Orders: He cites a great many passages of Ecclesiastical Authors, concerning the Continency of Priests, and he answers the Objections that may be made against that Doctrine. Towards the end he falls upon *Erasmus*, for what he had said in praise of Marriage. The last Book of this Treatise is full of Passages and Examples, which he produces in defence of the Practice of Fasting and abstaining from Meats.

We have already taken notice, that he was a Man of great Interest in the Council that was held at *Paris*, in the Year 1528. of which we have spoken in the first part of this Work: He wrote a *Defence of the Doctrine of that Council*, which was printed at *Paris*, in 1529. and dedicated to King *Francis I.* It is intituled *An Abridgment of the Truths that related to the Faith against the Erroneous Assertions of Luther.*

There are twenty five Chapters in it: in the first of which he proves, that the Church is Infallible

in Matters of Faith and Manners. In the second, that it is Visible. In the third, that general Councils are likewise Infallible. In the fourth, that it belongs to the Church to determine what Books are Canonical and to judge of their Sense. In the fifth, that there are many Articles that ought to be believed, which are not expressed in Holy Scripture. In the sixth and seventh, that the Church has power to make Laws, which do oblige the Conscience under pain of mortal Sin, even concerning things that are not expressed. In the eighth, that she had good reason to make Laws concerning Fasts and Abstinence. In the ninth, that the Law for the Celibacy of the Clergy is just and reasonable. In the tenth that Monastic Vows are of perpetual Obligation. In the eleventh, that it is for good Reasons that the Church has altered the Custom of giving the Communion to the Laity under both kinds. In the twelfth, that she has a Right to excommunicate; and that Excommunication does deprive People of great spiritual Blessings; and that Men ought to be very much afraid of it. In the thirteenth, that she may very justly cut off Hereticks, from being Members of her Body, and may deliver them over to the secular Arm, who may very justly punish them. In the fourteenth, that it is lawful for the Clergy and for Churches to possess temporal Estates. In the fifteenth, that by the Sacraments of the new Testament, Grace is conferred upon those who receive them worthily: He there treats of every particular Sacrament, and of its Virtue, and answers some of *Luther's* Objections, especially against the Sacrament of Marriage. In the sixteenth he shows, that there ought to be some lesser Orders in the Church. In the seventeenth, that the Eucharist is a real Sacrifice. In the eighteenth, he treats of the three parts of Penance, which are Contrition, Confession, and Satisfaction. In the nineteenth he refutes the *Greeks* and the Hereticks that deny Purgatory; and he enlarges upon the Benefits that the dead reap from the Suffrages of the living. In the twentieth he shows, that it is very becoming a Christian to be grieved for the Death of *Jesus Christ*. In the one and twentieth, that we ought to invoke the Saints and to honour them, seeing they pray for us. In the two and twentieth he treats of the Use and Worshipping of Images. In the three and twentieth he proves, that Man is a free Agent, with regard to Good and Evil. He thinks that Man has always some Assistance from God, with which he may do that which is good, or at least that he had so much Grace as that he may pray for that Assistance; yet he is of opinion that Predestination and negative Reprobation, do not depend upon the Actions of Men, but that they are the Effects of God's meer Will, tho' they do not force the Will of Man, how infallible soever they are in themselves; and that they leave him at full Liberty to do either Good or Evil; because Man has always some degree of Grace, or may dispose himself to receive it, by doing all that depends upon himself. In the twenty fourth he treats of Evangelical Precepts and Councils, and shows that there are some things in the Gospel that are only Counsels, and that there are other things that are Precepts. In the last Chapter he proves that Faith without Good Works is not sufficient for Salvation. This Work is as it were an Abridgment of the other Treatises of Controversy, which he had written against *Luther*: In it he treats of Matters with great Neatness; and he solidly answers the Objections of the *Lutherians*. He wrote also a Treatise against *Luther's* Propositions, that were contrary to the Catholick Doctrine, printed at *Paris* in 1523.

These are *Clichtovius's* principal Works: He wrote also a Treatise of the Eucharist against *Oecolampadius*, printed at *Paris* in 1526. A Treatise of the Worshipping of Saints, *Ibid.* 1523. In which he shows, that we ought to worship the Saints and answers

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Jodocus Clichtovius.

the Objections that are against that Practice: A Treatise intituled *Elucidatorium Ecclesiasticum*; in which he explains what relates to the Office of the Church, which has been often printed: A Treatise of the *Life and Manners of Priests*, printed at Paris in 1519, and 1520. A Preface to *Faber Stapulensis's* Treatise of the three *Magdalens*, with an *Apology for that Work*, printed at Paris in 1519. Two Books of the *Purity of the Blessed Virgin*; one Book of her *Sorrow at our Saviour's Passion*, with a Homily upon her standing by the Cross, and a Treatise of her *Assumption*, printed at Paris 1517. A Treatise of the *Dignity and Excellency of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin*, *Ibid.* in 1519. A Treatise of the *Necessity of Adam's Sin*, *Ibid.* A little Treatise intituled, *The Doctrine of Dying well*, *Ibid.* in 1538. A Treatise concerning *Nobility*: Another concerning the *Duty of Kings*, *Ibid.* in 1519. A Treatise of *War and Peace*, *Ibid.* in 1523. A Discourse in praise of the *Monastick State*, *Ibid.* in 1519. An *Elogy upon the Apostles and Apostolical Men*, *Ibid.* in 1513. The *Elogies of the Patriarch Joseph, of David, and of Tobit*, in three Books, *Ibid.* in 1523. A *Collection of Sermons* printed several times, and a great many *Homilies* printed at Cologne in 1572. divided into three Parts; the first of which is upon all the Gospels of the Year: The second upon the Festivals of the Saints; and the third is composed of many Dis-

courses, some for the Instruction of the Faithful, others for Synods, and some upon different Subjects. He wrote an Exposition of a Part of St. John's Gospel, which he took out of St. Chrysostome and St. Augustine, to supply four Books that are wanting in St. Cyril of Alexandria's Commentary upon that Gospel, which was printed with the Translation of that Commentary. In 1511. he published the Sermons of *Casarius of Arles*, and wrote a Commentary upon St. John Damascene. We shall not mention his Philosophical Works, which are very many.

This Author is one of those who have treated of Matters of Controversy with the greatest Learning and Solidity. He refutes his Adversaries Errors without showing any Bitterness or Passion against their Persons. He was very Learned in the Holy Scriptures; and had read many of the Fathers: The only thing he wanted to have rendered him a compleat Divine, was Critical Learning, which was not come to be much in use in his time, and Skill in the Languages, to which he seems not to have applied himself. He wrote indifferent good Latin, and much better than the School-men, but he comes far short of many Authors of that Age for Purity and Elegance of Style; yet a Man may even now reap Advantage by reading his Works.

JOHANNES FABER.

Johannes Faber, a Swiss by Birth, after having been Secretary and Counsellor of State to the Arch-Duke Ferdinand, was made Canon of Constance; and afterwards Bishop of Vienna in Austria. He is one of those that most signalized themselves, both by Writings and Conferences against the Innovators. The principal Works that he composed against them are these, his Book intituled *Malleus Hereticorum*, divided into six Books, and dedicated to Pope Adrian VI. printed at Rome in 1524, and in 1569. Another Book intituled *An Orthodox Defence of the Catholick Faith*, printed at Leipzig in 1518. written against Balthazar Pacimontanus, one of the Principal Men among the Anabaptists, whom he obliged to retract some of his Errors, nay and to write against them too, tho' he never sincerely abjured all of them. He also

wrote a great many other Treatises of Controversy, and among the rest a Treatise concerning *Faith and Good Works*, printed at Cologne: A Treatise against some of Luther's Opinions, printed at Rome in 1522. A Refutation of six Articles of *Ulricus Zuinglius*. presented to the Assembly of the Swiss at Baden: in 1526. printed at Tubin: A Letter in the German Language to *Zuinglius* in which he reproaches him for not coming to the Assembly at Baden: Some Treatises of the *Pope's Power*, of the *Celibacy of the Clergy*, of *Infant-Baptism and Patience*. He wrote not only Treatises of Controversy, but likewise *Homilies*, which were printed at Cologne, in 1541. and a Treatise concerning the *Eucharist* by way of Homily, printed *Ibid.* 1537. He died in 1541.

JOHANNES ECKIUS.

Johannes Eckius born in Suabia, and Professor of Divinity and Preacher at Ingolstadt, was one of the greatest and most zealous Adversaries that Luther and the other Innovators had, he was one of the first that attack'd Luther's Theses in Writing, and was afterwards a principal Actor in the Disputes, that the Catholicks had with the Hereticks; 'I (says he in a Letter that he wrote to the Bishop of Wurtsburg, in 1529) who am the meanest of all Men, have oftentimes fought far and near against those Wild Beasts: At Leipzig I engaged in close fight against Luther who is the Head of that Dragon, and against Carlostadius in a Dispute that lasted twenty Days: At Baden against the Capernaite Ocolampadius, in presence of the twelve Swiss Cantons, and the Deputies of four Bishops: I have attacked them at a Distance by a great many Books, which I have published both in Germany and in Italy, of which Number is the *Manual of Contro-*

versies, that I published for the sake of those, who by reason of their Avocations, have not leisure to read great Volumes, that they might have always in their hand, what is sufficient for refuting the Hereticks.' In this Work he treats of the greatest part of the controverted Questions, and of the Points on which the Innovators attack the Church of Rome, of the Sacrifice of the Mass, of Cardinals and Legates, of the Immunities of the Church, of first Fruits, of the real Presence of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, of Transubstantiation, of Free-Will, of the great number of Priests, of Tithes, of Prayer and the canonical Hours, of the indelible Character, of Vows, of Excommunications, of Indulgences, of the punishing of Hereticks, of saying the Mass in Latin, of the Baptism of Infants, of Churches and their Ornaments, of the Celibacy of the Clergy, of the War against the Turk, of Purgatory, and of disputing against

against Heriticks: This Book has been often printed, and the seventh Edition was at *Ingolstadt* in 1535.

Eckius was chosen as we have already related, to be one of the Agents for the Catholicks in the Conference held at *Ratisbon* in the Year 1541. upon the Articles proposed by the Emperor, for coming to an Union. His Colleagues were *Pflugius* and *Gropper*; but he did not act in concert with them; He did approve of the Book that was presented by the Emperor: Nevertheless he was present in the first Meeting, and did not oppose the Articles which were agreed upon, but falling Sick when they were come to the Article of the Eucharist, he had no longer share in what past afterwards at the Conference: When it was ended, *Pflugius* and *Gropper* read to him the Articles on which they were agreed, and those which were still under debate: They gave out that he approved of them, but he denied it: However, he soon declared himself against all that had been done, and wrote an Apology against *Bucer*, in which he refutes the Book that by the Emperor's Order was presented to the Diet, and some of *Bucer's* Writings, concerning what had passed in the Diet, and the Declaration of *Gropper* and *Pflugius*; and he defends the Conduct of the Princes of the Empire, and of the Pope's Legate, who were against the receiving of these reconciling Articles: He finishes his Apology at *Ingolstadt* the 30th. of December 1541. and it was printed at *Paris* in 1543.

He likewise writes upon the controversy concerning the Sacrifice of the Mass, in two Treatises; one addressed to *Sigismund King of Poland*, divided into two Books, printed in 1526. and the other which is larger than the former, is divided into three Books, printed afterwards at *Cologne*. He wrote also a Treatise of Penance, in which he treats of Private Confession and Satisfaction; it was Printed at *Venice* in 1535. and he wrote a Letter to *Melanchthon* concerning the *Leipsick-Dispute*, concerning Oaths, and the Celebration of *Easter*, and *St. Peter's* and the Pope's Supremacy, and another Letter written in the German Language to the *Swiss Cantons*, against the Heresy of *Luther* and *Zuinglius*. Before the rise of *Luther's* Heresy he composed a Treatise intituled *Chrysopasus, or six Centuries of Predestination*, printed at *Augsburg*, in 1514.

He wrote also a Commentary upon *Haggai*, printed at *Cologne* in the Year 1538. full of good learning, and some Postils or Homilies on the Gospels of the Time and of the Festivals of the Saints, printed at *Ingolstadt* in three Tomes in 1531. and in *Latin*, with a Discourse on the seven Sacraments, in 1566, and 1580. He died at *Ingolstadt* in 1543. when he was fifty seven Years of Age.

He had a great deal of Learning, Reading, Memory, Easiness of Expression, Zeal, and Penetration.

ALBERTUS PIGHIUS.

Albertus Pighius was Born at *Campen*, a Town in *Over-ysell* in the Low-Countries, of a noble Family: He studied at *Louvain*, where he came to be a great Master not only of Polite Learning, but also of Philosophy and Mathematicks. He there composed a Treatise concerning the Day of the Celebration of *Easter*, and the Restitution of the Calendar. A Memorial for adjusting the Solstices and Equinoxes. An Apology against the Astronomy of *Marcus Benerentanus*, who designed to have reformed the Computation of the *Alphonsine* Tables, with a Defence of Astrology against the makers of Almanacks, and some other Mathematical Works. He joyned the practice of that Science, with the Theory of it, by making very artificially some Spheres of copper which represented the motions of the Heavens and of the Stars. From the study of profane Sciences he proceeded to the study of Divinity, which he began to study at *Louvain*, where he took his Degree of Batchelor of Divinity, and afterwards that of Doctor in the University of *Cologne*: It was then that he began to write the Divinity Treatises, which he composed against the Innovators of that Age. He followed Pope *Adrian IV.* to *Spain* and *Rome*, and received publick marks of his Favour: That Pope being dead, *Pighius* continued to reside at *Rome*, and was employ'd in several negotiations under the Pontificate of *Clement VII.* and under that of Pope *Paul III.* who gave him the Provost-Ship of *St. John Baptist's* at *Utrecht*, to which place he retired, and died the 24th. of December 1543.

Among all *Pighius's* Works, that concerning Hierarchy is the most considerable. It is dedicated to Pope *Paul III.* and is divided into six Book. In the first he treats of the principles of our Religion, and of the means of knowing the true Religion; for finding out of which, he goes back to the Creation of the World, and finds it in *Adam* and *Eve*; it continued in those of *Adam's* Posterity who believed in a Redeemer, which Knowledge was in process of time confined to a small number; all Men being

corrupted at the time of the Deluge except *Noah* and his Family, within which the true Church was comprehended at that time. From *Noah* till *Abraham* this Church was in the beginning of its Infancy, and its Infancy lasted till *Moses*, at which time began its Adolescence: For then the Church received more Light by the Law which was given to *Moses*. Which was as a Pedagogue to put a stop to the course of vicious Practices, and prefigur'd *Jesus Christ* and his Church. From its Adolescence it came to be of riper Years, and at last it arriv'd at a perfect Age, when in the fulness of time God sent his only Son to redeem those that were under the Law, which Law never made any Man perfect, nor did it justify or save any Man. This perfect Church began at the coming of *Jesus Christ*, and was spread over all the Earth, by the Ministry of the Apostles. He thinks it necessary before he treats of the Unity, Form and Hierarchy of the Church, to lay down some principles on which he may establish that which ought to be believed and practised: He reduces those Principles to two, which are Scripture and Tradition. It is agreed on all hands, that the truths of our Religion are above the light of natural Reason, and that they depend upon a supernatural light, founded upon Revelation and Testimony of God, who is certainly faithful and true. So that our Faith has for its first principle the Truth of God, whose design was to reveal to us the end at which we ought to aim, and to ordain the means for conducting us to that end. This Divine Truth can neither be deceived itself, nor can it deceive us. Every thing that undoubtedly belongs to our Religion ought to be reduced to this principle. If we all heard the voice of God speaking to us either inwardly or outwardly, and if we were certain that God spoke to us, then we should make no difficulty to believe his Testimony. But because God does not always speak to us by himself; the reason of our doubts and our difficulties is that which gives occasion to the Question that *Pighius* treats of, how can we be certain of Revelation? God spake to *Moses*, that

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was evident to the *Israelites* who lived at that time; but their posterity could not be assured of it, but only by the Tradition of their Fathers. It is likewise after the same manner that they knew that *Moses's* Law came from him. *Jesus Christ* gave the Evangelical Law by word of Mouth to his Apostles, who instructed the Churches in it after the same manner. God permitted the four Evangelists to write this Gospel, but their Gospels had no authority, but what they had from the Testimony which the Churches gave of the Truth of them. It was by that Testimony, that in the primitive Church true Gospels were distinguished from false ones. He proves this Principle by several Testimonies of the Fathers. He adds, that Tradition is as certain as the Holy Scripture, and that it is clearer and better known, and more proper for establishing the certainty of Truth. He concludes from those Principles, that the Opinion of the Catholick Church is the Rule for knowing the Truths of Faith. He distinguishes religious Truth into two kinds, one which the People and ordinary Christians do distinctly and explicitly believe, others which are more Sublime and Mysterious, and less within the reach of illiterate Christians. If we doe but take a view of the principal Parts and the different Ages of the Catholick Church, we may easily know her Opinions concerning the Truths of the first kind: But as to the other Truths, we must have recourse to Men of clear Heads and quick Understandings; of the first kind, he reckons the Questions concerning Infant Baptism, real Presence, Prayer for the dead, Worshipping, and Intercession of Saints, Images, Churches, Festivals, Ceremonies, and Monastick Vows; which are all popular things, concerning which the Opinion of the Church is clearer than the light of the Day. He treats of all these particulars, and produces very convincing Proofs of the Opinion of the Church, as to every one of them; by citing the Definitions of Councils or Passages of the Fathers, which prove them clearly; and especially the real Presence, on which he enlarges sufficiently, and answers all the ordinary Objections against it. In speaking of the Worshipping of Saints and Relicks, he distinguishes betwixt Veneration and Adoration, and says, that we worship Saints and their Relicks, but we do not adore them. He pretends, that the use and worship of Images, was established in the Church in the times of the Apostles. And lastly, he shows the Antiquity of the Ceremonies of the *Divine Office*, and of Monastical Vows.

Pighius, having laid these Foundations in the first Book, proceeds in the second, to treat of the Unity of the Church, and of the different Orders of which it is composed. He first examines what is the Bond that unites those that believe in *Jesus Christ* in the same Church; and he asserts, that it is neither Predestination, nor Charity, nor Grace, that makes this Bond; seeing Reprobates and wicked Persons are within this union: but that it is Order and Subordination that both makes and preserves the Unity of the Church. He refutes the Opinion of *Luther*, who made no distinction betwixt Laity and Priests. He establishes the several Degrees of the Priesthood: He rejects the Opinion of *Cajetan*, who thought that the Deacons were appointed by the Apostles to be Ministers of common Tables. He treats of the Functions of the Christian Priesthood, and of the Sacrifice of the Mass, and proves the truth and necessity of it very fully. He treats also of the Prayers of the Priests, both for the Living and the Dead; of Sacerdotal Benediction; of the Power of binding and loosing Sins, on occasion of which, he speaks of the necessity of Confession and Absolution. He undertakes to prove against *Erasmus* (whom he uses a little ill,) that private and particular Confession of all mortal Sins is necessary, and of Divine Right. Then he treats of the Functions of the Episcopal Office, which are Ordination and Confirmation: He shows that these Functions have been

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always reserved to the Bishops: And he shows also, wherein the Office of Priests differs from that of Bishops: And he answers the passages of *St. Jerome* upon that Subject.

His third Book of Hierarchy, is concerning the Supremacy of *St. Peter* and his Successors. He there shows, that it was established by *Jesus Christ*, who is the Head and President of his Church: And he answers the Objections that are proposed for shewing that all the Apostles are equal. And he writes a whole Chapter for explaining the passages that seem to imply that *St. Paul* was equal to *St. Peter*. He shows that *St. Peter* came to *Rome*, and that the Bishops of *Rome* are his Successors.

In the fourth Book he treats of the Authority and Prerogatives of the Head of the Church, after having shown that we ought to obey our Ecclesiastical Superiors. He asserts, that all Questions of Doctrine and general Discipline, ought to be carried to the Sovereign Bishop, and that in those matters he has a right to pass a Sentence, from which there is no appeal, and to which all Christians ought to give obedience: He gives him Authority and Jurisdiction over the whole Church. One of his principal Arguments is, the Comparison betwixt the Synagogue and the Church; and betwixt the High-Priest in the Jewish, and the Pope in the Christian Church: To which he adds many Authorities of Councils, Popes and Fathers of the Church. He answers the objections that may be made against his Opinion, and the instances that are alledged for proving that the Popes have sometimes fallen into Error. Last of all he makes a Collection of a great many things concerning the Authority of the Pope and of the Holy See.

The fifth Book is concerning the Pope's Power in Temporals. He therein refutes *Marsilius Patavinus's* Book; and as if it were not enough for him to maintain, that the Clergy are capable of having temporal Jurisdiction; he pretends that Emperors and Kings depend upon the Pope, not only in spiritual Concerns, but even for their temporal Jurisdiction; that it is of him that they hold their Authority, and that it is in his power to deprive them of it. These are the dangerous Principles of these *Ultramontane* Divines. His last Book of the Hierarchy is concerning Councils: He makes their Authority altogether despicable; for he pretends, that they have no power but only to consult and execute, and that it belongs to the Pope to determine sovereignly and infallibly. He adds, that general Councils, which he thinks were of *Constantine's* Invention, were formerly useful to the Church, but are now become pernicious to it; for which he instances in the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*. He rejects the Decrees of those Assemblies, concerning the Authority of a general Council. He refutes *Gerson's* Opinion concerning the Council's Authority. He asserts, that neither the general Council, nor the Church has any power over its Head, and that it has not so much as any Jurisdiction over a particular Person. That suppose it had, yet general Councils have none. That all Ecclesiastical Causes, that are of consequence, are reserved to the holy See. That the general Councils depend entirely upon the Pope, both as to their Meetings and in their Decisions; and that they have no Power or Authority but what they receive from the holy See. *Satis ergo, ni fallor, ex his demonstratum est, omnem prorsus actionem Conciliorum omnium ex unius Apostolicæ sedis auctoritate dependere; ab eâ solâ suam auctoritatem, suum Robur accipere; eam esse fuisseque semper Conciliis omnibus moderatricem & orthodoxæ fidei regulam infallibilem, non vice versâ; illa siquidem hujus auctoritate seclusâ, quantumvis frequentia, & universalia non solum errare posse, sed errasse frequenter, etiam in fidei definitione & negotio: hanc vero nunquam, sed normam orthodoxæ fidei, ut eam ab initio accepit ab Apostolorum principibus illibatam, conservasse perpetuo, & conservaturam ad finem; errantibus Conciliis hanc semper succurrisse; illa huic nunquam, sicut*

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nunquam

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namquam aberrasse probabitur. This is the End and Conclusion of *Pighius's* Works: That which he adds to it is an Answer to a little Treatise, writ by the Protestants against Pope *Paul III's* Indiction of the Council: In fine, he maintains against *Cajetan* (who is more reasonable in these Matters than he) that it is not in the power of the Church, to depose the Pope for what fault soever, even tho' he were incorrigible, and tho' he should give Scandal to the whole Church. He over-stretches things so far, as to pretend, that it is absolutely impossible that a Pope can ever become a Heretick; and that there is no case, in which a general Council has power to meet, without the consent of the Pope.

Albertus Pighius.

Pighius wrote also another considerable Book of Controversy, which he calls *Ten Books concerning Free-will and Grace* against *Calvin*, printed at *Cologne* in 1542. A Treatise concerning the *Mafs*, against the *Lutherans*. An Apology against *Bucer's* Calumnies, printed at *Mentz* in 1543. A Treatise of the Controversies which were disputed at *Ratisbonne*, printed at *Cologne* in 1545. And a Treatise of the Means of suppressing the Controversies in Religion, printed at *Cologne* in 1552. He was very opposite to the Opinions of *St. Augustine* and *Thomas Aquinas*, concerning Predestination and Grace. He differs also from the com-

mon Opinion of Divines, in denying in his fifth Book of Free-will, that Men are justified by an habitual Grace; and he expresses himself after an extraordinary manner, when he says, that there are two Causes of our Justification, namely, the inherent Righteousness, and the imputed Righteousness of Jesus Christ. Lastly, what he advances as well as *Catharinus*, that original Sin in young Children is nothing else but the actual Sin of *Adam* that is imputed to them, and that properly speaking, there is no Blemish in them of inherent Sin, is no less opposite to the common Doctrine of Divines.

This Author was a Man of great Reading and Learning, but his discerning Faculty was not just. He was bold enough in those Questions that do not relate to the Interests of the Court of *Rome*; but in those that related to them, he was prepossessed with most unsufferable Opinions: And of all the Authors that have written on these Heads, there is not one that has carried things so far, or who has given more to the Pope than he has done. His Style falls far short of that of *Sadolet* both for Purity and Elegancy, and the other *Ciceronians* of that Age, but it is not so barbarous as that of the School-men and Writers of Controversy.

Albertus Pighius.

JACOBUS LATOMUS.

Jacobus Latomus born at *Cambrou*, a little Burrough joining to an Abby in *Hainault*, was Doctor and Professor of Divinity at *Louvain*, and Canon of *St. Peter's* in the same Town. He flourished from the first Rise of *Luther's* Heresy, till the Year 1544. in which Year he died. He wrote many Books of Controversy, which were collected into one Volume by his Nephew *Jacobus Latomus*, and printed at *Louvain* 1550.

Jacobus Latomus.

The first is a Defence of the Censure of the Faculty of *Louvain* against *Luther's* Articles; in which, by the Testimonies of the sacred Scriptures, and of the Fathers, and by theological Reasons, he shews the Falseness of *Luther's* Propositions, and refutes the Arguments that he had produced for proving them. *Luther* having writ an Answer to this Defence, *Latomus* wrote a short Reply to it, in which he insists particularly on the Refutation of this one Proposition of *Luther*, that none of our good Actions are without Sin. He therein treats of habitual Grace, by which Men are justified. This Reply is next to the Defence.

His third Treatise is concerning the Pope's Supremacy: He therein confines himself to the Refutation of what *Luther* had written, either for weakening the Arguments that are produced for the Pope's Supremacy, or for overthrowing it.

The next Treatise is intituled *Several kinds of Questions*: He therein attacks those, who do not openly declare themselves against the Opinions that are contrary to those that are commonly received in the Church, and who seem to be in the middle betwixt Catholics and Hereticks. 'Tis probable that in this he aimed at *Erasmus*.

In the Treatise concerning the Church, he distinguishes betwixt two Senses in which the Word Church is taken in the holy Scripture. First, it is taken for the Righteous. Secondly, for those who are baptized and profess the true Faith, and live in the same Communion: He observes, that these two Senses in which the Word Church is taken, do not make two different Churches, because the pure Church in the second Sense, comprehends the Saints and the Righteous, together with the Wicked: He maintains, that not only Hereticks but also Schismatics are without the Church: He makes the Unity of the

Church to depend upon the Submission of Christians to the one only universal Pastor, the Bishop of *Rome*, Successor to *St. Peter*: He gives the Church not only her spiritual Power of interpreting the Scripture, of excommunicating, and of forgiving Sins; but also a Power of punishing Hereticks with Death, and (which is horrible) of depriving sovereign Princes of their Sovereignty and their Dominions. To this Treatise he has subjoined a Refutation of *Gerson's* Opinion, that human Laws do not oblige under pain of Sin, unless there be some Connexion betwixt them and the Laws of God or of Nature.

His Treatise of *private Confession* is divided into three parts; in the first he proves, that Christians ought not to consider Confession as an heavy Yoke. In the second he shews, that Confession is necessary for obtaining the pardon of mortal Sin committed after Baptism. He refutes those who say it did not begin till the *Lateran* Council under Pope *Innocent III.* and he cites several Passages out of the Fathers to prove its Antiquity.

Oecolampadius having written against this Treatise, *Latomus* published an Answer to him, in which he refutes not only what *Oecolampadius* had said against the necessity of Confession, and the Sacrament of Penance, but also several other Errors of that Heretick.

The two next Treatises are written in Answer to an anonymous Book intituled *Christian Oeconomy*: In this Book *Luther's* Principles concerning Justification were maintained, and the monastick Vows were found fault with, as being but a late Invention. *Latomus* published those two Treatises in answer to it: In the first he proves, that true Faith doth not exclude good Works; and that Justification ought not to be attributed to Faith alone, which is only the Beginning of it. In the second he shews, that the Vows of Chastity, Poverty, and Obedience, which the Monks take, are not a late Invention; he proves sufficiently the Succession of the monastick Orders, from the time of *St. Anthony*; but he can find nothing before his time to establish it, except only the Books attributed to *St. Dionysius the Areopagite*, and *Philo's Therapeutae*: He then answers the Objections that are made by the Author, whom he refutes, against a monastick State of Life.

Jacobus Latomus.

His Treatise of the *Study of Divinity*, and of the three Languages, was writ against *Erasmus*. *Latomus*'s principal Design is to criticize upon what *Erasmus* had laid in favour of the Study of Languages, and against the Study of School-divinity, as it was taught in the Schools. He could not endure, that those Studies that had continued in the Schools for so long a time, should be condemned, because of the Barbarity of the Style of those Men that treated of them, and because of their Driness. He imagined that *Erasmus* had an ill Opinion not only of the Faults of that Science, but likewise of the Science it self; and that in recommending the Study of the holy Scriptures, and of the primitive Fathers, he designed to dissuade them from reading *Thomas Aquinas*, *Bonaventure*, *Alexander Alesius*, and other School-divines. These Thoughts made him write the Treatise we are now speaking of by way of Dialogue, in defence of the School-divinity, and to shew not only that we ought not to neglect the Study of the School-divines, but that it is for our Advantage to read them even before we read the Ancients. This Treatise is composed of two Dialogues, betwixt a Man that loves Rhetorick and the Languages; a School-divine and a Man who knows nothing either of the one or of the other. The first is well pleased that they had begun to teach *Greek* at *Leipsick*, and from that he takes occasion to speak in favour of the Study of Languages, and of the Necessity of understanding the three Languages, in order to be a good Divine. The last being desirous to be instructed, engages the second to treat of this Matter with the first. The second produces some Reasons, shewing that the Study of Divinity does not depend upon the Knowledge of the Languages: And to prove this he alledges, that tho' the *Jews* and Hereticks do very well understand the *Greek* and *Hebrew* Tongues; yet they did not rightly understand the holy Scripture, because they endeavour to wrest the Scriptures, that they may make them agree with their own Opinions, and do not accommodate their Opinions to the true Sense and Meaning of the Scriptures; from whence he concludes, that Piety is the principal Qualification that is required in a Man who resolves to be a Divine; and that the holy Scripture is useless to those that are void of Piety: Now this is certainly true, but the Consequence that he draws from thence, that it is not necessary that those who are pious and religious should not study the sacred Scripture, and much less the Languages, is absolutely false and does by no means follow.

In the 2d. Dialogue, the Defender of the School-divinity entertains the third Person all alone; and having no other Adversary, he instructs him confidently in those Rules which he feigns himself to have received from an old Man, concerning the Study of Divinity: Under the Name of that old Man, he resumes the Discourse which he had begun concerning the Necessity of Piety, yet he confesses that Piety alone does not make a Man a Divine: He asserts that the Study of Languages is not necessary, because a Man must understand the things themselves, before he speak of them; and that if he have a right Notion of a thing, then it is an easie Matter for him to express it: In the mean time he acknowledges, that a Man ought not altogether to neglect the Study of Languages, but he blames those who do so apply themselves to that Study, as to neglect the other Studies, and who despise those who do not understand them: He pretends also, that the Knowledge of the Languages is not absolutely necessary for understanding the holy Scripture: He says there are two Degrees of Knowledge; the one popular and common, the other more spiritual (a) and subtil. And for this last he thinks, that if a Man has once a smattering in Grammar, he is then sufficiently qualified for applying himself to the Study of Lo-

gick and Metaphysics, and the other Sciences which refine the Understanding. Then he comes to School-divinity, and mentions the many Advantages that may be reap'd by it. The first is, that the School-divines, in imitation of *Peter Lombard* and *St. John Damascene*, do rank things in Order, and treat of every thing in particular under its proper Head; whereas the Ancients speak of things only occasionally, and without Order, according as the Subject which they treat of requires. The second is, that the School-men exhaust every Subject, and treat of it according to the full Extent of it in those places, in which the Discourse of it is, whereas the Ancients treat of things only in part, so that in one single place of a School-divine, a Man shall find what he cannot find in ten Passages of the Works of the Fathers. The third is, that the School-men observing certain Rules, and proceeding upon sure Principles, do plainly and clearly explain their Opinions, which the Ancients, excepting *St. Augustine* very rarely do. The fourth is, that in the times of the primitive Fathers, there were many things that were not defined, which were afterwards defined upon the rising of Heresies; that they spake with less Caution than they would have done, if they had had the Enemies of the Truth in their view. The fifth is, that the School-men reject and refute the false Opinions of the Philosophers: He makes the Person that discourages with him object, that the School-men treat of curious and superfluous Matters: He answers, that there are indeed some Questions that seem to be useless, but that they have their use when they are applied to the Body of the Art; and he gives this Question for an Instance, Whether God can unite himself to a Creature that is destitute of Reason, which looks like a very useless Question, yet it may be applied to that Question, Whether the Divinity of Jesus Christ continued to be united with his Body, whilst it was in the Grave: He endeavours also to justify the Schools for having blended so much Philosophy with Divinity: He defends the Logick of the School-divines; he argues against those that call it Sophistry, and says that there are Sophisters as well among the Orators as among the Logicians. Lastly, he would have the young Divines apply themselves to the Study of School-divinity, because he does not think that they are capable of searching narrowly into the Sense of the holy Scripture, and he is persuaded, that Poetry and Rhetorick are apt to corrupt them in their Minds and Affections.

This Dialogue being refuted by *Erasmus*, *Latomus* wrote a short Apology for it, in which he says but little in his own defence. He therein treats of the Versions and the Reading of the holy Scripture: He does not absolutely disapprove of the Labour of those who correct the ancient Versions; but he does not think it expedient to put the holy Scripture, translated into the vulgar Language, into the Hands of the Laity; unless the Versions be exactly and faithfully done, and unless the Readers be humble and modest: And he pretends, that seeing the common People were not so at that Time, but on the contrary were presumptuous and curious, therefore it was not convenient to allow them indifferently to read the holy Scriptures.

There is also another Treatise written by *Latomus* (but it is imperfect) against *Erasmus*'s his Treatise of the Means of promoting the Unity of the Church.

Of the three Books that he wrote against *William Tindall*, there are two concerning the Merit of good Works; the last of them contains a brief Exposition of the Opinion of the Church, concerning controverted Points: He there puts the Monarchy of the Pope into the Number of the Doctrines of the Church.

In his Treatise of Marriage, he begins with laying down some Principles concerning that Sacra-

[(a) *Spiritual* here relates to the Understanding which is called *Esprit* in *French*, and has no relation to the *English* Sense of the Word.]

ment; and that he may prove that a Marriage contracted and consummated cannot be dissolved by any Cause whatsoever, but only by the Death of the Husband or the Wife, the first Principle which he lays down is this, that the Sacrament presupposes the Contract, that if a Stop be put to the Contract, then the Sacrament is null; as if in Baptism the Water were hindered from touching the Body, then there would be no Baptism. The second is, that when the Contract is valid, and made according to the Laws, then neither the Contract nor the Sacrament can be made void by the Sins of the Contractors. The third is, that Marriage is indissoluble by the Law of God, founded upon his Divine Oracle, *They two shall be one Flesh; What God hath joined together, let no Man put asunder.* The fourth is, that it is contrary to the Law of the Gospel, to say that a Marriage contracted and consummated can be dissolved during the Lives of the married Couple; which he proves by the Authorities of St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, St. Chrysostom, and some other Fathers. From these Principles he concludes, that a Marriage contracted and consummated can never be dissolved in the case of Adultery: But he maintains, that when it is not consummated it is dissolved, if either of the Parties do enter into a religious Order; because the Person that does so is civilly dead.

He wrote also a Treatise concerning four Questions, concerning which some were of opinion, that every Man ought to be left at liberty to think as he pleased. The first is, Whether the Dead reap any Benefit by the Prayers of the Living. The second is, Whether the Saints do intercede for us. The third is, Whether we ought to worship the Images of Jesus Christ and the Saints. The fourth is, Whether we ought to honour their Bones and Relicks. He asserts and proves, that these four Points are not indifferent; and that Catholicks ought to believe the affirmative of every one of them. As to Images, he explains the Worship that is due to them, and acknowledges, that it were convenient not to make any Images of the Trinity. To the Determination of these Questions, he adds that of two other Points, of Festivals and of the Mass.

The last of Latomus's Treatises is an Answer to three *Quodlibetical Questions*, which were proposed to him in a Dispute. The first is Whether an active

Life be better or more agreeable to the State of Prelates, than a contemplative? In the general he prefers a contemplative to an active Life, but he acknowledges, that Action is better than Contemplation for some People. There are some clownish Spirits that are fit only for mechanick Arts; there are others who are naturally active, and not very fit for Contemplation; Exercise is fitter for these than Contemplation: There are some whose Thoughts are abstracted, and calm, and elevated, and fitted for spiritual things, and less inclined to temporal Affairs; these ought to apply themselves to Contemplation. In short, there are some, who have the Spirit of Wisdom and Prudence; and to these both Action and Contemplation do agree. The Life of a Prelate ought to comprehend both Action and Contemplation, for it comprehends the Duties that belong to both; but it is necessary, that a Bishop do himself perform what relates to spiritual Concerns; and that he commit the Care of Temporals to others. His principal Duty is, to teach the Word of God, which belongs to Contemplation. The second Question is, What is the Reason that it falls out sometimes, that the Righteous have not so much as Bread, while the Wicked have Abundance of all things? He answers, that God gives his choicest Gifts to the Elect, namely the Knowledge of himself and his Love: That he gives them temporal Blessings, only so far, as those Blessings will contribute to the preservation of their Piety; and that the Evils wherewith the Righteous are afflicted in this Life, do contribute to their eternal Happiness. The last Question is, What is the meaning of that Maxim of the wise Man, *Wo to him that is alone when he falleth, for he hath not another to help him up?* He gives three Senses of this Proposition. The first is, *Wo to the Sinner for God is not with him.* The second is, *Wo to the proud Man because he will be alone.* The third and the most natural Sense is, *Wo to him that is * imperfect when he is alone, because he is in danger of falling, and he hath not another to help him up.*

Latomus was one of the most learned Doctors that was in his time in the Faculty of *Louvain*. He had abundance of good Sense and Reading: He wrote *Latin* easily, yet not very politely: He knew nothing either of *Greek* or *Hebrew*, and he was under strong Prejudices in favour of the School-divinity.

FRANCISCUS DE VICTORIA.

Franciscus de Victoria, a famous Divine, was so surnamed from a Town in *Navarre* in which he was born. He studied in the University of *Paris*, and took his Degrees there; then he returned to his own Country, where he communicated to others the Knowledge that he had received in that famous University. He entered into the Order of preaching Friars; and professed Divinity at *Salamanca*, where he died the 14th. of August, 1546. He has left us 13 Lectures of Divinity, which after his Death were printed at *Lyons* in 1557, and afterwards at *Venice* in 1571, and at *Antwerp* in 1573, and 1602 under the Title of *Summa Sacramentorum Ecclesie* with some Additions.

The three first of Victoria's Lectures are concerning ecclesiastical and civil Power. In the first of them he treats of the Power of the Keys, that was given to the Church: He proves, that in the Church there is a spiritual Power different from the civil: He takes notice of two kinds of spiritual Power; a Power of Order, and a Power of Jurisdiction. The first is a Power over Christ's natural Body, and the second over his mystical Body; both these Powers have a spiritual Effect. He maintains, that the Priest by virtue of the Keys of the Church does truly par-

don Sins: Then he compares the ecclesiastical and civil Powers together; and shews, that tho' the spiritual Power be of a higher Rank than the temporal, yet the civil Power is not subjected to the Pope as a temporal Sovereign; and yet he pretends that it depends upon the spiritual Power, which has (tho' but indirectly) an Authority over temporal things, so far as they are serviceable to a spiritual end: He does not maintain that every Exemption of the Clergy is of divine Right; but he pretends that the Pope has a Right to exempt them from the Jurisdiction of secular Powers; and that it is not in the power of Princes to deprive them of that Exemption. The second Question in that Lecture is concerning the immediate Subject of ecclesiastical Power; he denies that the universal Church is the Subject of it: He makes the Power of Jurisdiction to be lodged in the Person of St. Peter, and in the Person of the Bishop of Rome, who is his Successor in his Jurisdiction over the universal Church. And as to the Power of Order, he is persuaded that it is derived from, and does intirely depend upon the Bishops. In the second Lecture there are several Questions concerning civil Power: He acknowledges that it comes from God, and that it is founded upon natural Right; and

and that Kings do not hold their Power of the Common-Wealth or of Men; but that they have a Right to it by the Laws of God and of Nature; and that their Laws may oblige under pain of Sin as well as the Ecclesiastical ones. The third is, concerning the Authority of the Pope and a general Council. He treats of this Question practically: Namely by enquiring whether the Pope can lawfully dispense with the Laws of a Council: And he concludes first, that he cannot alter those Decrees of the Council that relate to Faith or the Law of God. Secondly, that he may not only dispense with, but even abrogate the other Laws of the Council; but that he sins grievously if he do it without any Necessity or Reason. Thirdly that there are some Laws with which it were convenient, that he should never dispense: And that on some occasions the Council may ordain that he shall not dispense with some Laws, in which case it would not be lawful for the Pope to dispense with those Laws, tho' absolutely speaking he may do it. Fourthly, that Inferiors ought not to examine what the Pope may lawfully do and what he may not do; but yet if he ordain any thing that is contrary to the Law of God, or if he make an unjust Law contrary to the Interests of the Publick, or if he give a Dispensation contrary to the Prohibition of a general Council, in these cases no Man is obliged to obey him; yet he would not have People allowed to appeal from the Pope on those occasions to the next general Council, but he thinks that in those cases it is allowable for the Bishops and Provincial Councils not only to refuse Obedience to the Pope's Commands, but even to resist him: And he is of opinion that a Council may be assembled even against the Pope's Will.

The two next Lectures are concerning the Rites of the King of *Spain* over the Persons and Estates of the *Indians*. In the first he shows, that the Barbarity, the Errors, and the Infidelity of those People, and even their refusing of the Gospel did not give the King of *Spain* any manner of Right to make War against them, and to seize upon their Countries. In the second he gives some other Reasons, by which that King may acquire some Right over them, such as, their refusing of Commerce, the ill Treatment that the *Spaniards* or their Children meet with from them, the Tyranny which they exercise, or the Treaties by which they submitted to the *Spaniards*. There is no difficulty in those Reasons, but he produces some others which will not pass so easily; if they prohibit the preaching of the Gospel among them; and if the Pope after their Conversion gives them the King of *Spain* for their Sovereign.

The sixth Lecture is concerning the Right of War. He there treats of many Important Questions concerning that matter. First, he proves that it is not unlawful for Christians to make War. Then he examines who those are that have the Power of declaring and making War, as well offensive as defensive: Every private Man that is attacked may defend himself according to him, and in that sense he may undertake a defensive War; he enquires if it be lawful for a Man that is assaulted by a Robber, to kill the Robber when he may save his Life by flying, and he thinks that it is lawful. Princes and Republicks have a Power by the Civil Law, to declare offensive and defensive War. The third Question is, what are the Grounds that can make a War to be just. He does not think that difference in Religion, or a desire of enlarging Dominions or Glory, or Advantage are just Causes of War. And Injuries received are the only Causes which he acknowledges to be lawful; and even those Injuries are not so, unless they be very great. The fourth Question is concerning things that are lawful or unlawful in time of War: He says that it is lawful to do every thing that is necessary to be done for the defence of the Publick. Secondly, that it is lawful to recover what is

lost. Thirdly, to take by force from the Enemy as much as will compensate the Damage that is sustained, and all the Expences of the War. Fourthly to make such Conquests as will oblige the Enemy to submit to reasonable terms of Peace. Fifthly, to punish him for the Injuries he has done. But is it sufficient for making of War just, that the Prince is persuaded that he has just Reason to make Wars? Our Author answers, that it is not always sufficient: It is also necessary that he impartially examine the Reasons on both sides. Are the Subjects and Soldiers obliged to examine whether the Reasons of the War be just or no? our Author answers, first, that if they know the War to be unjust, they ought not to bear Arms. Secondly, that those that are of the Prince's Council, ought to examine the Causes and the Reasons of the War. Thirdly, that the other Subjects are not obliged to examine them. Fourthly, that yet it is possible that the proofs of the Injustice of the War may be so clear and manifest, as to render the Subjects inexcusable, if they follow their Prince to the War. What ought the Prince to do when there are probable Reasons on both sides, for the Justice or Injustice of the War? our Author says, that in this case, he who is in possession of a Country ought to continue in that possession, and that the Prince who claims a Right to it, ought not to make War. That if it be a Country of which neither of them are possessed; then it will be advisable to share it betwixt them. That tho' a Prince be in the possession of a Country, yet if his Right be called in question, he is obliged to examine the Reasons that are given for the adverse Party. But as to the Subjects, they are obliged to follow their Prince, even when the Justice of the War is doubtful: can a War be just on both sides? that can never fall out but only in the case of invincible or probable Ignorance: And in case that one of the Parties come to know that the Injustice is on his side, he is then obliged to restore all that he has gain'd by the War, but not to pay Damages for what he did whilst he acted *bona fide*. The fourth question is concerning those things that may be lawfully done in time of War. Is it lawful to kill the Innocent? Our Author answers that it can never be lawful to do it with an Intention of doing it: So that it is unlawful to kill Children, Women, Husband-men, Clergymen, or any of those that do not bear Arms. But it may sometimes accidentally happen that it is not unlawful to kill the Innocent; as when a Fort or Town is besieged, in which there are many innocent Persons that perish with the guilty: But can a Man out of Wantonness kill those who at present are innocent, when he has reason to presume that if they live long they will become guilty? As for instance, the Children of *Turks*, who we may presume will (if they live till they be of Age) make War against the *Christians*; our Author answers negatively. Is it lawful to strip the Innocents, and to spoil them of their Goods? Yes, it is lawful, provided that those that do it have no other way left them to provide for themselves: but they ought not to do it if they can subsist by any other means. However it is lawful by the law of Reprisals, for the Subjects of one Prince to take by force as much of the Goods of another Prince's Subjects, as will compensate the Losses they have sustained by them. Is it lawful to kill innocent Hostages, our Author does not think, that that can be lawful in any case. Is it lawful to kill all those that are guilty, that is to say, all those that bear Arms? Yes, it is lawful to do it in time of Fight; and even after the Fight is over; if there be reason to fear that they will continue the War. But if all fear be over, then it is not lawful. Is it lawful to kill Prisoners of War, and those who have surrendered themselves? No, for this is contrary to the Law of Nations. Does every thing that is taken in the War belong of Right to those that take it; it is certain that a Prince may lawfully retain as

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Franciscus de Victorin.

much as will compensate the Injury that is done to him, or the Loss that he has sustained; but it would be unjust to take a whole Kingdom for compensating a small loss. Moveable Goods belong to the Person that seizes on them, but it is not lawful for Soldiers to pillage or burn, unless they be authorized to do it: and it is against the laws of Humanity to give up a Town to be pillag'd, unless it be in some extraordinary cases. It is lawful also for a Prince to retain Towns, Countries, &c. either for compensating his losses thereby; or for securing his own Dominions, or for punishing his Enemy. It is lawful also for the same reasons to impose Taxes: but it's only in some extraordinary cases, that it's lawful to dethrone Kings, and to set up others in their stead, or to alter the Government of States. From the determination of all these Questions, our Author deduces these following Rules concerning War. First, a Prince who has Authority to make War, ought not to seek for occasions and grounds of War, and he ought to endeavour as much as is possible for him to live in Peace with all the World. Secondly, if he be forced to make War, yet he ought not to do it with an Intention of conquering the Nation against which he makes it; but only for defending his own Rights and Dominions, and for procuring a firm and lasting Peace. Thirdly when he is Victorious, and the War at an end, he ought like a good Christian to use the Victories that God has given him with moderation, and to behave himself as if he were a Judge and Umpire betwixt the Kingdoms that were at War with one another; and to cause justice to be done to the injur'd party, with as little hurt as may be to the Dominions of that Prince that has been in the wrong and so much the rather, because all the fault is ordinarily to be charged upon the Princes, for whose follies poor People suffer.

The seventh Lecture is concerning Marriage; he composed it on occasion of the Question concerning the Divorce of the King of England. And the Doctrine that he teaches is this, that Marriage is an indissoluble Contract betwixt Man and Wife, and there are two ends of it; one is the procreation and education of Children, and the other is the mutual assistance that they ought to give to one another: That the Consent of Husband and Wife, is absolutely necessary in order to Marriage. That the Consent ought to be plain and express, *per verba de presenti*. That Princes as well as the Church, have Power to determine the Obstacles that break Marriages: But that it is in the Power of the Church to take that Power from them, and to discharge them to take the concerns of Marriage under their cognizance. After having settled these general Principles he proves in the second part, that the Obstacles of Marriage, that are mentioned in *Leviticus* are not all of perpetual obligation, by the Laws of God or of Nature.

These seven Lectures, of which we have given this short account, make up the first Tome of *Franciscus de Victoria's* Works. There are other six Lectures in the second.

The first is concerning the growth and the decay of Charity. And there are several intricate Questions in it upon that Subject.

In the second which is concerning Temperance, there are some more useful Questions. He there maintains, that all Men are obliged to preserve their Lives by Food: That no sort of Food is forbidden by the Law of Nature; that though it is certain that Man in the State of Innocence did not eat Flesh, yet it is uncertain whether or no Men did eat it before the Deluge: That high seasoned Dishes and Sauces are not absolutely prohibited: That the eating of Man's Flesh is prohibited by the Law of God, but it is lawful to eat it in case of absolute necessity: That the offering up of human Sacrifices to God is prohibited by the Laws of God and Nature: That in case of extreme necessity a *Carthusian* is obliged

to eat Flesh, if he can do it without Scandal: That a Man cannot lawfully resolve upon such an Abstinence, as will to his own knowledge shorten his Life; though he is not obliged in conscience to seek after the best and most wholesome Food; and it is enough if he eat such Victuals as Men commonly make use of, though it is never lawful for him to eat so very much, or to eat of Victuals so contrary to his Health, as to have reason to think it probable, that by so doing he may die in a short time.

In the Lecture concerning Murder, there are likewise many moral Questions. The Substance of them is this, that it is not lawful in any case for a Man to kill himself: That all Murder is forbid by the Law of God: That the exception of putting Malefactors to Death, is by the Law of Nature: That none but those who are in publick Authority, have that power over Malefactors: That it is never lawful for a private Man, to have so much as an Intention of killing any Person, but only of defending his own Life. Yet he says, that a Man would do a great act of Charity, if rather than kill another Man he would suffer himself to be killed. He thinks the same of those who expose themselves to certain Death for the saving of other Men's Lives: As for a Son in the time of Famine to give a Loaf to his Father, or for a Slave in a Shipwreck to quit his plank, and to give it to his Prince, or his King. He says, that a Malefactor condemn'd to die, not only may, but ought to make his Escape if he find occasion for it; and that it is not lawful for him either to hasten his own Death, or to procure it. In a word, that it is absolutely unlawful for any Man to enter into a resolution, of shortning his own Life, in any manner whatsoever.

The fourth Lecture, which is concerning Simony, is very long. *Victoria* there treats of a great many Questions concerning that Subject. He is favourable enough to those who bestow Benefices on the account of Relation, or Friendship; or at the request, or upon the recommendation of others, even for temporal Reasons and Considerations. For he excuses them not only from Simony, but even from mortal Sin, provided that those on whom they bestow those Benefices, be worthy of them. The second part is concerning the Punishments that ought to be inflicted on those that are guilty of Simony.

The fifth Lecture is upon Magic.

The last is upon this Question, *To whom is it that a Man is obliged, at the time that he comes to have the use of his Reason.* His Text for this Lecture is in the 15th. of *Ecclesiasticus*, *God left Man in the hand of his own Counsel*. At first he treats of the Authority of that Book, and after having discussed several Questions concerning the use of Reason, and concerning Liberty; he enquires first, whether a Man that is educated among *Barbarians* without Instruction, can know God at the moment he begins to have the use of his Reason; and whether he can be invincibly ignorant of God; and what ought to be his first Inclinations on that occasion. He supposes, that Man has need of some time, for his coming to the knowledge of the Existence of God, when there is no Person to inform him of it: So that a Man who is come to have the use of his Reason, may be for some time under an invincible Ignorance of the Being of a God: That yet there is not any People or any Nation, that has not some knowledge of God: and that all the World has reason to believe his Existence; tho' a Man that is come to have the use of his Reason may for some time be without that Knowledge. That a Man in that Condition may, notwithstanding his Ignorance do that which is naturally good; and that he may also sin. That he is not obliged in that case, to make a distinct and formal return to God, but that it is sufficient for him, to incline to that which is good in the general, with a design to practise it.

This

This Divine treats of matters according to fix'd Principles, and in a very clear and distinct Method, with Judgment and Solidity. He is modest and mo-

derate in his Determinations; and sounds his Assertions upon Reason and Authority.

FRANCISCUS VATABLUS.

Franciscus Vatablus or Guastebled (a), was born in a little Village in Picardy called Gamache. He was without all question the most learned Man of his time in the Hebrew Language. The French King Francis I. having in 1531. founded some royal Professorships, made choice of Vatablus to be *Regius Professor* of Hebrew; in which Employment he acquitted himself with so great a Reputation, and made so learned Lectures upon the sacred Scriptures, that People came to his School from all parts on purpose to hear them; and even some Jews were often present at them, and could not admire him enough. He did not confine himself to the grammatical Interpretation of the Hebrew Words; he likewise explained the literal Sense of the Text, with great Clearness and Brevity; he contented himself to speak his Lectures, without ever being at the pains to commit any thing to Writing; and he never writ any thing: Whether this may be imputed to his Laziness, with which he was often upbraided, or to his being prevented by Death, which gave him not time to publish his Works, was uncertain. But tho' he did it not himself, yet several of his Hearers having taken in Writing many of his Notes upon the Old Testament, Robert Stephens made a Collection of them, which he added to Leo Juda's Latin Version of the Bible, which he printed at Paris in 1545. in one Column, with the vulgar Latin in another; in the Preface he acknowledges, that if Vatablus himself had written those Notes with a Design to publish them, they would have been much more learned and exact. 'Tis very probable also that Stephens added some Notes of his own to them, and that he touched Vatablus's over again: Yet it cannot be doubted, but that the Ground of the Work was from that learned Man. These Notes are very useful for the understanding of the Text; because there are few difficult Passages, but what he ex-

plains in few Words, according to the most natural Sense. However, the Shop from which they came, the Translation of a Heretick which is joined with them, and some Passages which are a little free, rendred them suspected, and they were condemned by the Doctors of Divinity of the Faculty of Paris, who at that time were not sufficiently acquainted with the Hebrew Tongue, and who adhered scrupulously to the vulgar Version. The Doctors of the University of Salamanca were more favourable to this Work, and passed by all those Considerations, and caused the Text and the Notes of Vatablus's Bible to be printed in Spain with Approbation. Stephens defended them against the Censure of the Divines of Paris; and since that time, they have been almost generally received, and approved of by Men of Learning.

Vatablus was also very learned in the Greek Tongue. He made a Latin Translation of Aristotle's Books, intituled *Parva Naturalia*. It was he that persuaded Clement Marot to translate the Psalms into Verse, and he assisted him in that Performance, by translating the Text word for word from the Hebrew. He was the Restorer of the Study of the Hebrew Tongue in France, and he brought up many learned Men in that Language, and among the rest Brentius and Mercier, who both succeeded him in his Professorship. He died the 16th. of March 1547, leaving vacant by his Death, the Abby of Bellocant, which was bestowed upon the famous Amiot. Notwithstanding all the Dislike that Genebrard expresses against Vatablus's Notes, yet he cannot forbear to acknowledge that he was a very learned Man, and a very good Christian, and averse to the Discipline, Manners, and Opinions of the Sectaries: And he pretends, that his Scholars corrupted his Notes, and rendered them more favourable to the Innovators.

[(a) i.e. *S*pell-Corn in English. When Surnames were first taken up by the French, especially in the northern Provinces, it was common for Men to convey to their

Families Names which they took up from some Accident, or it may be some Nick-name which was by chance given them.]

BEATUS RHENANUS.

Beatus or Bildius Rhenanus was the Son of Antonius Bildius surnamed Rhenanus from Rhenac the place of his Birth. He was born in the Year 1485. at Slestad, whither his Father was retired. He was one of those Men of Learning, who do not embrace any particular Profession, and whose only Business is to cultivate the Sciences, and to do Service to the learned World. It was with this Design that he took so much pains either in correcting, or explaining, or publishing many ecclesiastical and profane Authors: Among the first of which is Tertullian, whose Works he published with Notes and Prefaces to the greater part of his Treatises. His Notes are very useful for understanding the Words and the difficult Phrases of that Author: And his Prefaces are judicious and learned. Among the rest, there is one to his Book *de Pœnitentia*, in which he treats of Confession with great Judgment and Learning: He translated also two of Gregory Nazianzen's Epistles to Themistius; he wrote a Preface to Origen's Works, and a Discourse which serves instead of a Pre-

face to Marsilius Patavinus's Apology for Lewis of Bavaria, written under the Name of Licentius Evangelus, which is in the first Tome of the *Monarchy* of Goldastus; in which he declaims against the Court of Rome's usurping of temporal Estates; he wrote also a Description of the Provinces of Illyricum, and a Preface to Erasmus's Works. The profane Authors on which he wrote Notes, were Pliny, Livy, Tacitus, Seneca, Theophrastus, and Velleius Paterculus, which last Author he first published. He wrote also a noble History of Germany, which was published in 1531. He died at Slestad, in the Year 1547. This Author was conversant in human Learning, and in the ancient Divinity; he was of a calm and peaceable Temper, and shunned disputing: He endeavoured to find out proper Expedients for reconciling and reuniting the Minds of Men in Matters of Religion; yet he always adhered to the Communion of the Catholick Church, and died in her Bosom. He had a great Esteem for Erasmus, who gave a very advantageous Character of him.

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Cardinal Sadolet.

JACOBUS SADOLETUS Cardinal.

Jacobus Sadoletus was born at Modena, in the Year 1478. His Father John Sadolet, who was one of the famous Lawyers of that Age, educated him at Ferrara, where he himself was Professor of Law, and took care of his Son's Studies. Young Sadolet having all the Fineness of Wit, and all the Inclination for Learning that could be wish'd for, did in a little time learn the Greek and Latin Languages to Perfection; and was a great Proficient in Philosophy, under Nicholas Leonicens; Being gone to Rome, he entred into the Family of Cardinal Oliver Caraffa, who loved Men of Learning. He there came to be acquainted with Fredericus Fregosius Bishop of Salernum, and with Petrus Bembus, who were two Men of very polite Parts. Pope Leo X. being informed of his Merits, made choice of him to be his Secretary, and he was an Honour to that Employment, because there was no Man in that Age that wrote more delicately or more fluently than he did: He was very learned in all kinds of Learning, he was a Divine, Orator, Philosopher, and Poet. He was a Man of so little Ambition, and of so great Self-denial, that tho' he was in such a Post, and in so much Favour, as that he might have had Dignities and Benefices, yet on the contrary, he made all the Difficulties imaginable to accept of the Bishoprick of Carpentras, which the Pope gave him, tho' he did not ask it of him, and whilst he was on a Pilgrimage at Loretto. After the Death of Pope Leo X. he retired to his Bishoprick with a purpose to reside there, but he was called back to Rome against his Will by Pope Clement VII. to assist him in his Counsels, yet he would not go thither but upon condition, that he should have leave to return within three Years, which he observed punctually: As he was returning to his Bishoprick, he had the Honour to salute the French King Francis I. at Lyons, who gave him some Marks of a very singular Esteem: Pope Paul III. who succeeded Clement VII. did also oblige Sadolet to come to Rome: He carried him along with him to Nice, when he went thither to make Peace betwixt Francis I. and Charles V. and sent him to France as his Legate, there to manage the Concerns of that Peace: Sadolet acquitted himself so well in those Employments, that in recompence of his Merits, the Pope promoted him to the Dignity of a Cardinal in 1534. He assisted at the Conference that the Pope had with the Emperor at Parma; and the Peace being concluded, he composed an excellent Discourse upon the Blessings of Peace. Towards the End of his Days, he resigned the Bishoprick of Carpentras in favour of his Nephew Paul Sadolet, and returned to Rome where he died in the Month of October 1547.

His theological Works are these; *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, divided into three Books, printed at Basil by Frobenius, and reprinted at Lyons in 1536. *A moral Explication of the 50th. and 93d. Psalms*, printed at Lyons in 1528. and at Mentz in 1607. A Letter concerning the Reformation of the Church, written to the Senate and People of Geneva, printed together with Calvin's Answer at Geneva in 1540. *A catholick Exhortation to the Princes and People of Germany against Heresies*, printed at Dillingen in 1560. He composed also a Book concerning Purgatory, which he mentions in a Letter to Gregorius Cortesius, to whom he had sent it, that he might revise it and shew it to Bembus, Catharinus, and other learned Men at Rome. But I do not find that that Book was ever printed.

His Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans is writ by way of Dialogue betwixt him and Julius

Sadolet his Brother; he sets down the Text of the Apostle St. Paul at full length, and reforms the vulgar Translation of it, either that he might speak purer Latin, or might render the Words more clearly and more agreeably to the Greek Text. The Design that he proposes is, to explain the true Sense of that very sublime and very difficult Epistle, and to reject those Interpretations on which the Innovators founded their Errors: He owns his Design to speak pure Latin, and blames those who treat of theological Matters in a negligent and barbarous Stile; because those kinds of Writings, are not fit for instilling Piety, or for exciting the Love of God in the Hearts of People, which eloquent and polite Discourses are capable of doing. He first explains the Subject of the Epistle to the Romans. He affirms, that it was written on the occasion of the Disputes that arose in the Church of Rome, betwixt the converted Romans and the Jews, that had preached the Faith to them. These boasted that they had preached the Gospel of Jesus Christ to others, and that Salvation came from them; and they pretended that it was necessary that the Gentiles who were converted, should observe the Jewish Ceremonies. The converted Romans not being able to endure that that Yoke should be imposed on them, reproached the Jews with their having crucified Jesus Christ, by which they had rendered themselves unworthy of Salvation. St. Paul being desirous to appease this Controversy, reproves the Jews for their Vanity; and shews, that the Law was become unprofitable; and that Faith alone in Jesus Christ was sufficient for Salvation: And he admonishes the Romans not to despise the Jews, who were once God's peculiar People. The Method that Sadolet observes in his Commentary is, to set down a Passage or two of S. Paul's Text, and to explain it by a continued Discourse, longer than the Passages that are related; and when he meets with any Difficulties or Questions that relate to Doctrine, he enlarges yet more, and makes his Brother ask Questions, and make Objections. In the third and fourth Verses of the first Chapter, instead of *Predestinatus*, which is in the Vulgar, he makes use of the Word *Definitus* (a), which answers to the Greek *ὁρισμένος*. He enlarges much upon the Explication of these Words: *That the Righteousness of God is revealed in the Gospel from Faith to Faith*: He shews that the Word Righteousness in that place, does not only signify rigorous Justice, but also the Bounty, Liberality, and Mercy of God, by which he makes those that believe in him, to feel continually new Effects, and to grow from Faith to Faith by the Sense they have of the Blessings of God, who makes them to live the Life of Faith. When he explains in what follows, what St. Paul said of the Law of Faith, he teaches, that before Jesus Christ both Jews and Gentiles were in an Error, because the one erred as to the End of their Prayers, asking of God only the temporal Blessings of this Life; and the other were in an Error both as to the Purpose and Object of their Prayers, because they asked only the same Blessings, and asked them of false Gods too; that there were only some few, that by the special Grace of God being delivered from that common Error, did address themselves to the true God, and begged of him true Blessings. As for the Jews he acknowledges, that they had the Knowledge of a Messiah that was to come, by which they were saved; but he seems to have been of opinion, that the Gentiles who lived well before the Law, and even after the Law, and honoured the true God, and asked true Blessings of

[(a) Castellio uses the same Word *Definitus* in the same Place.]

him, trusting in his Power, Bounty, and Mercy, have obtained their Desires, and were blessed with a glorious Immortality: That it is in this Sense that St. Paul says, that no Man is justified by the Works of the Law but by Faith; that is to say, that it is not external Works that render Men just, but the Faith by which they believe and trust in the Mercy of God. He distinguishes betwixt the several Senses of the Word Faith; sometimes it signifies Purity of Conscience, as in that Passage of St. Paul, *Every thing that is not of Faith is Sin*. Sometimes Mens being faithful to their Promises: But by the Word Faith, Christians ought ordinarily to understand believing in God and in Jesus Christ, and our putting our Confidence in him: For our Faith, says he, is not a simple Belief, tho' it be founded on that; but full and perfect Faith in God is, to believe with Confidence; and it implies Hope as well as Belief. We believe things the greater part of which do concern us, and a Man cannot have Confidence unless he believes, but he may believe without having Confidence. Thus we ought not only to believe that there is a God, but we ought also to believe that he is the Rewarder of all those that diligently seek him. And we ought not to beg of him any thing that is transitory and perishing, but we ought to hope for and to ask eternal Blessings which cannot be perceived by Sense, but only by Faith. On this Head he enlarges much upon the necessity of Confidence in God, that ought to accompany Belief, and of the Blessings that ought to be the Object of that Faith, and he explains the first four Chapters of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, with relation to that Notion. In the fifth Chapter he treats of God's Love towards Men, and of that Love which Men ought to have for God. He shews, that this last is the Effect of the holy Spirit, who dwells in our Hearts, and therein sheds abroad that Charity, by which we love God above all things. The first Dialogue ends at these Words in the fifth Chapter, *Propterea, sicut per unum hominem peccatum intravit in mundum*.

He resumes his Explication in the Beginning of the second Dialogue, where he enlarges upon the Fall of Adam, and on the Effects of it, and on the Redemption of Mankind by Jesus Christ. He then treats of the Law on those Words of the 7th. Chapter, *Quid ergo dicemus, Lex peccatum est, &c.* And explains in what Sense the Law is called Sin. When he comes to that Passage where Predestination is spoke of, Chap. 8. v. 29. he enlarges on that Mystery; and immediately rejects the Opinion of Pelagius, and of those who asserted that our Merits did prevent the Grace and Mercy of God, but he disapproves also of the opposite Opinion of those who leave nothing to the Power or Will of Man, and who assert that God is the Author of all our Thoughts and Motions. He thinks that this Opinion has great Difficulties: That it wounds God's Justice, and that it derogates from his Bounty and Mercy. He acknowledges that we cannot of our selves do any Action that deserves Praise, or that is meritorious; but he thinks that we may have some Desires, and that without that, there can be no such thing as Liberty; that if Man do not freely consent to Grace, it follows that he acts thro' Necessity. He resolves the Arguments that are brought from some Passages; for proving gratuitous Predestination. He alledges, that it depends upon the Fore-knowledge of Mens good Works, which are rendered meritorious by Grace. In a word, his System concerning Grace is this, that Man may of himself restrain and moderate his Passions, and may render his own Mind docile and tractable for receiving the Word of God; so that when he comes to hear that Word preached, there will naturally arise in his Soul, some Motion that will make him have an Inclination towards God, whom he considers as his chiefest Good, who being such, induces him by the way of Counsel and gentle Persuasion, without imposing any Necessity upon his Will, on which it depends to follow or

reject that Call. This is, says he, the first Breathing of the holy Spirit, the first Motion of Grace, which so moves the Will after such a manner, as that if it pleases, it shall no longer be moved, seeing it is moved by its own Consent: But it is God that works in us a stedfast Will to do that which is good, and who is the Author of all our good Actions. He also repeats the same Principles in his Commentary on the 9th. Chapter of that Epistle.

The third Dialogue begins with the Explication of the 12th. Chapter. He there introduces two new Speakers into the Conference, Cardinal Augustinus Trivulsius, and William du Bellay Sieur de Langey, who was the French King's Ambassador at Rome. When he there explains the moral part of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, he takes the liberty to enlarge upon several Points that concern the Customs and Discipline of the Church, and particularly the Ceremonies of the Church, Festivals, Fasts, and monastick Orders. As to the first Article, he makes the Sieur de Langey propose this following Objection, if according to S. Paul, Religion and the Worship of God does consist in the inward Motions of the Spirit and of the Will, then to what purpose is it that there are so stately and magnificent Churches? Why do the Priests continually sing Prayers for the People? What do the Orders and Degrees of Priesthood serve for? Why these Altars, Lights, and solemn Vestments, adorned with Gold and Silver, which the Priests put on when they are to offer Sacrifices to God? The Singing, Musick, Kneeling, Kisses of Peace, and other Ceremonies that are received or commanded by the Church, do they not shew that the Worship of God and Religion, does not consist only in inward and spiritual Adorations, but likewise in external Ceremonies? After many Reasonings Trivulsius concludes, that these Ceremonies are of two kinds, and have very useful Ends: That there are some of them that proceed from the Mind, which puts the Body in action; such as Prayers, Invocations, Kneeling, &c. which are very good and useful, when the Disposition of the Mind answers to the external Actions and Deportment of the Body; but they are very criminal when they are not performed with Sincerity of Heart. *In quibus summum bonum est veritas, summum scelus simulatio*; that there are others of them which help to beget in us Inclinations to Truth and Piety, such as are the external Ornaments of Churches and Temples, Singing, solemn Vestments, and the Celebration of Festivals, things which were instituted for the Instruction of the People: If it be asked, whether those things are necessary? He distinguishes and says, that perhaps they are not necessary to a Man who is alone, who worships God in Spirit and in his Closet, but yet they are necessary to an entire Body of Christians, for keeping in them a devout Temper in the Worship of God, and for quickning the Minds of the common People into internal Adoration by those external things. As to Festivals he observes, that the Institution of them was necessary, because tho' it was to be wish'd, that Men did continually worship God, yet it was necessary to appoint certain Days, on which they might do it after a peculiar manner, and other Days on which they might honour either the Mysteries of our Religion, or the Memories of the Saints; yet he acknowledges, that it would be convenient to retrench the great Number of them. The Question which he treats of concerning Fasting is this, Whether there was just Reason for making Laws enjoining Fasting and Abstinence under pain of mortal Sin: Upon this Subject he relates a Conference between Thomas Cajetan, Giles of Viterbo, and Laurentius Campegius. The first maintains, that the Law for fasting does not oblige under pain of mortal Sin, unless a Man neglect the Observation of it, out of Contempt of the Law. Campegius was also of the same Opinion, but Giles of Viterbo maintained the contrary Opinion: And yet all the three agreed in this, that it was convenient that

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 Cardinal Sadolet.

the Pope should take off the Obligation of practising Fasting and Abstinence under pain of mortal Sin. As to the monastick Orders, *Trivulsius* relates another Conference, at which he had been present, between Cardinal *Oliver Caraffa*, and *Nicholas Flisk*; this last maintained, that the great Variety of Monks differing in Name and Habit, was insupportable; and that voluntary Begging, which several Orders of Monks did profess, had very bad Effects; that it made them lose all Shame, and rendered Religion contemptible, and hindered the Monks from applying themselves solely to Contemplation. That perhaps it would be convenient to reduce all the religious Orders to three; one, of such Monks as should spend their whole Life in Solitude and Silence in seeking God, and who should have no other Business but Study; and the other two, of Monks that should live among other Men, and be employ'd in exhorting, preaching, enjoining Penance, explaining the holy Scripture, and working for, and serving the Publick. *Trivulsius* approves of this Opinion well enough, and thinks, that especially it would be convenient to abolish the Custom of begging among the Monks. He prescribes also some Rules for these three Orders; and does not dissemble the Irregularities of some Monks. Then *Sadolet* speaking in his own Name says, that Pope *Clement VII.* had a design to have mitigated the Severity of the Laws for fasting, and that for his own part, he was not far from *Cajetan's* Opinion: That yet he was persuaded, that it was necessary to obey those Laws of the Church that were made in the Reign of *Constantine*, or shortly after, and which he believed to be very holy and useful. He enlarges much upon the *Lent-fast* of forty Days, yet he causes *Langey* to make an Overture of reducing it to the Space of three Weeks, according to the ancient Custom of the Church of *Rome*. This is what is most remar-

kable in *Sadolet's* Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans.

In his Commentaries on the 50th. and 93d. *Psalms*, he explains the literal Sense of the Text, and sets the moral Thoughts in a clear Light, and enlarges upon them as much as is needful. We have already given an account how highly *Erasmus* commended them.

The Letter which he wrote to the People of *Geneva* is in an apostolical Stile. He imitates *St. Paul's* manner of writing; the Title is this, *Jacobus Sadoletus Episcopus Carpentoracensis S. R. E. Tit. S. Calixti. Presb. Card. suis desideratis Fratribus, Magistratui, Concilio & Civibus Gebennensibus*. It begins with these Words, *Charissimi in Christo Fratres, Pax vobis & nobiscum, hoc est, cum Catholica Ecclesia*: It is dated at *Carpentras*, the 15th. of April 1539. *Calvin* wrote an Answer to it immediately. The same Year *Sadolet* wrote another Letter to *Johannes Sturmius*, in answer to a little Pamphlet that he had published, against the Counsels given to Pope *Paul III.* concerning the Reformation of the Church. To which *Sturmius* wrote a Reply.

Sadolet's other Works are these: Two Books concerning the Education of Children: A Treatise in praise of Philosophy: Two Discourses of the Conquest of Hungary, and the War against the Turks: Sixteen Books of Epistles: Consolations, and Meditations in Adversity. 'Tis not necessary to speak of this Author's Stile, 'tis sufficiently known that he imitated *Cicero*, and that he came very near him. As for his Opinions, it may be observed, that he was of a sweet Temper, moderate and equitable; a Lover of Peace, and one that seriously wished for the Reformation of the Church. His Thoughts are noble, and he writes in an excellent Stile: But he sometimes falls into long, obscure, and over-nice Reasonings.

GREGORIUS CORTESIUS.

Gregorius Cortesius.
Gregorius Cortesius descended of an illustrious Family in *Modena*, after he had learned the Greek and Latin Tongues to perfection, applied himself to the Study of the Canon and Civil-law. His first Employment was to be Auditor to Cardinal *de Medicis*, who was afterwards Pope, by the Name of Pope *Leo X.* But preferring Retirement to a secular Life, he entered into the Abby of *Padolynona* near *Mantua*, and there became a *Benedictine* Monk. He stay'd also for some time in the Abby of *Lerins*, and was at last made Abbot of *Mount-Cassin*. By his Learning and Virtue he acquired a great Reputation under the Pontificate of Pope *Leo X.* The Cardinals *Bembus* and *Sadolet* were his very good Friends. Pope *Paul III.* sent him into Germany in quality of his Nuncio, and after his Return created him Cardinal, in the Year 1542. This Promotion did not diminish his Candor, Civility or Courtesy; he continued to lead (as he had always done) the innocent Life of one addicted to Study and Works of Piety. He died at *Rome* the 21st. of September 1547. leaving us several Treatises of his own composing, as, *A Treatise of Theological Instruction: A Treatise of Ecclesiastical Power: A Book of Hymns and Poems: St. Basil's Treatise of Virginity*, translated out of Greek into Latin, and some Letters in Italian. His Brother's Daughter *Herfilia Cortesia* published his Latin Letters, and a Treatise proving that *St. Peter* had been at *Rome*. They were printed at *Venice* 1573.

This Treatise is written against some body who denied that *St. Peter* was ever at *Rome*; and it is de-

icated to Pope *Adrian VI.* *Cortesius* says in his Introduction, that till that time, he had been always unwilling to publish any of his own Thoughts concerning the new Divinity; whether it was, that he did not think himself sufficiently qualified for such an Undertaking; or, that the Questions that had been controverted were either Points of Doctrine, which both Parties endeavoured to determine by Testimonies of sacred Scripture; or Customs received by the Church: He says, that he had always reckoned it a very difficult matter for private Persons to determine those Questions: That he was persuaded, that the Truth could scarcely be determined by particular Disputes, and that the Decision of the Bishops of the whole Church in a general Council, was the only means of ending these Controversies: He is very much displeased with the Writers of Controversy of that Age, who filled their Books with abusive Language, Invectives and Reproaches: He wisely observes, that those who write in order to find out Truth, ought to be meek and moderate, after the Example of Jesus Christ, who being Truth it self, preached Meekness to his Disciples. He produces the Examples of the holy Fathers of the Church, who preserved the same Moderation in their Writings against Heathens and Hereticks. He observes, that *St. Jerome* and *Ruffinus* were blamed for writing against one another with too much Heat. In fine, he says, that the very Reason that induced him to write concerning that Question was, that the Author against whom he writes professes himself a Man of Candor, and a Lover of Truth. He undertakes

[(a)] IN the French it is *St. Cyprian's Treatise of Virginity*, which is manifestly a Mistake: Mr. *Teiffier* in his *Eloges de M. de Thou* says, that *Cortesius* translated *St. Basil* of *Virginity* into Latin.]

not to treat of the Pope's Authority, or *Constantine's* Donation, or *St. Peter's* Supremacy: He confines himself to that single Question of *St. Peter's* Journey to *Rome*; and he examines two things relating to it. First, Whether it be possible that *St. Peter* ever went to *Rome*, that is to say, whether his going thither can be reconciled with the History of the holy Scripture: Secondly, Whether it be proved by sufficient Testimonies that *St. Peter* did actually go to *Rome*. He shews the possibility of the first, by giving a short Account of what is said in the holy Scripture of the Actions of *St. Peter*, according to the Order of Time; and makes his going to *Rome* to be in the second Year of the Emperor *Claudius*. As to the second Question, he shews that *St. Peter* did actually go to *Rome*; and for the proof of this, he does not make use of the Authority of Authors of the middle Age, or of Authors that are partial or suspected; but of the Authority of those that lived in the earliest Ages of the Church, and who are acknowledged authentick Writers, such

as *Justin Martyr*, *Hegesippus*, *St. Irenæus*, *Papias*, *Tertullian*, *Clement of Alexandria*, *Origen*, *St. Cyprian*, *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, and *St. Jerome*. After he has proved the Truth of this Matter of Fact, he answers 18 Arguments, which the Author of this Discourse which he refutes, had advanced against it: Towards the close of it he treats of *St. Mark*, and pretends that there is only one *Mark* mentioned in the New Testament: He refutes also what that Author had said, that *St. Peter's* Letter was written from a Town in *Egypt* named *Babylon*. He concludes this Treatise with an eloquent *Prosopopæia* in the name of *St. Peter*, who makes a grievous Complaint that they had robb'd him of the Honour of having founded the Church of *Rome*, and that they had expell'd him from that City, and banish'd him to *Babylon* in *Arabia*.

No Man can write more agreeably or eloquently than *Cortesi* does: He was learned, moderate and ingenuous; and had all the good Qualifications that can be desired in a good Man and a good Author.

CHRISTOPHER LONGOLIUS.

Next to *Cortesi* and *Sadolet* we shall place *Christopher Longolius*, because he was united with them in Friendship and Studies, tho' he died several Years before them. He was born at *Mechlin*, and was sent to *Paris* when he was but nine Years of Age, there to apply himself to his Studies; and in a little time he was a great Proficient, having an extraordinary Memory, an excellent Wit, and a continual Application: He had a strong Inclination for the *Belles Lettres*, yet his Friends obliged him to study the Civil-law. After he had spent six Years in that Study under the famous *Philippus Decius*, who was Professor of the Civil-law at *Valence* in *Dauphine*, he returned to *Paris*, where he profess'd the Law, and in that Employment he gained so much Reputation, that at the end of two Years, tho' he was but a very young Man, he was made a Counsellor of the Parliament: Having once attained to that Preferment, he thought he had done enough already for his Promotion in the World; and he devoted the rest of his Life to his Studies: He looked upon *Pliny* as an Author that could furnish him with abundance of Matter to work upon for many Years; and so he resolv'd to examine thoroughly, all the things which that Author treats of in his *Natural History*; both by reading the other Authors, who have examined those things with Care and Exactness; and by consulting Nature it self. For this end it was necessary for him to read all the ancient *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, and to travel into several Countries;

and in this he spent his time. After he had learned the *Greek* Tongue, he spent five Years in the Study of the *Classic* Authors. He travelled thorough *France*, *Spain*, *Germany* and *Italy*; and designed to have made a Voyage into the *Levant*, if the War with the *Turks* had not hindered him. He ran a thousand Hazards for satisfying his Curiosity: At *Rome* he had the honour to be admitted a Citizen; but when he had left that City in order to return to *France*, some People endeavour'd to bring him into Trouble; but by his Writings and his Friends, he cleared himself of all that he was charged with. After that Journey, he returned into *Italy* and stay'd at *Padua*, where he died the 11th. of *September* 1532 (a), being 34 (b) Years of Age. He contracted a strict Friendship with *Bembus*, *Sadolet*, *Cortesi*, and the other learned Men of *Italy*, who were the Restorers of the Purity of the *Latin* Tongue: In imitation of them, he fram'd to himself a *Ciceronian* Stile, in which he wrote Two Discourses against those who had accus'd him at *Rome*: A Discourse against the *Lutherans*: And some private Letters to his Friends. All his other Works, which are very numerous, are of a quite different Stile, and when he was dying, he desired that they might be suppress'd. He had also begun four other Discourses against the *Lutherans*, but he did not live to finish them. That which we have of his is fervent and eloquent; it is printed together with his other Works at *Paris* 1530.

[(a) It is an Erratum for 1522. *Leo X's* Death broke his Heart; and within a Year after *Leo's* Death *Longolius* died.]

[(a) The Author of his Life says he was but 33 Years old when he died.]

JOHN GAGNAEUS.

John Gagneus Born in the City of *Paris*, was Nephew to *John Gagneus* first President of the Parliament of *Paris*, and afterwards Chancellor of *France*. He studied the Languages under the famous *Peter Danes*; and began to study Divinity in the Year 1524. in *Navarre* College: He there explained the Books of Sentences, in 1529. He was Rector of the University in 1531. and the same Year he took his Degree of Doctor of Divinity: then he made it his Business to write Notes on the Holy Scripture. He was chosen Reader and Prea-

cher to the French King *Francis I.* and was afterwards honoured with the Office of Almoner to his Majesty; which he did not think incompatible with the Dignity of Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of *Paris*, which he accepted of in 1546. He died the 25th. of *December* 1549.

He wrote some short Notes upon the whole new New Testament, in which he explains the literal sense of the Text, by a kind of Paraphrase: and for the most part, he follows the *Greek* Text and *Greek* Commentaries, whose words he sometimes cites in their

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their own Language. He was a learned Critick, and his Notes are just and very useful for those who desire to read the Text of the New Testament, and to comprehend the Sense of it, without stopping at difficult places, and without having recourse to larger Commentaries. He began with *Scholia* upon St. Paul's Epistles, which he dedicates to the Cardinal of Lorrain, who was the Person that had engaged him in this Work; he caused them to be printed at Paris in 1539. In 1543 he published a new Edition of them larger and fuller than the former, with *Scholia* upon the general Epistles and upon the Revelation.

His *Scholia* upon the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, were not printed till after his Death, in the Year 1552. by the care of Francis Alcaume: He therein observes the same Method that he does in his Notes upon the Epistles of St. Paul: He follows especially the Greek Authors, though he consults also the Commentaries of S. Jerome and the other Latin Fathers. He very much abuses Cajetan, and on the contrary commends Catharinus and Pighius, whose Opinions he follows concerning Grace and Predestination. He sometimes censures Erasmus and Faber Stapulensis; and in some Passages he speaks against the Errors of the Innovators; but he does it in few words, and without suffering his Commentary to

degenerate into Controversy. There is another Work of a quite different kind, writ by the same Author upon the Holy Scripture, Which tho' it cost him as much pains as his Commentaries did, yet perhaps is not so useful as they are; and this is an Edition of the *Psalms*, wherein all the *Psalms* in three several sorts of Lyric Verse, are set by the side of the Vulgar Latin, with an account of the Differences of the Hebrew Text. In 1537. He published Primasius's Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles, and Translated it into French, and printed it in 1540. He published also the Poems of Alcimus Avitus and Marius Victor; (a) and the three Books of the History of the taking of Jerusalem, writ by Apollonius Collatius Priest of Novara, Printed at Paris 1540. He translated the Sermons of Guerricus Abbot of Igny, And in 1543. he printed at Lyons some French Sermons, which he had composed on the six last Words of Jesus Christ on the Cross, together with some *Hendecasyllaba* on the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist. This Author was in his Time in great Reputation, both at Court, and among Men of Learning, for his Piety, Learning and Eloquence. We find by his Writings that he understood the Languages, and that he was a Man of more than ordinary Learning, of an excellent Understanding and solid Judgment.

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(a) Simler says they were printed at Lyons, 1536.

AUGUSTINUS STEUCHUS EUGUBINUS.

Augustinus Steuchus.

Augustinus Steuchus was of the Town of Eugubium in the Dutchy of Urbin in Italy. He was descended of a good Family, but his Parents were so very Poor, that they had not wherewith to educate him; infomuch that he was forced to labour with his hands for his daily Maintenance, being often in so great straits that he had neither bread to eat nor any place to retire to. He lived after this manner till he came to be twenty two Years of Age, and then he entered into the Order of the *Canons Regulars* of St. Saviour: this made his Life more easie, but it did not afford him the conveniencies of Books, and what else was necessary for study: he had such a passionate desire after Learning, that he rose from Bed in the night time, and went into the Church to read there by the light of the Lamp; and thus he applied himself so very assiduously to his Studies for the space of seven Years, that he came to be a prodigy of Learning, and to be admired by the Members of that Society, who at first despised him. He was for his great Learning chosen to be Keeper of the *Vatican Library*, and he was afterward made Bishop of Chisamo in Candia, from whence he was recalled to Rome, and sent by Pope Paul III. to the Council of Trent. He died in 1550.

Steuchus wrote some very learned and solid Treatises. especially upon the Holy Scriptures. His *Cosmopæia* is the first of them; he therein explains the first three Chapters of *Genesis*: He treats of the Creation of the World after a very learned manner, and he interprets the Text of *Genesis* with a wonderful exactness: He first shows that both Reason and History do clearly prove that the World is not Eternal: He proves the Antiquity and Truth of Moses's History, by showing that the Nations have retain'd the Names of those who in that History are said to have peopled the Earth after the Deluge. He produces many Testimonies of ancient profane Authors which

prove, that other People besides the Jews knew of the Creation of the World. Then he follows the Text of *Genesis*, he cites the Words of it as they are, both in the Hebrew and Septuagint. He gives the literal and historical Sense of it, and to this Explication he adds some historical and philosophical Reflections, and cites the finest and most curious Passages that are to be found either in Ecclesiastical or Profane Authors concerning this Matter. To this Treatise he has written an Addition concerning the Creation of Angels and the Empyrean Heaven.

His Commentaries upon the *Pentateuch*, are not so large as his *Cosmopæia*: He there compares the Words of the Text with the Greek and Latin Versions, and gives the natural and literal Sense without making any Digression.

His Commentary on the Book of *Job* is larger and better connected, tho' he there confines himself entirely to the literal sense.

In his Treatise intituled, *Whether the vulgar Edition be St. Jerom's?* he treats not only of that Question, but also of the *Septuagint* and the other Greek Versions: He maintains that the vulgar Translation is St. Jerome's, tho' it be not free from all faults; and that a Man may recede from it in case he follow the Hebrew Text.

His Commentary on several *Psalms* is larger than his Commentary on *Job*: He there follows the Hebrew Text, and cites the Rabbins, and gives the Reason of his Explications.

Steuchus his Treatises of the Perpetuity of Philosophy (a) is full of profound Learning, his design is to show that the Heathen Philosophers have at all times acknowledged a Sovereign Being: That some of them had some Knowledge of the Trinity: That the Creation of the World, of Angels and Devils, the Formation of Man and the Immortality of the Soul were likewise things known to many of the Philosophers, and that they had excellent Maxims con-

Augustinus Steuchus.

(a) De perenni Philosophia.

cerning

cerning Piety and Religion, and the Punishment of the Wicked and the Reward of the Just, and concerning Blessedness, Charity and Morality.

The two Books of the pretended Donation of Constantine, were written against Laurentius Valla's Treatise, in which that Author maintained, that that was a downright Falshood. Steuchus main-

tains the contrary, and no Man can defend an ill Cause better than he does. He says many excellent things in praise of Constantine, and to the advantage of the See of Rome.

Steuchus's Works divided into three Tomes, which make up one very great Volume, were Collected and printed at Paris by Sonnius in 1578.

An History of the Lives, and an Abridgment of the Works of the Authors of the former part of the sixteenth Century.

Augustinus Steuchus.

Pierius Valerianus

PIERIUS VALERIANUS.

Augustinus Steuchus.

Pierius Valerianus

Pierius Valerianus Bellunensis, was so called from his Name Peter, which he changed into that of Pierius; he was born in Belluno, in the State of Venice. He left his Father when he was but nine Years of Age, and was reduced to so great Poverty, that he was forced to enter into the Service of some Noble Venetians. After he had languished for some time in that miserable Condition, Urbanus Bolzanus his Uncle, who was Præceptor to Leo X. took him into his House, and took care of his Studies; in which Pierius was wonderfully successful, and came to be one of the most Learned Men of his Age: Pope Clement VII. chose him to be Tutor to his Nephew Hippolytus and Alexander de Medicis. He continued in a Dependence upon that Family, which delighted to give great Encouragement to Men of Learning. In the mean time Pierius contented himself with an indifferent Fortune, and refused the Bishoprick of Justinople, and that of Avignon; being fully satisfied with the Office of Apostolic Prothonotary. He lived many Years at Rome, and applied himself to Study, and Publick Business. In his old Age he retired into the Monastery of St. Antony in Padua, where he died (according to Thuanus's Account) in the Year 1550. being eighty three Years of Age, or (according to Imperialis) in the Year 1558. being eighty one Years of Age. Though this Author applied himself to the Writing of Discourses of Profane Learning chiefly, among which his Treatise of the Misfortunes of Learned Men, and his Antiquities of Belluno, printed at Venice in 1629, are most valued; yet he published a little Piece, which has some Relation to Ecclesiastical Matters; that is, an Apology for the Beards of Priests. The occasion of his Writing it was this, some Persons of Note had a mind to persuade the Pope to renew a Decree, which as they pretended was made by an Ancient Council, and confirmed by Pope Alexander III. by which Priests were forbidden to wear long Beards. He owns himself of the Opinion of those who were against the making of that Decree, and produces at first many curious things in honour of long Beards: Then he shows, that they are authorized by the Law of Moses in the Old Testament, where mention is made of Aaron's Beard; and by the Custom of the Jews: That it is probable that Jesus Christ and his Apostles wore long Beards; and that they are ordinarily painted after that manner: that among all the Laws of the Church there is only one made by a Council of Carthage, that is pretended to have been made against the Use of long Beards, which is also pretended to be confirmed by Pope Alexander III. As to that Law he answers: 1. That is not true, that ever the Council of Carthage did prohibit any such thing; And that the Canon, as it is at this time, is lame and imperfect: That the Word Radat ought to be added to it, for as it is related by Gratian in some Ancient Manuscripts, we read it thus, Clericus nec Comam nutriat

nec Barbam radat: Whereas, as it is commonly cited, it ends with these words nec Barbam: That the Decree of Pope Alexander III. directed to the Archbishop of Canterbury is likewise corrupted; and that the Word Barbam is added to it: That it ought not to be read thus, Clerici qui barbam & comam nutriunt, but only thus, Qui comam nutriunt, etiam invitati, à suis Archidiaconis tondeantur, as we read in the Canon of the Council of Arles, from which this Decree was taken: And indeed if Clerks be ordered to cut their Hair; because it looks Effeminate to have long and curled Hair, then for the same Reason they ought to be so far from being prohibited to have long Beards, that on the contrary, they ought rather to be prohibited to shave or cut their Beards: Now to justify that those Passages are corrupted, he produces some Examples of such like Changes, and among the rest he mentions one, that is found in the Decree of Pope Gelasius, where it is said that Sedulius's Opus Paschale, is writ Hæreticis, instead of Heroicis versibus. He proposes also another Objection against the Priests having long Beards, and it is founded on the Custom of the Greek Church: The Church of Rome (says he) ought not to approve of long Beards, that so she may not imitate the Schismatical Greek Church: He calls this a Frivolous Objection, and says, that the Church of Rome would have been in the Wrong, if she had separated from the Greek Church upon that Account. He acknowledges, that some Provincial Councils did make Laws against the Beards of Priests; but he says, that those Laws are of such a Nature as they may be altered; and that they were not approved of or confirmed by the Popes: That Pope Julius II. and Pope Clement VII. and many of the Cardinals had long Beards: That if this Case were carried before any Court whatsoever, many of the Judges would be found to have long Beards: That the same would be found in the College of Cardinals, and among the Archbishops and Bishops, and in the Divinity-Schools, and among all Orders of Men, both in Church and State. Add to this, What Deformity or what Impurity is there in a long Beard? Is there any Indecency for a Priest to have it? If it be accounted a token of Grief, the Priests ought to weep, especially at this time, when the World is afflicted with so many sad Calamities; if it be a token of Gravity and Dignity, Why should the Priests be deprived of it? A Beard is a necessary thing by the Law of Nature. The Law of Moses approves of it, the Law of Grace has never condemned it, the Custom of Saints and of Good People has authorized it. If it were necessary to make a Law in this matter, it were fit to ordain rather, that no man should shave, than to oblige the Priests to cut their Beards. This is an Abridgment of that Declamation of Pierius, which is writ with great Vivacity and Politeness (a)

(a) Besides these things, in his younger Years, Pierius Valerianus was concerned in publishing an Edition of Lactantius at Venice. It was printed by Tacuinus an Eminent Printer of that

time in 1502. At the End Pierius added Tertullian's Apologetic, (never as I believe printed before) and a Homily of St. Chrysostom's in Latin.

JOHANNES COCHLAUS.

An History of the Lives, and an Abridgement of the Works of the Authors of the former part of the sixteenth Century.

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Johannes Cochlaus.

Johannes Cochlaus was Born either at Nuremberg or Wendelstein (a), and of all the Polemical Divines of that Age, he was the Person that entered the Lists ofteneft, whether by Word of Mouth or by Writing against the Lutherans, and the other Innovators of that time. Were it not for that Reason he would not be fo much as known: And all that we know of his Life is, that for the fpace of thirty Years, he was a perpetual Advocate for the Catholicks, and an indefatigable Adverfary of the Hereticks, in fo much, that from the Year 1521. to the Year 1550. His fruitful Pen produced every Year more than one Treatife in defence of the Church and of the Truth.

He was Dean of (b) Franckfort upon the Mein; when he follow'd Luther to Worms in the Year 1521. He had no particular Order to go thither, but he did it of his own accord, that as he himfelf fays, he might expofe his Life for the Faith, and for the Honour of the Church; being inflamed with an ardent Zeal for the Sacraments of the Church; which Luther in his Book of the Capricity of Babylon, had either rejected or prophaned; and for the Religion of his Fathers, which with Grief he faw contemned and infulted by the Enemy of the Church. He had then compofed three Books of the Venerable Sacrament of the Eucharift againft Luther's Babylonifh Captivity; and he carried them thither with him. Luther was advertifed of this by Gulielmus Nefennus a Poet, and Mafter of the School of Franckfort, who perifhed afterwards unfortunately in the River Elbe. Cochlaus being come to Worms, and having no other Companion but his Nephew, addreffed himfelf to Wolfgangus Capito, who was then Secretary to the Archbifhop of Mentz, and the Archbifhop made him known to Alexander the Pope's Nuncio; who ordered him to be prefent at the Audience which Luther was to have, and to hear what he would fay, without entering into a difpute with him, Cochlaus obeyed the Orders, and after Dinner he had a private Conference with Luther, in the Inn where he lodged: They fometimes difputed, and fometimes entertained one another with familiar Difcourfe. From that time the Lutherans declared themfelves open Enemies to Cochlaus, and not ftaying till he had publifhed any thing againft them, they loaded him with Reproaches, and propagated many Calumnies againft him. They fpread a Report that he was fuborned by the Papifts, craftily to engage Luther to renounce the fafe conduct that was granted to him (c), that fo his Enemies might have an advantage againft him to put him to Death; at the fame time they difperfed Copies of Verfes in all thofe Parts in which Cochlaus was treated like the very worft of Men. Next Day he being informed of what was faid of him, and meeting Juftus Jonas, who had been prefent at the Conference which he had had with Luther, and who had faid thofe things to Capito; he told him how ill he refented the Injuftice that he had done him; Jonas denied it, and faid, that he never fpoke any fuch thing. He only advifed Cochlaus not to publifh any thing againft Luther, becaufe if he did, there were forty Perfons ready to write againft him; Cochlaus answered him, that he not only contemned thofe reproachful Pamphlets, but that he did not fear even Death it felf,

if it happened to him in the Defence of the Faith of the Church: So that without regarding thofe Threatnings, he began immediately to write boldly againft Luther. The firft Treatife, that he publifhed, was an Invektive againft Luther's two Letters to Pope Leo X. which in Imitation of the Words of Cicero's fecond Oration againft Catiline begins thus, *Quousque tandem abutere Catilina Saxonice patientia nostra*, &c. The reft is written with the fame Vehemence, but not in the fame Style. This Invektive was compofed at Franckfort the 20th. of January 1521.

The fixth of June following, he wrote a Defence of Emfer's Letter, concerning the twenty five Years of St. Peter's being Bifhop of Rome, againft what Luther had written in Answer to Emfer's Letter concerning the Matter.

Next Year Cochlaus addreffed a Difcourfe againft Luther, to the Princes of the Empire, in which he represents to them how very dangerous a Man that Heretick was, and offers to enter the Lists with him, in the prefence of fuch Judges as they would appoint. He exhorts them to apply their Thoughts to find out fuch an effectual Remedy, for the prefent Evil, as might tend to the Honour, Glory, and Safety of the Empire; and to confider that it was neceffary for the Interelt of Germany, and for the Salvation of Souls, that they fhould do it without Delay. This Difcourfe is written the 5th. of March.

A Paftor in the Town of Miltenberg in the Diocefs of Mentz, whose Name was John Draco, having publicly taught fome Errors, the Attorney-general drew up a Memorial againft this Draco, in which were thefe following Articles, firft, that it is not neceffary to abftain from Flefh and Milk Meats in Lent. Secondly, that is lawful for Chriftians to eat of them at all times. Thirdly, that without permission he publicly ate of them in time of Lent. Fourthly, that he taught, that the Celebration of the Mafs, the reciting of the Canonical Hours and the Vigils, are ufelefs, and not meritorious either for the Living or for the Dead. Fifthly, that when the Mafs is faid by a wicked Prieft, no Perfon whatfoever receives any Benefit by it; and that in general the Mafs is not meritorious, but to him only that is in a State of Grace when he fays it. Sixthly, that no Man is obliged to obferve any Feftival but that of Sunday; or to abftain from Flefh on Friday and Saturday. Seventhly and eighthly, that he was for the abolifhing of Proceffions, as well in Rogation Week as at other times. Ninthly, that he advifed the Laymen to communicate under both Kinds; and that he had adminiftered the Sacrament to them after that manner. Tenthly, that he had taught, that it was lawful for Priefts to marry. Eleventhly, that the Decrees and Ordinances of Popes and Councils are only human Conftitutions, to the Obfervation of which no Man ought to be obliged. Twelfthly, that he was the Author of Seditions and Commotions in that Town. Thirteenthly, that he had neglected to recite and celebrate his Office. Fourteenthly, that he had publicly preached, that Contrition alone was fufficient for true Penance; and that it was not needful, that a Man fhould confeff his Sins. Cochlaus being confulted about thefe Articles, publifhed a little Treatife againft the Errors

(a) [Seckendorff fays Cochlaus was Born at Wendelstein, a Village in the Liberties of Nuremberg, from whence he took his Name; for his true Name was Dobneck, which he defpifing, would be called from the Name of his Village Wendelstein, that in High-Dutch fignifies Winding Stairs, and therefore in Latin he called himfelf Cochlaus.]

(b) [Of the Collegiate Church of St. Marius in Franckfort.]

(c) [Luther in his Invektive againft Cochlaus, which he dedicated to Nefennus, pofitively charges Cochlaus with defiring him to forego the Emperor's Safe-conduct; and that otherwife if he did not, Cochlaus would not difpute with him: Which (fays Luther) every Body interpreted to be folly or worfe, fince if I had parted with that Security, it was well known I could not have been fafe. Seckendorff Hift. Lutheran. Lib. 1. §. 160. Add. 3.]

that were taught by *Draco*, and contained in this Memorial.

The same Year he published also a Treatise concerning the Grace that is conferred by the Sacraments, against *Luther's* first Article.

In the Year 1523. it appears that *Cochleus* made a Journey to *Rome*, for from that City, in that year he dates a Memorial, intituled *The two Expedients for extinguishing the Schism of Luther*. He there shews, that the mildest and gentlest Method is, to make a Collection of *Luther's* heretical or erroneous Propositions, and to refute them by the Testimonies of holy Scripture and Reason; to permit the Emperor and the Electors to appoint Judges, to hear the Disputants, and to judge betwixt them; yet without doing any prejudice to the holy See, to whom it belongs to give a definitive Sentence in such Matters. He thereupon says, that there were many Divines who without any safe Conduct, would adventure to engage in publick Disputes, under such pains as the Judges should think fit to appoint, against those that should be overcome. He names himself as one of those Divines, together with *Eckius*, *Emser*, *Faber*, and *Mensingius*. He presumes, that *Luther* durst not, nor would not accept of those Conditions; but however, he thinks it might be necessary in the mean time, to disperse some useful Pamphlets founded upon Authorities and solid Reasons, and to order Bishops to keep their Clergy under better Discipline, than was usually observed at that time, and that as well with regard to their Habits, as to their sacred Office, and to their studying human Learning, and not to suffer Clergy-men to keep Concubines, or to spend their time in Gaming or in Idleness, or to despise the Poor. He remonstrates likewise, that it might be necessary to settle pious and learned Preachers, who would sincerely teach the People the Word of God, according to the Explications of Doctors approved by the Church, and who would seasonably and without Affectation, mix their Discourses with sound Refutations of *Luther's* Principles, but with Moderation, and without reproachful Language, and with Expressions of Compassion: That it was convenient to publish some Books in the German Tongue, to recommend the Mass, the Sacraments of the Church, and the Honour of the Saints, &c. to the People, and to explain to them the Significations of the Rites and Ceremonies, and to recommend to them the Piety of their Fathers at Funerals, and the Anniversaries of the Dead, who being now in a State of Suffering in Purgatory, send up Cries towards us, like the rich Man in the Gospel, who sued for help from *Abraham* (d). The other Method for abolishing the Schism, is that of Rigor; by complaining to the Emperor, that in many Provinces and Towns of the Empire, his Edict was not put in execution; and that under the Names of the Princes and States of the Empire, there was published a Writing, that was favourable to the *Lutherans*, and which rendered the Court of *Rome* odious, by charging the catholick Princes with want of Zeal, for suffering that to be done: By reproving the Bishops sharply for their Negligence, and by ordering them to execute the Laws, and even to imprison those who teach heretical Doctrine, or who disperse Books in which it is to be found: And to join two or three learned Divines with their Official or Vicar General, who may reprove and instruct those that are guilty: By encouraging those that write for the Church, and by being at the expence of publishing their Works: By exhorting all the catholick Princes to cause the Emperor's Edict to be executed in their respective Dominions: By treating with the *Swiss Cantons*, that they may not suffer *Luther's* Books to be printed in their Dominions, and no longer suffer *Ulricus Zuinglius*: By giving warning to those of *Strasbourg*, that they do not suffer any heretical Books to be printed in that City: And to those of

Frankfort, that they do not suffer them to be sold there.

The same Year *Cochleus* published his Latin Treatises, of the Baptism of Infants, of the Source of Sin, of the Grace that is conferred by the Sacraments, and two Answers of *Faber* against *Luther*: And in the German Language, he published a Commentary on a hundred and fifty four Articles, taken out of *Luther's* Discourses, and the History of *Albertus Krantz*.

In 1524. *Cochleus* being at *Nuremberg*, wrote a Treatise of the Obligation of opposing the new Sects, which he proves by the Laws of God and by the Canon Law, and by the Examples of the good Success of those Princes who have fought for the Faith, against Heresies and Infidels.

The same Year he published the Consolation of Germany against *Luther*: *Rome's Exhortation to Germany*, and *An Answer to the Letter of the Lutherans*.

In 1525. *Cochleus* being obliged, first to leave *Frankfort* and afterwards *Mentz*, because of the popular Seditions that were raised in those Places, went to *Cologne*, where he had an Interview with *Eckius*, who was then going for *England*: That Year he published a Treatise of Free-will against *Melanchthon*, a Treatise concerning *St. Peter* and *Rome* against *Velenus*: A Refutation of five hundred Articles, taken out of thirty six Sermons preached by *Luther*, A Discourse against a Book of *Luther's*, in which he delivers over to Death and Hell some Peasants, whose greatest Crime was, that they had been seduced by his Doctrine: A Catalogue of the Seditions that were raised in several Provinces of Germany, which had filled the Country with the Blood of many miserable Persons, and a Letter addressed to the Bishop of *Strasbourg*, dated the 2d. of September, in which he offers to dispute with *Luther*, before such Judges as the Emperor should nominate, and to do it under pain of Death to the Person that should be judged overcome.

In the Year 1526. *Cochleus* went to the Diet of *Spires*, and wrote an Advice against a Pamphlet, that had been published under the Title of *Argyrophilax*, or the Treasurer, which was written to obtain a Revocation of the Privileges granted to the Clergy. *Cochleus* endeavours to dissuade the Princes from that Design, by representing to them the Mischiefs which those who have at any time encroached upon the Rights of the Clergy, have drawn upon themselves. The same Year he wrote an Answer to a Letter writ by *Bugenhagenius Pommeranus* Minister of *Wittemberg* to the English. He wrote also some Augustal Letters concerning Faith and the Councils, and concerning the ancient Decretals and Epistles of the Popes. In fine, the same Year, he addressed a large Treatise to the Archbishop of *Mentz*, against the Innovations of *Luther*: He there says, that they were so manifestly false, that it was not so much as necessary to propose them to a Council, nor to wait till they should be condemned by it. That there was no danger in doing it quickly; and that it was necessary for the Honour of the Nation, to pronounce a Sentence of Condemnation against them, according to the Opinion of able Divines. He shews how important a thing it is to continue united to the holy See; and how wicked to call the Pope Antichrist: He finds fault with the publishing of the *Gravamina*: He pretends, that it would have been more expedient to have sent Deputies to the Pope, to have treated with him and the Cardinals upon those Matters: He takes it for granted, that *Luther's* Doctrine was the Cause of all the Seditions that were raised in Germany. He refutes his two principal and fundamental Errors: First, that we are justified by Faith alone. Secondly, that we are obliged to believe nothing but what is contained in the holy Scriptures. He shews, that we ought not to condemn either the Traditions of the Church, or the Deci-

fions of Councils. At last he concludes, that there never was a more dangerous Heresy than that of *Luther*, and he enumerates all the Evils which it had occasioned. The same Year he wrote a Treatise in the German Language, concerning Souls in Purgatory.

In the Year 1527. *Cochleus* translated into Latin, the Libel which *Luther* wrote against the King of England's Letter, and wrote an Advertisement in refutation of it. The same Year he wrote a Book, in which he relates some Passages of the holy Scripture, for and against the Divinity of Jesus Christ, with the Answers that may be given on both sides. His Design in this was to shew, that Men may make use of the holy Scripture for the defending of Error: But such a Design is not to be approved, and he acknowledges himself, that he wrote that Book against his Conscience, and that his Hair stood on end, when he had collected so many Passages of holy Scripture, and had given such a blasphemous Sense of them.

In the Year 1528. being at *Mentz*, he addressed an Advertisement to the *Cantons of Bern*, against the Form of Dispute which the Assembly had prescribed; and to shew, that we ought not to consider the holy Scripture, as the only Rule of all Determinations, he takes the same Method that he takes in the Book I last mentioned; for he chooses three erroneous Propositions: First, that Jesus Christ is not really God. Secondly, that God ought to obey the Devil. Thirdly, that *Mary* the Mother of God did not continue a Virgin all the time of her Life: And he exercises his Industry in endeavouring to give some colour to those Errors, from some Passages of Scripture which he relates; and in giving Solutions to such Passages which prove the contrary. Then he wrote a little Treatise against the Decree that was given at *Bern*; in which he declaimed boldly against the Impudence of those, who allowed Priests and Monks to marry, and all sorts of People to carry away the Spouses of Jesus Christ (e). He wrote also a little Piece against *Luther's* Treatise of Communion under both Kinds, in which he collected 143 Calumnies, and a great many railing Expressions of *Luther's*; and he makes short Observations upon them, by which he discovers their Falsity. *Cochleus* mentions four other Treatises, which he wrote the same Year in the German Language: Some Prefaces to *Fisher's* Books: A Treatise against the Book which *Luther* wrote to the Men of *Hall*: Three Informations against *Pacius*, and a Treatise against the Reformation of *Bern*.

In the Year 1529. *Cochleus* being at *Dresden*, published a Book intituled, *Septiceps Lutherus*, which is only a Collection of Passages taken out of the Books of that Heretick, which discover the Contradictions and Changes into which he fell. He also published that Treatise in the German Language, and it was afterwards printed in Latin, at *Paris* in 1564. with a Table of 36 Contradictions of which *Luther* is guilty, in the single Article of the Eucharist, with some of *Luther's* Sentences, which are turn'd against himself, some Sentences of holy Scripture against the Inconstancy of *Luther*, and with the Genealogy or Succession of *Luther* the fifth Evangelist. He wrote another Book under a Title that is much like the former, concerning the War against the *Turks*; in which he discovers the Contradictions of *Luther*. The very same Year 1529. he published a little Treatise in the German Language, in defence of Prince *George of Saxony*, against the Invectives of *Luther*: At the same time *Cochleus* assaulted *Zuinglius* in a little Treatise, intituled *An Answer to the Zuinglian Question concerning the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ*: He there confesses, that the Body of Jesus Christ is not corporeally present in the Eucharist, if the Word corporeally be taken for a corporal, sensible, and palpable manner, but that it is corporeally present, if that

Term be taken only for really and substantially. He adds, that the Eucharist after the Consecration retains the Name of Bread, because of the Appearance of Bread: He resolves a great many little Difficulties, which *Zuinglius* had form'd against the real Presence. This Treatise is dated from *Dresden*, the 6th. of December 1529. There are also two Treatises in the German Language, which he wrote the same Year; namely, 25 Reasons for Communion under one Kind, and a Treatise against *Luther's* Explication of the seven *Psalms*.

In the Year 1530. *Cochleus* being at *Augsburg* in the Month of September, published there a Collection of Propositions, taken out of *Luther's* and *Melanchthon's* Works, which were contrary to the Articles of the Confession of *Augsburg*: He published also two little Treatises, against the Corrupters of the Books of the Ecclesiastical Decrees and Constitutions. The same Year he published in the German Language a Dispute concerning the Sacraments, and a little Treatise against an Abstract of the Book of Decrees: A Declaration concerning the disputed Articles, and an Answer to *Luther's* Letters.

In the Year 1531. *Cochleus* published a faithful and pacifick Advertisement against *Luther's* seditious Opinions, and an Answer to *Melanchthon's* Demand against Cardinal *Campegius*. In that Year he also renewed his Challenge to all the *Lutherans*, offering to enter the Lists with any of them that would engage in a Dispute under pain of Death: And he declares, that he had already made that Offer publicly in the Assemblies of *Worms*, *Nuremberg*, *Spire*, and *Augsburg*, where he had appeared and expected (but all in vain) that some *Lutheran* would have accepted the Challenge. He published two Treatises in the German Tongue; the one intituled, *A short Account of Luther's Retreat*. The other, *An Advice against Luther's seditious Pamphlet*.

In the Year 1532. being at *Mentz*, in the Month of September, he drew up Instructions for the Catholick Visitors, in which he sets down the particular Points concerning which they ought to examine and interrogate the Pastors, and the Lay-Christians of the Churches, which they were to visit. The same Year he published the Commentary on the *Psalms*, that was written by *Bruno* Bishop of *Wurtzburg*.

In 1533. he wrote 3 little Treatises in the German Tongue, in favour of Prince *George of Saxony*, against some of *Luther's* Libels, in which he commends that Prince's Zeal for the defence of the Catholick Faith, and the Church. He sent one of those Treatises to the Elector of *Saxony*, with a Letter and a new Challenge to *Luther*. The same Year he published also two other little Treatises in the German Tongue, the one against the Reformation falsely attributed to Prince *Sigismund*, and the other against a Chapter in *Sebastianus Francus's* Chronicle, in which that Heretick spoke of the Original of the Mass, and of the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, as if they had been new things. *Cochleus's* four *Philippics* against *Melanchthon* were also published the same Year, together with a little Treatise concerning this Question, *Whether it be convenient for the Laity to read the New Testament in the vulgar Tongue?*

In the Year 1534. he opposed *Luther's* Treatise against the Mass, by publishing the six Books concerning the sacred Mytery of the Altar, written by Pope *Innocent III.* together with the same Pope's Treatise of the Contempt of the World; and *Isidore's* two Books of Ecclesiastical Offices. And to these ancient Monuments he added a Refutation of *Luther's* Treatise in the German Language.

Towards the End of this Year, he composed a Treatise in the German Language, against the 21 Articles of the *Anabaptists*; the Design of which was to shew, that *Luther's* Doctrine was the Source and Original of those Errors. *Luther* having that

Year published a Letter against the Mass full of Impieties, *Cochleus* refuted him, by a little Treatise, addressed to *Justus Jonas*, to whom he proposed ten Questions concerning *Luther's* Letter, and charged him to answer them, and the Arguments that he objects to him, and to justify the 28. Lyes which he asserted were in *Luther's* Letter. *Jonas* gave no Answer to this Treatise, but he revenged himself upon his Adversary after another manner, by publishing a Letter of *Consolation*, which *Cochleus* had written to *Wicelius*, upon his being ill used in some satyrical Verses. He had there said several things as to his Friend, which it was not proper should have been made known to his declared Enemies the *Lutherans*. But *Jonas* having got a Copy of this Letter, he printed it with malicious Notes, especially on that Passage, where *Cochleus* tells him that he hoped ere long to be rewarded for his Labours, and to be in a Condition to do *Wicelius* good.

Some time after *Conradus Cordatus* published a little Treatise in the German Language, full of Calumnies and Reproaches, against *Wicelius* and *Cochleus*, to which this last gave him a smart Answer. *Cochleus* having sent his Servant into *Scotland*, to give warning to the Bishops of that Kingdom, and to the King, of the Designs which the *Lutherans* were contriving against them, by the Ministry of *Alesius* a *Scotsman*, who was retired to *Wittemberg*, and had turned Apostate; *Melanchthon* under the name of this *Alesius*, wrote a virulent Pamphlet against *Cochleus*, who forthwith wrote an Answer to it, and published two other little Treatises against *Melanchthon*. He knew that there were many *Polanders* that were Students at *Wittemberg*, who embraced the new Doctrine, and therefore he wrote many little Treatises, which he sent into *Poland*, that the *Polanders* might thereby take warning and beware of the Leaven of that University. At the same time he published the *Philippics* which he had written against *Melanchthon*: There is likewise a Treatise concerning the worshipping of Images; and a little Tract against the new Reformation of *Bern*; both which *Cochleus* puts into the number of his Works which he published that year.

In the year 1535. he wrote a Dialogue concerning the best Expedients for putting an end to the Divisions in *Germany*, concerning Faith and Religion in a general Council. There are three Persons brought into discourse together upon this Subject. He calls the first *Paceus*, because he studied to find out the means of making Peace betwixt the contending Parties, by taking a middle way: The second is called *Petrus*, because he is represented as a rigid Defender of the Faith of *St. Peter* and the Church, against the Hereticks: And the third is named *Arenius*, who defends the Sect of *Luther*, which is founded on the Sand. This last will not refer himself to any thing but the Gospel. The second shews, that it is absolutely necessary that there be a Judge of Controversies for determining the Sense of the holy Scripture. He proves that we ought to submit to the Decisions of Councils; the first confesses frankly, that there are many Abuses which ought to be reformed, and that the Reformation of them ought to be made in a Council, which the Pope ought to call and celebrate according to the ancient Custom of the Church, and not with Restrictions, and according to the Articles which were proposed by the *Lutherans*. In fine, these three Persons who discourse together, do handle many Controversies, such as those concerning Justification by Faith, and concerning the Church, the Mass, and the Supremacy of *St. Peter*. *Petrus* never fails to magnify the Authority of the Church of *Rome*, and to represent the Errors and Faults of the *Lutherans*. This Year *Cochleus* published also a Pamphlet against the second Marriage of *Henry VIII.* King of *England*: And an Answer to the Accusation, which *Luther* had written against the Cardinal of *Mentz*: And a

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little Treatise intituled; *The Congratulation of John Cochleus*.

In 1536. He published nothing but the Bishop of *Toledo's* Prognostic of the next Age: And a Letter of Pope *Nicholas I.* and a Treatise of the Invocation of Saints in *High-Dutch*.

In 1537. Pope *Paul III.* having appointed a Council to meet at *Mantua*, the *Lutherans* published thirty Propositions against that Council. *Cochleus* publish'd a Collection of thirty Authorities of Holy Scripture, and Fathers, and Laws, and Canons, for the Authority of the Council, with seventy Propositions to confirm them. Not long after, he wrote a Refutation of the New Articles which the *Lutherans* had drawn up for their Visitors. He published a Discourse concerning the Consecration of Chrism, taken out of a Manuscript Pontifical, written in the Year 1057. He also published in the German Language, *An History of John Huss*; *An Instruction of the Truth against the false Legend: A Treatise of Constantine's Donation*; *an Information against Ambrosius du Moulin's Catechism*.

In 1538. He printed in *High-Dutch*, some Considerations on the Articles proposed by *Luther* to the General Council: and a German Translation of *St. Cyprian's* Treatise concerning the Simplicity of Clergymen; and of one of *St. Bernard's* Sermons upon the *Salve Regina*: The same Year also, he published a Book in German, against a Catechism composed by one *Daniel Morbanus* a Layman of *Breslaw*.

In the Year 1539. there being a difference risen betwixt *Luther* and some of his own Sect, who rejected the Law of Works, and he having written against them calling them *Antinomians*, *Cochleus* wrote against him, with a Design to render him odious to those of his own Party. In this Book, there are a hundred and fifty three Propositions against seventy of the Propositions of *Luther*, which are to be found in the fifth Part of his Book.

The same Year *Cochleus* received from *England*, a pretty large Book, printed at *London*, and composed by *Richard Morison* an *English-Man*, in which he was assaulted on the Account of the Book which he had written against the Marriage of King *Henry VIII.* and he wrote an Answer to it with this Title, *John Cochleus's Broom to sweep away Morisons Cobwebs*. This *English-Man* had upbraided him for having accepted of a Canonship at *Mersborough*, on Condition never to write any more against *Luther*, and had challenged him that he had not been as good as his word, because the Pope had bribed him to the contrary: He declares this is absolutely false, and that he never was a Canon of *Mersborough*, but that Prince *George of Saxony* had called him from *Mentz*, where he was a Canon in the Church of *St. Victor*, and had given him a Canonship in the Cathedral of *Meissen*, that he might assist *Jerome Emser* in the Defence of the Catholick Faith, against the Hereticks. He says, that it was so far from being true, that he ever promised not to write against *Luther*, that the preceding Year he wrote six Books against the Calumnies which *Luther* published against the Council, two in *Latin*, and four in *German*. He clears himself of another Imputation, which *Morison* charg'd him with, which was, that it was with aversion that he wrote against *Luther*. He says, that in the Year 1525. he gave the King of *England* notice of a Design, which two private Persons had, of translating *Luther's* Version of the New Testament into *English*: That in 1526. he dedicated to him *Rupertus's* Books upon the Apocalypse: And in 1529. A Collection intituled *The Ancient Rescripts of the Gothic Kings in Italy*, taken out of *Cassiodore's* Letters; and that in the Preface to that Book, he had spoke highly to his Majesties Commendation. He defends what he had written against the Divorce of King *Henry VIII.* and he boasts, that his Book was approved of by *Erasmus*. He then writes of the Pope's Supremacy, and of the Unity of the Church, against

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against the Schism made by the King of England. In the last place, he defends the Memory of Chancellor *More*, and the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and ſhows that they were unjuſtly ſentenced to Death. The calling of a General Council at *Vicenza* being publiſhed this Year, *Luther* drew up ſome Articles to be offered in his Name to the Council. *Cochleus* alſo publiſhed a Memorial, ſhewing that thoſe Articles ought not to be propoſed to the Council, eſpecially ſeeing they were contrary to the Confeſſion of *Augsburg*.

In the Year 1539. the Advice given by the Cardinals and other Prelates, deputed by Pope *Paul III.* for the Reformation of the Church, was publiſhed; *Luther* wrote a Treatiſe in German againſt it, and there was another writ in *Latin*, by *John Sturmius* Maſter of *Rhetoric* at *Strasbourg*, which was more rational and moderate than that which *Luther* wrote. *Cochleus* addreſſed a little Treatiſe to *Sturmius*, intitled, *An equitable Diſcuſſion of the Advice given by the Cardinals and the other Deputies*, &c. He begins with praiſing *Sturmius*, for being more ingenious than *Luther*: And ſhows, that he grants many things that *Luther* denies; And that he leaves ſome hopes of a Re-union, which *Luther* makes him deſpair of; He propoſes to him the Council as Judge, and ſhows, that the only means of promoting the Peace of the Church is, to ſubmit ſincerely to its Decisions. He confeſſes, that it was neceſſary to reform Abuses: After this, *Cochleus* relates the Article which *Sturmius* approves of, in the Advice of the Cardinals, which is this, That the Pope ought to ſubmit to the Laws, and to obſerve them. He agrees to the truth of this Article, but he adds, that it is in the Pope's Power upon prudent Conſiderations, to diſpenſe with the Laws. He obſerves that the principal Obſtacle of the Argument was, the Reſtitution of Church Revenues: He then relates the Articles which *Sturmius* finds fault with, and ſhows their Reaſonableneſs: He examines what *Sturmius* found wanting in that Treatiſe: He answers his Calumnies and Reproaches: He diſcovers the Errors which are in his Treatiſe, and agrees to the general means of Re-union, which *Sturmius* had propoſed, which was to re-eſtabliſh ſuch Ceremonies, as were not contrary to the Inſtitution of *Jeſus Chriſt*; to permit the People to read the Goſpel; to appoint lawful Aſſemblies; to provide Paſtors that are ſufficiently Qualified for diſcharging the Duties of their Miniſtry; to maintain the Ancient Doctrines and the Ancient Laws; and to reform Abuses and Corruptions. *Cochleus* ſays, that the Council would make no difficulty to agree to all theſe Articles: That the Pope had already made ſome advances, which might reaſonably make him hope for good things; that the Deputies had plainly told him a great many things, which perhaps ſome other Popes would not have ſuffered themſelves to have been told of, tho' they had not yet mentioned all the particular Abuses, which ought to be reformed. Cardinal *Sadolet* wrote a Letter to *Sturmius* concerning his Book: He commends his Style, and blames the bitter Terms which he made uſe of, and the odious Imputations which he charged the Church of *Rome* with. In the Month of *June* in the ſame Year, *Cochleus* wrote a Treatiſe againſt the new Opinion of the *Lutherans*, which was, that the Body of *Jeſus Chriſt* did not remain in the Eucharift, after receiving of it; In which he proves by the Authority of Holy Scripture, and of the Fathers, that the Body and Blood of *Jeſus Chriſt*, remained really and ſubſtantiually under the Species of Bread and Wine as long as the Accidents remained Intire. Whiſt *Cochleus* was thus employed for the Church, the Death of Prince *George* of *Saxony* put him almoſt out of a Condition to continue his Labours; for his Succeſſor Prince *Henry* having expelled the Canons from the Cathedral of *Meiſſen*, *Cochleus* was deprived of his Benefice and Revenues, and was forc'd to retire to *Bautzen* in *Luſatia*, where he wrote a Treatiſe to

prove that no Perſon has lawful Power to conſecrate the Eucharift, unleſs he be lawfully ordained Prieſt by a Biſhop. In the ſame place he wrote alſo an Answer to the Complaint of the pretended *Lazarus*, in Defence of the Church Revenues and Benefices againſt the Invaſions of the *Lutherans*: It is dated the twenty ninth of *July*. Sometime after, the Chapter of the Cathedral of *Breſlaw* being touched with his Miſfortunes, gave him a Canonſhip in that Church. The ſame Year he wrote ſome Notes upon a Letter writ from *Francfort* which contained the Articles which the *Lutherans* required to be granted to them, in order to a Peace.

In the Year 1540. the Conference betwixt the Catholics and the Proteſtants afforded Matter to *Cochleus* for ſeveral Treatiſes: The Proteſtants demanded it in a writing exhibited to the Aſſembly of *Haguenau*: On which Occaſion *Cochleus* thought it his Duty to write an Advertiſement to the Emperor, in which he remonſtrates to his Imperial Maſteſty, that tho' the Proteſtants demanding of a Conference in order to the Peace and Union of *Germany*; at leaſt by a National Council ſeemed honeſt and reaſonable, yet it was to be feared that the Union which they propoſed might ſeparate the *Germans* from the Catholic Church. Firſt, becauſe they did not promiſe to return to the Church from which they had ſeparated, but endeavour'd to draw the Catholics into their Schiſm and into their Errors. Secondly, becauſe they profeſſed to adhere to their *Augsburg* Confeſſion of Faith. Thirdly, becauſe they declared, that in that Confeſſion they had concealed nothing of their Doctrine or Cuſtoms; tho' it was notorious, that in their Doctrine and Diſcipline, there were many things contrary to that Confeſſion of Faith. Fourthly, becauſe it was to be feared, that on the occaſion of that Conference, they would calumniate the Perſons engaged in it, as they had done on occaſion of other Conferences. Fifthly, becauſe to agree with the *Lutherans*, by finding out ſome Middle way, was to make a Schiſm in the Church. Sixthly, becauſe all that they ſought, was to put off and delay the Concluſion of what concerns Religion, under Pretence of that Conference: That beſides, a long Conference would be impertinent, and that it was not convenient to diſpute long with them; that it was only neceſſary to oblige them to declare, whether they would agree with the Catholics in every thing, which they themſelves had made Confeſſion of, in their *Maniſeſto* from *Smalkald*: that it was altogether needleſs, to appoint Treatiſes concerning Rites and Jurisdiction, as long as there was a difference in the principal Articles of Doctrine; therefore he concludes, that in *Germany* there was no need of a long Conference with Proteſtants, and that it was ſufficient, to adhere to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*; and as to the Reformation of Diſcord and Vices, that it would be much better done in a General Council. This Treatiſe is dated from *Haguenau* the 27th. of *June*. The 5th. of *July* he preſented another Treatiſe to the Emperor, containing the Articles of the Doctrine of the Proteſtants contrary to their Confeſſion of Faith. He wrote a third concerning the ſix Articles that were propoſed by the Proteſtants in order to a Peace. The firſt is concerning Juſtification. He confeſſes that they might ſoon come to an Agreement on that Article, if they would only leave their chicanry; but he thinks they would do beſt to lay aſide the Word *Alone*, and to lay that we are juſtified by Faith in *Jeſus Chriſt*, without ſaying that we are juſtified by Faith alone. He does not approve of what ſome had aſſerted, that by this Confidence Men are ſure and certain of their Salvation, for theſe words come near to the Error of *Luther*; and that every baptized Perſon that believes, is in a State of Salvation. He alſo finds fault with what is ſaid in that Article, that the Conſcience does always reproach it ſelf with ſome Sin, becauſe we do not fully ſatisfy the Law, which

which alludes to the wicked Doctrine of *Luther*, that Man sins in all his Good Works. The second Article is for the Re-establishment of the Administration of the Sacrament of the Eucharist under both Kinds, and for the Abrogation of private Masses. *Cochleus* observes on this Article, that they are in the wrong to call Communion under one Kind the Administration of the Half of the Sacrament: That the *Lutherans* offend in many things concerning the Administration of the Sacraments: that they reject the Canon of the Mass, that in fine the Catholics cannot agree with them in those Points, unless all other Nations would consent to that Agreement, without which the Catholics of Germany would become Schismatics. The third Article relates to the Use of the Keys, and proposes that those who sin should be obliged to do Penance, and that they should be deprived of the Benefit of the Church Communion if they should refuse to do it, and that those who are converted should be encouraged and confirmed by Absolution. *Cochleus* entirely admits this Article, only he gives this Admonition, that among the *Lutherans* there are many Abuses committed in the Use of the Keys, because they are put into the Hands of People who have never been ordained Priests, and that among them the Discipline of the Church is quite abolished. The fourth Article concerns the lawful Institution of Ministers, who acquit themselves worthily of their Functions, and who lead blameless Lives. *Cochleus* acknowledges, that there is nothing in the Terms of this Article but what he approves of; but he says, that the Sense in which the Protestants take those Terms is very different from that in which the Catholics take them, because that by Ministers lawfully instituted, they understand Priests and Deacons elected and consecrated after a new manner, and not ordained by their lawful Bishops. The fifth Article is for giving all People a Liberty to marry: *Cochleus* says, that this Article cannot be easily granted without the Consent of the Pope and the other Churches. The sixth concerns Liberty in all things that are not expressly appointed by the Law of God. *Cochleus* observes, that this is directly contrary to the Authority of the Church, which is invested with a Power to make Laws.

Cochleus being informed of the Landtgrave of Hesse's Marriage with a Second Wife, which was Solemnized the 4th. of March 1540. with the Approbation of *Luther* and the principal Persons of his Sect, wrote a little Treatise against that Scandalous Marriage, in which he shows by the Authorities both of the Old and New Testament, That it is not lawful for a Christian to have more Wives than one. The Emperor having appointed an Assembly to meet at *Ratisbonne*, where a Conference concerning Religion was to be held, *Cochleus* published a Treatise at *Mentz*, both in *Latin* and in *German*, concerning the seventh Article of the Confession of *Augsburg*, which is concerning the true Church; in which he shews that it is the Society of Catholics, and not the Society of *Lutherans* which is the true Church, upon which single Question he makes all Controversies in Religion to depend. He published also in the same place, and before he went to *Ratisbonne*, a Treatise concerning the Ordination of Bishops and Priests, and the Consecration of the Eucharist. Before that time he had printed at *Ingolstadt* a fifth *Philippic*, which he himself gave to *Melanchthon*, and which he Reprinted in 1543. with a Preface address'd to the Archbishop of *Cologne*, in which he reproaches him for changing his Religion, and for the Evils that he occasioned to the Church by the Ministry of *Bucer*.

In 1541. *Cochleus* came to *Ratisbonne*, at the time that the Conference was held and the Diet was sitting: He there published three Treatises, one dated

the 18th. of June, in which he justifies the Catholics for their Resolutions, to wait for the Decision of the next Council, without determining any thing before. The second is a Letter concerning a private Conference which he had with the Elector of *Brandenburg*, in which he insists on three Heads, the Church, the Sacrifice of the Mass, and the Invocation of Saints. The third is a Translation of a Fragment of a *Greek* Commentary on the Canon of the Mass, concerning the Consecration.

We do not find any Discourse written by *Cochleus* in the Year 1542. and he himself makes no mention of any, either in the Catalogue of his own Works, or in his Treatise of the Actions of *Luther*: But in 1543. he published a considerable Treatise concerning the Authority of canonical Scripture and of the catholic Church, inscribed to *Bullinger*, against two Author's Books, printed in 1538. and dedicated to the King of *England*. This Book of *Cochleus* is one of the most elaborate and exact Treatises which he ever wrote: He there treats in few Words of the principal Controversies concerning canonical Books, the Authority of the Church, Traditions, Councils, Popes, the Number of the Sacraments and Ecclesiastical Laws and Constitutions. *Cochleus* puts also into the Number of the Works which he published this Year, a Treatise of Purgatory against *Osiander*, and an Abridgment of the Opinion of the Clergy and University of *Cologne*, concerning *Bucer's* Book in *High-Dutch*.

The Year 1544. was fertil in Tracts written by *Cochleus* against the *Lutherans*, and the *Zuinglians*. Against the *Lutherans* he published a sixth *Philippic* against *Melanchthon* and *Bucer*, concerning the Opinion of the Divines of *Cologne*. A Defence of the Ceremonies of the Church, against three Books written by *Ambrosius Morbanus* of *Breslaw*. A Treatise of the new Versions of the Old and New Testament. Four Ways of coming to an Agreement upon the Confession of *Augsburg*. And against the *Zuinglians* he published a Treatise of the Invocation of Saints, and of their Intercession, and their Relicks and Images, against *Bullinger*. A Treatise of the Priesthood and Sacrifice of the new Law, against two Sermons preached by *Wolfgangus Musculus*. The History of the Life of *Theodorick* King of the *Goths* and of *Italy*, and a Treatise in *German* concerning the ancient manner of praying.

In 1545. *Bucer* published a Treatise addressed to the Diet at *Worms*; in which he demanded a national Council, and impugned the Pope's Authority, as also the Sacraments and Ceremonies of the Church, and offered to prove every thing which he asserted in a Dispute: Upon which *Cochleus* immediately wrote a *Latin* Letter to the Princes and Deputies of the catholic States, which he sent to *Worms*, where in he conjures them to beware of *Bucer's* Designs, and he accepted the Challenge. *Bucer* wrote an Answer to that Letter, and *Cochleus* published a Reply, in which he gives an Extract of 18 Propositions taken out of his Book, on which he desired to dispute with him before the Judges. The same Year he published in *Latin*, a Collection of miscellaneous Tracts, which contained 30 Treatises, of which we have already spoken in order. He published also Considerations upon the Treaty of Agreement against two Pamphlets of the *Lutherans*: An Essay against *Andrew Osiander's* four Conjectures concerning the End of the World; a Reply to *Musculus's* *Anticochleus*, concerning the Priesthood and Sacrifice of the New Law, with an Answer to the *Antibole*, or Reply of *Bullinger* (f), and two Additions against the Treatise which *Bucer* published against *Bartholomeus Latomus*. A Treatise against the Owl of the new Gospel; a Treatise concerning the worshiping of Relicks, against *Calvin*; a Treatise concerning the *Interim*, likewise against *Calvin*: And in *High-*

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Johannes Cochleus.

W Dutch he published a Defence of the Priesthood and the Sacrifice.

An History of the Lives, and an Abridgment of the Works of the Authors of the former part of the sixteenth Century.
Johannes Cochleus.
 In 1546. *Cochleus* came to *Ratisbonne* during the Conference, and tho' he was none of those who spoke in it, yet he there disputed by writing: For *Eckius* falling sick, he wrote some Notes upon the Writings of the Protestants; some *Antitheses* against the 21 Propositions which *Melanchthon* maintained at *Wittemberg*; and a Memorial in which he proposes seven Expedients in order to procure a Union. A large Writing against *Bucer's* Book, which he addressed to the Princes and States of the Empire; in which, after a general Preface against the Innovators, he censures in the first part of it six of *Bucer's* Propositions against the Authority of the Pope, the Councils, and the Church. In the second, he censures other six of his Propositions concerning the Eucharist, Transubstantiation, the Sacrifice, and the Adoration of that Sacrament, the Invocation of Saints, and Temples and Monasteries. The last part contains six Articles of an Accusation against *Bucer*: He afterwards published some other Works, and among the rest, an Answer to, and a Discussion of all the Articles of the *Augsburg* Confession: A Refutation of *Calvin's* Censure of the Acts of the Council of *Trent* in 1549. with three Additions of Seditious against *Brunus's* Book: An History of the *Hussites* in 12 Books, printed at *Mentz* 1549. A Treatise of the monastick Vows against *Calvin*, in 1550. and some other Treatises. But the most considerable of all *Cochleus's* Books, is that which is intituled, *The Acts and Writings of Martin Luther*; which is an exact and faithful (g) Abridgment of all that ever he did and wrote in *Germany*, with relation to Controversies concerning Religion, from the first

beginning of these Controversies, to the Year 1546. This Work which crowned all the rest, was composed at *Ratisbonne*, and printed in 1549.

After *Cochleus* had struggled for so long a time against the *Lutherans*, he died at *Breslaw* in the Year 1552. being 73 years of Age. He wrote with Ease, but his Stile is very negligent: He understood the true State of the Questions in Controversy, and the Doctrine of the Church: He had also carefully read the Writings of *Luther* and the Protestants, and the other Hereticks of that Age; and he made use of them to good purpose, to convince them of Variation and Contradiction: He had studied the holy Scriptures, with relation to Controversy, and he had also some little Tincture of Ecclesiastical Antiquity: But he made it his business rather to confound and refute Hereticks, than solidly to confirm catholic Truths: He kept himself usually to general Principles, without examining particular Questions thoroughly. In his Treatises of Controversy there is a great Mixture of Politicks and personal Matters. He sometimes makes use of hard Words and bitter Invectives against *Luther* and the other Hereticks. As to his Opinions, he was a rigid Defender of the Doctrine and Customs of the Church; a declared Enemy to all Accommodations, by which any thing of Rigor was to be remitted as to those Points. He was no very learned Critick, yet he had some taste of Antiquity. He was neither so much esteemed by the Catholics, nor so much feared by the Hereticks as *Eckius*, yet it cannot be denied but he laboured with good Success for the Church; and we may believe that he is now rewarded for his continual and indefatigable Labours, for which he received no great Reward in this Life.

[(g) One can hardly think that is acquainted with *Cochleus's* Books, that *Du Pin* would ever call him an exact and faithful Historian of *Luther's* Actions or Writings. The Protestants of that time complained loudly against him as an impudent lying Declaimer, who cared not what he said, so he could but bespatter the Reformers, and the Doctrine which they taught. *Luther* at every turn observes his Words were constantly mis-

represented, and all the other Protestants of that time, and ever since have excepted against *Cochleus's* Evidence; as the Evidence of a common and profest Calumniator; so that considering our Author's Sincerity in other places, it is probable, that his Censors have interpolated this Article, and made him say what they pleased of this their great Champion.]

F R E D E R I C K N A U S E A.

Frederick Nausea.
W Frederick Nausea a German (*Blancicampianus*) after he had preached at *Mentz* with great Reputation, was called to the Emperor's Court at *Vienna*, there to perform the same Office; and in 1541. after the Death of *John Faber*, Bishop of *Vienna*, he was elected to be his Successor. He imitated his Predecessor in his Zeal for the defence of Religion against the Hereticks. He went to the Council of *Trent*, and died in that City, the 6th. of February 1552.

He published four Centuries of Homilies at *Mentz*, in 1534. Five Books of conciliary Matters at *Leipsick*, in 1538. Four Discourses concerning the Mass, against Hereticks at *Mentz*, in 1527. He wrote also four Books de consummatione seculi; and three Books de novissimo Christi adventu, which were printed at *Cologne* in 1555. And several other Discourses, which were collected together in the Edition of his Works printed by *Quintelius* at *Cologne*, in 1576. of which this is the Catalogue: ' An Exposition of the Books of *Tobit* and *Judith*. A Paraphrase on the Gospel of *St. Matthew*. An Exposition of the 12 Articles of the Creed. Postils and Homilies on all the Gospels of the Year. An Explication of the Decalogue. Of the Dignity of the Priesthood. Of Re-union in the Christian Religion. Of the Sacrament of the Eucharist. Of the Actions and the Martyrdom of the Saints. Of the Offices of the

' Church. A Censure and Solution of *Zuinglius's* Questions. Miscellanies concerning the canonical Hours. Miscellanies concerning the Mass. Of the Celibacy of the Priests. Of monastick Vows. Of the First-fruits due to the Priests. A Panegyrick on the blessed Virgin. Sermons on the Festivals of the blessed Virgin. An Apology for the Salutation of the Angel. A Discourse on these Words of Jesus Christ, Give unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's. Paraphrases on the 7th, 8th, and 19th. Psalms. Of Christian Marriage. A Discourse on the Lord's Prayer. Some Means for putting an end to the Dissensions about Religion. Of the End of the World. A Discourse on those Words, Blessed are they that weep. Of Antichrist. Of the last Judgment and the End of the World. Of the new Jerusalem. Of the Council of *Trent*. Of Wonders. Of mystical Offices against the Enemies of the Faith.

This Author's Works are fit for Instruction of the People, both as to Morality and Doctrine. He often enters upon Controversy. But he treats of controverted Points rather like a Preacher than a Doctor. He wrote also another curious Discourse concerning wonderful Things, printed at *Cologne* in 1532. with some Cuts in it. He there speaks of Monsters, Prodigious, Comets, and other extraordinary and surprising Apparitions. It is divided into six Books.

B O O K III.

Containing the History of the Council of Trent, and of the Things that passed in Europe relating to Religion, from the Calling of the Council to the End.

C H A P. I.

The Opening of the Council. The History of the four first Sessions.

THE Legates and fifteen or twenty Bishops had now for several Months waited at Trent with great Impatience, when P. Paul III. resolved at last to cause the Council to be opened upon the third Sunday in Advent, December 13. 1545. Mendoza, the Emperor's Ambassador, was returned to Venice, leaving the King of the Romans Ambassadors at Trent. The King of France had not yet sent any Ambassador, and besides had ordered the three French Bishops, who had come to Trent, to return home. The Legates however so managed the matter, that none went back but the Bishop of Rennes to acquaint the King; and the Archbishop of Aix and the Bishop of Agde staid at Trent. The Archbishop of Mentz was the only German Bishop that sent Proxies to the Council. So that the Assembly was as yet made up but of a very small number of Bishops, and almost all of them Italians or Spaniards.

The Legates having received the Pope's Orders, sent Dispatches to Rome to get a Bull to enjoin them to open the Council; and they demanded, that it should be drawn up in such Terms as might let the World know that it was not their fault that the Council was not opened sooner. And they added, that it was necessary, to preserve the Authority of the holy See, that it should be read and registred the first Session. The Pope dispatched this Bull, December 4. It was received at Trent the 11th, and the same Day the Legates ordered a Fast and a Procession for the Day following, and called a Congregation the same Day, to regulate the things that were to be done the first Session. The Pope allowed the Bishops of Germany to be there by their Proxies.

The Bull for opening the Council being read in the Congregation; a Bishop, F. Paul says of Astorga, and Palavicini of Jaen, proposed that it would be convenient to have the Bulls for calling the Council, and the Powers of the Legates, read. The other Prelates were pretty much of that Opinion: But the Legates did not think it convenient.

On the 13th. of December, the Legates and twenty five Bishops, cloathed in their pontifical Habits, accompanied with several Divines, the Clergy of the City, the Regulars, the Ambassadors of the King of the Romans, and a great Crowd of People, went in Procession from Trinity-Church to the Cathedral. The first Legate sung the Mass of the Holy Ghost; and Cornelius Muffus, Bishop of Bitonto, one of the most florid Preachers of his time, made a Discourse, for which he took his Text out of the Epistle for the Day, *Rejoyce in the Lord alway; again I say rejoyce: To which he joined these Words out of the sixth Chapter of the second Epistle to the Corinthians, Be-*

*hold, now is the accepted Time; behold, now is the Day of Salvation; and applied them to this Council thus assembled, which ought to be a Subject of Joy to all the Faithful. Then he spoke of the Authority of Councils, and said, that Heresies were Extirpated this way, Manners reformed, Nations reunited, Schisms extinguished, Crusades decreed, and even Kings deposed. He shew'd the necessity of a Council in the present Conjuncture, to support the Faith, and to reform corrupted Manners. He gave a Character of the Pope, the Emperor, the King of France, the King of the Romans, the King of Portugal, the Legates, and the Fathers of the Council; and concluded with exhorting all Nations to come to this Council. He had several Conceits in this Harangue; which were by no means agreeable to the Gravity of his Subject, or of the Assembly: As his Allusion of the Adverb *Papa* to the Noun *Papa*; his comparing Councils of Bishops to the Poet's feigned Councils of the Gods; and the Exhortation which he made to the Bishops and Doctors to shut themselves up in the Council, as in the Trojan Horse.*

When the Bishop of Bitonto had made an end of his Discourse, and the Prayers proper for those Ceremonies had been read, the Legates having taken their places, and the Fathers of the Council being sat, the Bull for calling the Council of May 22. 1542. and the Breve of the Deputation of the Legates was read. Alphonso Zerilla, Secretary to Mendoza the Imperial Ambassador, who was absent, presented to the Legates of the Council the Emperor's Mandate, wherein his Imperial Majesty demanded that the Council should begin with Reformation; and a Letter from that Prince, wherein he excused himself for not being at the opening of the Council. The Legates accepted his Excuse; and as to the Mandate, they said they had answered it already; and that the Council would consider what should be convenient to be done in that matter.

These Preliminaries being thus adjusted, the President of the Council demanded of the Assembly to order and declare, 'That the holy general Council of Trent do begin, and is begun, to the Glory of the Holy Trinity, the Encrease and Exaltation of the Faith and the Christian Religion, the Extirpation of Heresy, the Union of the Church, the Reformation of the Clergy and Christian People, and the Depression and Extinguishing of the Enemies of the Christian Name.' The Prelates declared their Satisfaction by answering, *Placet*. Then the Legate ask'd, Whether they would be pleased, upon the account of the Christmas Festivals being so nigh, that the next Session should not be held till the Day after Epiphany, January 7. 1546? They answered

answered, that they were pleased. *Hercules Severollus*, *Promotor* of the Council (a), ordered the Notaries to make a publick Act of it. After that, *Te Deum* was sung, and the Legates having quitted their pontifical Habits, returned to their Palace, accompanied by the Fathers of the Council, and preceded by the Cross. The same Ceremonies were observed in the following Sessions.

The Legates wrote immediately to the Pope, to acquaint him with the opening of the Council, and to know how they should conduct themselves in the following Sessions. They prayed his Holiness to send them necessary Instructions, especially concerning the form of proceeding, of proposing and resolving things in Council; to let them know whether they should begin with Heresies in general, or with particular ones; whether Doctrine or Persons should be condemned, or both; if the Prelates should propose any point of Reformation, whether it should be treated of at the same time with any point of Doctrine, or before or after; whether the Council should acquaint the Princes with its being begun, and invite Prelates, and exhort the Faithful to pray God for its happy progress, or whether the Pope should do it; in what form the Council should write; what Seal they should use; how they should entitle their Decrees; what Sense they should declare to have of the Colloquy which the Emperor had called at *Ratisbonne*; whether they should go on fast or slow, as well in proposing Matters as in determining Sessions. They acquainted the Pope, that some Prelates might propose to give their Opinions by Nations, and others might raise a Dispute upon the Authority of the Council and the Pope: And lastly, they desired that the Precedency of Ambassadors might be decided, and the Officers of the Council nominated.

The Pope having received the Legates Letter, settled a Congregation of Cardinals and Officers of the Court of *Rome* immediately, to have the Direction of Affairs belonging to the Council; and answered the Legates, that points of Doctrine must be begun with, what demand soever should be made to the contrary; and Reformation not treated of till matters of Doctrine were dispatched; that it was convenient to condemn Errors only, without mentioning their Authors; that the Council ought to proscribe, not only Heresies in general, but also particular Propositions; that the Council had nothing to do to write to Princes, nor to invite Prelates, nor to demand the Prayers of the People; the Bull of Convocation, and the Jubilee which he had proclaimed, being instead of that Invitation; that in the Letters written in the Name of the Council, the Names of the three Legates as Presidents should be subscribed, and they should be sealed with their three Seals, or with that of the principal Legate; that the Decrees should begin with this Form, *The holy, œcumenical and general Council of Trent, the Legates of the holy See presiding there*; that they might use what celerity they pleased, as long as they had not contrary Orders; that voting by Nations must not be suffered, it being what was never practised but in the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*; Patterns by no means to be followed; that they had nothing to do, but to observe the Orders laid down in the last Council of the *Lateran*, whose Example would stop the Mouths of those that should propose others: For their other Questions he would answer them when there should be occasion, and in the mean time they might keep to these Preliminaries; that they must take care to support the Presidency with Dignity, and take all possible care to discontent no Man; but above all they must be watchful that the Prelates go not beyond the bounds of a becoming

Liberty, and not lose the Respect they owe to the holy See: That since there were several that could not subsist there at their own Expence, he had dispatched a Breve to exempt all the Bishops of the Council from paying Tenths, and to allow them all the Profits and Emoluments that they could have had, had they resided upon their Dioceses. The Pope nominated the Officers of the Council at the same time: *Achilles Grassius* of *Bononia* to be Advocate of the Council; *Hugo Boncompagnus*, Abbreviator of the Chancery; and *Martus Antonius Flaminus*, Secretary. *Flaminus* having refused that Employment; and some Prelates having complained that the Pope took from the Council the Right of chusing their Officers, the Legate told them, that the Pope only proposed to them fit Persons, and left the Council liberty to chuse their Secretary. *Priuli* was chosen in the place of *Flaminus*; but he also refusing to accept it, *Angelo Massarelli*, a Domestick of Cardinal *Cervinus's*, who had been appointed to be an Assistant to *Flaminus*, performed the Office.

Though this Answer came not to *Trent* till *January 5. 1546.* yet the Legates held two Congregations in the mean time. the first was held *December 18.* There Orders were made concerning the Conduct of the Bishops that were at the Council, and of their Domesticks; and *Pighinus*, Auditor of the *Rota*, was nominated to determine such Differences as might arise between the Members of the Council, which were not thought proper to be submitted to the Jurisdiction of the President of the City of *Trent*, who was a Lay-Magistrate. The Pope and his Ministers were charged with the Expences of the Council; and the Choice of a Nobleman to guard the Council, was left to the Cardinal of *Trent*.

The *French* Bishops demanded in this Congregation, what they had demanded already of the Legates in particular; namely, that nothing should be debated till the Ambassadors and Prelates, whom the *French* King was to send to the Council, were arrived; representing that it was not their fault if they were not come to *Trent* by this time, because the opening of the Council had been so often fixed to no purpose, that they believed the same thing would be done this last time, as had been done before. They were asked, when they thought those Prelates might arrive: They answered, they could not set a time, because of the length of the Journey, and the different Accidents they might meet with. And they were told, it should be considered in the next Congregation.

Jerome Oleaster, a *Dominican* Friar, a Man of admirable Worth, presented Letters from the King of *Portugal*, and demanded to be received in the Quality of Ambassador to that Prince, who had appointed him and two other Friars of the same Order, who were upon the Road, to act in the Council in his Name, till the Ambassador whom he had named should come. The King of *Portugal's* Letters were read; and since they did not give the Quality of Ambassador to *Oleaster*, nor to his Companions, the Congregation told him, they could not give him the Rank he demanded, but that they would have great regard to him in Consideration of the King of *Portugal*.

In the Congregation which was held *December 22.* the *French* Bishops were told, that the Council should always have all possible Regard for his Most Christian Majesty; but that the Honour of God, and the Interest of the Church, would not suffer them to put off the continuing the Council which was already begun.

[a] *What* Mons. *Du Pin* calls *Promotor*, which is the Canon-law Word, Sir *Nathaniel Brent* in his Translation of *F. Paul's History of the Council of Trent*, calls *Speaker*; and that *English* Word does not ill express it; the Of-

fice of *Speaker* in our House of Commons comes nearer to the Notion of a *President*; though the Legates who presided in this Council had Powers of a very different Nature.

The History of the Council of Trent.
Propositions made in the Congregation.
Three things were proposed in this Congregation: What Order should be observed in examining Matters of Doctrine and Matters of Reformation? Whether Abbots ought to have a deliberative Voice? And whether Votes should be taken by Persons, or by Nations? The Legates, who expected an Answer from Rome upon these Heads, said, that these things ought to be examined one by one; that they might be more maturely debated the next Congregation.

Contests about the Votes of Abbots and Generals of Orders.
The Legates having received the Pope's Letter, called a Congregation, January 5. 1546. in which they read the Breve, which exempted the Prelates that were at Trent from paying Tenths. Then it was proposed, whether Generals of Orders and Abbots should have a deliberative Voice? The Legates were of Opinion, that before they decided that Question, the Assembly should be more numerous and that in the mean time they should enjoy their right of Voting in consideration of their Learning. Several Bishops opposed this Opinion. Peter Pateto, Bishop of Jaen, newly made a Cardinal, said, the Bishops had no Design to exclude the Generals of Orders, but only the Abbots whose number was so great, that they would make themselves Masters of every Question. This Expedient was agreed to. But then there arose another Dispute concerning the three Abbots of the Congregation of Mont-Cassin, whom the Pope had sent to the Council. Cardinal Cervinus would have them be admitted to give their Votes, and assist at the Council, sitting with their Cross and Miter. Nacclantus, Bishop of Chiozza, opposed it, because it would break in upon the Regulation already made, and because it belonged only to the Bishops to carry a Cross and Miter. Cervinus answered him, that since the Pope had allowed Abbots a right to carry a Cross and Miter, they ought not to be deprived of it. The Bishop of Chiozza replied, that these Privileges took away from the Bishops their Prerogatives; and that Councils were called to restrain these Concessions of Popes, and not to extend them. Cervinus being in a Heat, said, the Pope calls them, and shall we exclude them? This gave occasion to a Dispute between Campegius Bishop of Feltri, and Didaco Alaba Bishop of Astorga, concerning the Abbots who were mentioned in the Bull. At last, Cardinal Del Monte, to put an end to these Disputes, proposed, that the Votes of those three Abbots should go but for one, when they were of the same Opinion: And this put an end to that Business. Then they were upon the Point of granting the same Favour to Dominico Soto, a Dominican, who was sent by the Vicar-General of his Order to take his Place in the Council; but Cardinal Cervinus opposed it; tho' the Pope had granted the Bishops of Germany Powers in a Bull to give their Votes by Proxy in the Council: Yet the Legates did not think it advisable to produce this Regulation, and would not suffer any Proxies to have a Deliberative Voice in the Council. There was besides some Contest about the Habits in which the Abbots should assist in the Council: Cardinal Cervinus declared, they should sit with their Cross and Miter, and give their Opinions there, to which the Fathers of the Council might pay what Deference they pleased.

Dispute about the Title of the Council.
Then another Dispute arose, which was often renewed in the Council: Cardinal del Monte proposed to publish the Regulation, which was made concerning the Conduct, which the Members of the Council were to observe. In that Decree the Council was only called *Sacred and Holy*; the French Bishops demanded that these Words might be added, *Representing the Universal Church*: Several other Prelates were of the same Opinion. Baccius Marcellus, Bishop of Fiesoli, said, that though the Council of Trent was not composed of so great a Number of Prelates as those of Constance and Basil, who had taken that Title, yet however it had the same Reputation and Authority. Augustine Bonucio, General of the

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Servites, said, that these Words, *Representing the Universal Church*, were new, and not used in former Councils, and consequently ought not to be used. Pighinus, Auditor of the Rota, was of the same Opinion; and added, that the Terms, *Oecumenical and General Council* were equivalent, whereas the others might cause Trouble. Cardinal del Monte having commended these two Opinions, said, he thought these Terms ought to be suppressed, lest the Lutherans should be provoked; that the Example of the Council of Basil was not to be urged, because that Council degenerated into a Schismatical Assembly; and the Council of Constance had a particular Reason to assume that Title, because their Business being to extinguish a Schism, which had for a long time divided the whole Church, they were bound to declare, that the Catholick Church was represented entire by a General Council, which was to reunite it by its Decrees. The other Legates were of the same Opinion, as well as the Cardinal of Trent. The Bishops seemed to be pacified; but they soon renewed their Instances: However the Legates kept firm, and wrote to the Pope, that they would not suffer the Council to assume that Title, because of the Clause which was added in the Councils of Constance and Basil, *that the Council holds its Power immediately from Jesus Christ; and that all Christians, of what Condition and Dignity soever, even Popes themselves, are obliged to obey it*. The Pope thanked them for thus defending the Interest of the Court of Rome; and the Title continued as it was.

John Salazar, a Spaniard, Bishop of Lanciano in the Kingdom of Naples, in maintaining the Opinion of the Legates, remonstrated, that the Titles used in ancient Councils, so worthy to be imitated, were simple; and he added, that he was of opinion, that even the Presidents ought not to be named in this, since none of the ancient Councils had ever done it; that the Council of Constance was the first that ever named them; but if their Example were to be followed, then the Emperor's Ambassador ought to be named, since the King of the Romans and the Princes that were at Constance were then named. Cardinal del Monte replied immediately, that Councils spoke differently according to the times; that in former times the Pope had always been acknowledged to be the Head of the Church, and none but the Germans had ever desired a Council independent upon the Pope; that they ought to oppose this heretical Rashness, and demonstrate that they were united with the Pope, their Head, by naming of his Legates.

Demand of the French Bishops, that the King of France might be named in that Place where they were to pray for the Pope, the Emperor, and all Kings.
The French Bishops demanded, that the King of France might be named in that Place where they were to pray for the Pope, the Emperor, and all Kings: Cardinal Cervinus did not oppose it; but he said, that then other Kings must be named, according to their Rank; which would cause a Disturbance, because of their Precedence. The French replied, that in the Bull of Convocation the Pope named only the Emperor and the King of France; and consequently either both must be named, or both omitted. The Legates said, they would consider of it, and give every one Satisfaction.

As for their Manner of giving their Opinions in Council, Cardinal del Monte said, he believed it would be convenient to follow the Order that was observed in the last Council of the Lateran, where he assisted as Archbishop of Siponto; that in that Council there were three Committees settled, in which different Matters were treated of; that when things had been examined there, they were referred to a General Congregation, in which every one gave his Opinion; that what was resolved in a General Congregation, was afterwards carried to the Council to form a Decree, by which means the Sessions were managed with entire Concord; that since there would be much more Business in this Council than was in that of the Lateran, there was a Necessity

The History of the Council of Trent. necessity to divide their Businesses, and to settle a Congregation for every sort, and to name Persons to draw up their Decrees, upon which every Man should give his Opinion in general Congregations, where the Legates should only propose Matters, contenting themselves with voting in the Sessions, that every Man might be left to his Liberty; that this they ought to labour after, in order to begin in earnest after the next Session.

Session II.

The second Session of the Council was held Jan. 7. The Prelates, clothed in their ordinary Habits, met at the principal Legate's House, from whence they went to the cathedral Church, with a Cross before them, passing between 300 Foot, armed with Pikes, and some with Muskets, drawn up in Ranks on both sides of the Street, with some Horse. When the Fathers were in the Church, the Soldiers discharged their Guns in the Piazza, and staid there to guard the Fathers whilst they sat. Besides the Legates and the Cardinal of Trent, there were four Archbishops in the Council, two of which had the Title only, having never seen their Churches; namely *Olaus Magnus*, Archbishop of *Upsal* in *Sweden*, and *Robert Wanchop*, a *Scotchman*, Archbishop of *Armagh*, 28 Bishops, 3 Abbots of the Congregation of *Mont-Cassin*, 4 Generals of Orders, and 35 Doctors that stood; the Ambassador of the King of the *Romans*, and the Poctor of the Cardinal of *Augsburg*, assisted there, with 17 Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood of *Trent*, who were invited thither by the Cardinal of *Trent*; and these were seated upon the Ambassador's Bench. *John Fomesca*, Bishop of *Castel-a-Mar*, sung Mass, and *Coriolanus Martyranus*, Bishop of *St. Mark*, made a Sermon upon the Corruption of Manners, and the calamitous Estate of Religion. After Mass and the usual Prayers were over, and the Fathers were sat, *Angelo Massarelli*, who performed the Office of Secretary to the Council, read an Exhortation of the Legates to the Fathers of the Council, composed by Cardinal *Pole*, wherein they represented what the Council had to do, and exhorted all the Prelates to implore Help from Heaven, to repent, and to reform their Manners, whose Irregularity had been the Original and the Cause of all their Evils; and to have nothing in their View but the Glory of God. The Bishops also, who were sent by the Princes, were admonished to serve them with also possible Fidelity and Diligence, but so as to remember that they were Servants of God, and that the first Services they were to pay were due to *Jesus Christ*.

Regulation concerning Manners.

After that, the Bishop of *Castel-a-Mar* read the Bull for the opening the Council, and that wherein they refused to admit the Suffrages of the Proxies of the absent Bishops. When these were read, the same Bishop recited the Regulation which the Assembly made concerning the Conduct which the Members of the Council ought to observe, which was drawn up in these Terms: 'The Holy Council of *Trent*, lawfully assembled in the Name of the Holy Ghost, the Legates of the Holy See presiding there, being persuaded with the Apostle *St. James*, that every good, and every perfect Gift comes down from Heaven, and descends from the Father of Lights, who communicates his Wisdom bountifully to those that ask it; exhorts all the Faithful that are at *Trent* to correct their Faults, to walk in the Fear of God, not to fulfil the Desires of the Flesh, to pray without ceasing, to confess often, to receive the Sacrament of the *Eucharist*, to frequent Churches, to fulfil the Commandments of God, and daily to desire of God Peace among Christian Princes, and Unity in the Church. It exhorts also the Bishops and Priests, that assist at the Council, continually to offer up their Vows and Prayers to the Lord, to celebrate Mass at least every Sunday, to pray for the Pope, the Emperor, Kings, and all that are in Authority, and in gene-

ral for all Men; to Fast every Friday, and to give Almst to the Poor. It ordains, that every Thursday a Mass of the Holy Ghost shall be said in the Cathedral Church with Litanies and Prayers; and Litanies in other Churches. It forbids all Discouraging during the Celebration of the Holy Office: It admonisheth Bishops to lead a spotless Life, to observe Sobriety in their Tables, to cause the Scriptures to be read there, and to keep their Families in Order: It exhorts all the Members of the Council, and those principally who are conversant in the Scriptures, to consider seriously upon the Means how to dissipate Darkness, condemn Errors, and confirm the Truth: It renews the Regulation of the Council of *Toledo*, concerning that Modesty and Meekness which Bishops ought to observe when they deliver their Opinions: And, in the last place, it declares, that if any Man should sit and vote out of his place, it should not prejudice the Right of others.

When this Decree was read, their Opinions were asked. *William Du Prat*, Bishop of *Clermont*, demanded, that the King of *France's* Name might be inserted: He was answer'd, that they followed the Form of Prayer that is used upon *Good-Friday*, in which the Emperor and Kings are only mentioned. Some Bishops of *France*, *Italy*, and *Spain*, demanded that the Title *Representing the Universal Church* might be added, which was not allowed. The Decree was approved; and, by common Consent, the next Session was appointed upon the 4th. of February.

There was no Congregation till Jan. 13. The Legates complained in the Congregation, which was held that day, of those who declared the last Session, that they did not approve of the Title of the Council, unless the Words *Representing the Universal Church* were added; saying, it was not convenient to suffer this Variety of Opinions to appear in publick Sessions; that Congregations were appointed, that every Man might have the Liberty to declare his Opinion in a secret place; but that in Sessions every Man ought to be of the same Mind, that no Occasion might be given to the Hereticks to take Advantage; nothing being more capable to bring them back, and to confirm the Catholics, than this Union of the Fathers of the Council: That no Title was more proper for the Council than that of *Oecumenical* and *Universal*, which the Pope had given it in his Bull: That the Words *Representing the Universal Church*, according to the Explication which is commonly given them, are included in the other. Then this Article was farther debated: Cardinal *Paceco* said, the Council might have an infinite Number of Titles; but there was no need it should assume any whilst it was only adjusting the Preliminaries. The Bishop of *Feltri* observed, that if the Council took the Title of *Representers of the Universal Church*, the Church being made up of Ecclesiasticks and Seculars, it would give occasion to the Protestants to believe that the Laity were excluded. The Bishop of *St. Mark* said, that Laymen could not be called the Church, and consequently, that the Council might assume the Title of *Representers of the Universal Church*. Those that desired this Addition persisted in their Opinions; and their Judgments being thus divided, *Jerome Seripandi*, General of the *Augustinians*, proposed an Expedient, which was this, that the Question was not, Whether the Title should absolutely be excluded? But only, Whether it was not convenient that they should defer giving it to the Council, till it was more numerous, and till they should publish Decrees, which should deserve to have that Title in the Front? Most of the Bishops yielded to this Opinion; and it was resolved. That *Oecumenical* and *Universal* only should be added to the Title *Holy* and *Sacred* Council, which the Pope had given it already.

Some

Some of the Prelates now demanded, that they might come to something essential: The Legates, to content them, said, they must endeavour to do the three Things proposed in the Bull; to extirpate Heresie; to reform Ecclesiastical Discipline and Manners; and to re-establish Peace amongst Christian Princes: That the Fathers of the Council ought to pray to God to inspire them what Method they ought to take in giving their Opinions in the next Congregation. The Archbishop of *Aix*, and the Bishops of *Feltri* and *Astorga*, were nominated in the mean time to examine the Powers and Excuses of the absent, and to make their Report to the Congregation.

Upon the 18th. of *January* there was a Congregation held, in which it was debated what Order should be observed in the Matters to be treated of in the Council; whether they should begin with Reformation of Discipline, or with Decision of Doctrine? or whether both should be treated of at the same Time? There were four Opinions. The first was to begin with Dogmes: This was the Opinion of a few Confidents of the Legates, who alledged for their Reasons, that Faith being the Foundation of Religion, they ought to begin with that; and the Church being like a City besieged by its Enemies, they were the first to be repelled, by condemning Heresies, before they thought of making Regulations for their own Citizens. That it was the Usage of ancient Councils, to begin with defining Dogmes before they made Canons concerning Discipline: That it was to be feared, if they laboured after the Reformation of Discipline, they would correct some Abuses of the Court of *Rome*, and then this would renew the ancient Differences that were between the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil* and the Pope: That in short, the Faith was of the greatest Importance: That it was a greater Sin to err in Faith, than to fail in Manners; and that the Church had no more to fear from Heresies than from corrupt Manners. The Cardinal of *Jaen*, the Archbishop of *Aix*, and the Bishop of *Bitonto*, were of this Opinion.

The second Opinion was that of the Cardinal of *Trent*, and of the generality of the *Imperialists*, who on the other side demanded, that they should begin with Reformation, saying, that Dogmes could not be touched to any purpose, till the Abuses which had given occasion to Heresies were reformed; that the *Germans* had often desired this Reformation, and therefore ought to be satisfied in this Point, if the Council expected that they should own them; that if they began with defining Dogmes, they would provoke Mens Minds, and alienate the Hereticks farther, and make the Re-union more difficult.

Thomas Campegius, Bishop of *Feltri*, opened the third Opinion; which was, to treat of Doctrine and Reformation at once, since those two things could seldom be separated, there being no Point of Doctrine to which there was not some Abuse annexed, nor any Abuse which did not draw after it a wrong Interpretation of some Point of Doctrine; besides, that by this means the World would be satisfied, and the Council shortened.

The last Opinion was proposed by the *Frenchmen*: They were for labouring for Peace in the first place, and for having the Council write to the Emperor, King of *France*, and other Princes to that purpose; for thanking them for calling the Council, and exhorting them to send the Bishops of their Dominions, and Ambassadors; and for inviting the *Lutherans*, and making Publick Prayers for Peace, and for the Success of the Council.

The Legates having heard these Opinions, commended the Prudence of the Fathers, and said, that it being now late, and the Importance of the Matter requiring time, they would consider at leisure upon all that had been said, and would propose the

Points in Question to the next Congregation. And it was ordered, that there should be two Congregations every Week, on *Monday's* and *Friday's* without any farther Intimation.

In the next Congregation, which was held *January* 22. Cardinal *del Monte* said, that since in the preceding Congregation it had been debated, Whether Reformation and Doctrine should be treated of at the same time? the Question now was, what the Fathers Opinion was concerning it, that a Decree might be made about it next Session. The Cardinal of *Trent*, to whom the Interests of *Germany* were recommended, was for beginning with Reformation. Cardinal *del Monte* perceiving that the Eloquence of his Discourse, and the Weight of the Speaker, made some Impression upon the Minds of the Fathers; as soon as ever the Cardinal of *Trent* had done speaking, said, that he thanked God for the Sentiments with which he had inspired the Cardinal of *Trent*; Sentiments truly Worthy of a great Prelate; that he believed they ought to begin with reforming themselves; that as he was first, he offered to give the first Exmple to others, by laying down his Bishoprick of *Pavia*, by taking away his stately Furniture, and by retrenching the number of his Domesticks; that he did not question, but if the other Fathers of the Council would follow his Example, this would very much contribute to bring other Christians to Reformation; that in the mean time they ought not to defer the handling of Doctrinal Matters, nor to suffer the People to continue much longer in the Darkness of Error; and that to undertake to reform all Christian Nations was a long and a tedious Work; that the Court of *Rome*, against which they cried out so much, was not the only place in which there were Abuses to be reformed; that there were some equally great in all other Countries; and that those at *Rome* were only complained of, because they were observed with more Rigor and Malignity. The Cardinal of *Trent* perceiving that his Wealth and State was obliquely toucht at, said, that it was not his Design to tax, or to offend any Man; that he well knew there were some Prelates who could better govern two Bishopricks, than others could manage one; that he offered to lay down his Bishoprick of *Brescia*; that last of all it was not a particular Reformation which they were to labour after, but a general one. Cardinal *Cervinus* then remonstrated the necessity of treating of Articles of Faith. *Poole* and *Paceco* also seconded his Opinion. At last the Fathers of the Council resolved to treat of Faith and Reformation together; upon the Remonstrance of some, who said that the Emperor in the last Diet at *Worms* declared, that they ought to see what Progress the Council would make in examining Doctrine, and in Reformation; and that in case nothing was done, he would call another Diet to supply that Default.

It was resolved afterwards to write to the Pope, to thank him for calling and opening the Council, and to desire him to exhort Christian Princes to send their Ambassadors to it. It was also ordered, that the Council should write conformably to this to the Emperor, the King of *France*, and the King of the *Romans*. And the Bishop of *St. Mark* was ordered to draw up Letters to be read in the next Congregation.

When this Congregation was up, the Legates wrote to Cardinal *Farnese*: They told him, that that Day they had had a severe Battle, the Success of which had been very Glorious to the Holy See, notwithstanding the Efforts of those who would have had them treat of Reformation before they had debated about the Articles of Faith, since they had made them consent to treat of Faith and Reformation at the same time, not being able to obtain that Faith should at first have been solely treated of,

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though it was earnestly demanded. The Legates who expected to receive nothing but Commendations for what they had done, were exceedingly surprized when they received the Popes Letters, in which he signified, that he was very Angry that they had consented that Reformation should be treated of; and commanded them to execute the first Orders that he had given them, not to suffer any Matter to be treated of in the Council but those of Faith, notwithstanding the Resolution that had been taken in the Congregation.

This Answer of the Pope's threw the Legates into a great Consternation; well perceiving that if they executed his Holiness's Order, by retracting the Word which they had given, they should become the Laughing-stock of Mankind, and the Assembly would lose all their Credit. They wrote therefore to Cardinal *Farnese*, that they should have exposed the Pope's Authority, if they had absolutely refused to suffer the Council to treat of Reformation; that it passed as it did against their Wills; that it was for the Honour of the Holy See to let the World see that it did not oppose Reformation; that this would stop the Mouths of Hereticks, and of all those who said the Court of *Rome* was afraid of it; that hereby they had a right to hinder the Emperor from attempting any thing upon this Head; that they had it always in their Power to propose nothing but what they had a mind to, and to put off those Articles to another time, which they should not think proper to be debated in the Council; and last of all, that to testify their Submission to the Pope's Orders, they would defer the Publication of this Decree to another Session, or else they would put off this next Session, that they might have time to receive the Pope's Answer. Cardinal *Farnese's* Answer put the Legates out of their pain: He let them know, that the Pope having considered that they could not revoke the Decree that was once fixed, without striking at their own Authority and Credit, was contented that they should make no Alterations in the Decree; but that his Holiness wish'd they would defer its Publication as long as they could, and wait for his Orders concerning the Form in which he would have it drawn up.

The Congregation of *January 20.* was employed in reading the Letters written to the Pope and the Princes, which occasioned Disputes about the Titles which were to be given to Princes in them, about the Order in which they were to be read, and last of all, about the Seal that was to be affixed to them. Some would have them sealed with a great Leaden Seal, in which the Holy Ghost might be represented in the Form of a Dove, with the Council's Name. Others would have them sealed by all the Bishops with their several Seals. And the Legates declared, that it would be more convenient to have them dispatched with the bare Seals of the Legates. These Disputes hinder'd the Letters being sent in the Council's Name to the Emperor, and the Christian Princes.

That Resolutions might pass the more easily in the General Congregations, the Legates propos'd to appoint three particular Congregations, compos'd of all the Prelates that were at *Trent*, which should be held at the three Legates Houses, where those Propositions might be examined, that should afterwards be carried to a General Congregation. *Palavicini* says, they gained three Advantages by this Method. First, *The Multitude thus divided into three Streams was more easily managed, than if it could have swelled like a great River.* Secondly, *Intrigues and Cabals were by this means broken.* Thirdly, *Bold and Enterprizing Prelates were hindered from leading the Assembly by their Eloquence, and their Vehemence, to take any pernicious Resolution.*

These particular Assemblies began *February 2.* in the Legates Palace: It was there propos'd, Whether the Decree wherein it was resolv'd that Matters of Faith and Reformation should be treated of, should be published next Session; and whether they should begin to draw it up? The Legates represent'd, that some Prelates desired that Matters relating to Faith and Religion might be deferred, because several Bishops out of *Germany*, *Spain* and *Italy*, the Ambassadors of the King of *France*, and the Bishop of *Padua*, Envoy to King *Ferdinand*, were expected. The Opinion which prevail'd in the three Congregations was, that the Creed should be recited the next Session: That past afterwards in the general Congregation without much Opposition; only the Bishops of *Bitonto* and *Chiozza* remonstrated, that it was to very little purpose to take up a Session in reciting a Symbol, which contained Truths that were not attack'd.

February 4. the day of the third Session the Fathers went to the Church, where *Peter Tagliavia*, Archbishop of *Palermo*, sang Mass; and *Ambrosius Catharinus*, a *Jacobin* of *Sienna*, made a Discourse, in which he represent'd that the Pope, as Vicar of Jesus Christ, was Head of the Church; so that those who did not submit to the Pope, who is the Head, could not be Members of the Body, which is the Church. Then he admonish'd the Fathers of the Council, not to trust too much in their own Strength, as *St. Peter* did, who dared to say to Jesus Christ, *Lord, I am ready to go with thee to Prison, or to Death;* and yet denied his Master at the Voice of two Maid-servants. That they ought to apprehend a like Fall, because we have two Maid-servants, who are capable of causing us to deny Jesus Christ, namely our own Flesh and Ambition: The first, which is always contrary to the Spirit, drags us into Pleasures, and thereby gives occasion to new Heresies to spread themselves: The second, which seeks for nothing but Dominion, brings forth Heresies, and then nurses them. Then he gave the Fathers warning to beware that the Powers did not make them forget Jesus Christ, and that for this intent they should remember the Council of *Ariminum*, and some others, and look upon Jesus Christ in the midst of them as the only Potentate, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. And therefore if any Prince should pretend to subdue the Council, and make it serve his own Interest, they should have him in detestation, and look upon him as a Man that sins not against Man, but against the Holy Ghost. He concludes at last with exhorting the Fathers, that since they have endured the Pains of Travail for Jesus Christ, they would present him quite formed to himself, that he might receive himself in his own Arms like another *Simeon*, and might say, *Now, Lord, it is that you will let me die in Peace (b).*

The Archbishop of *Saffari* read the Decree of the Creed, containing, 'That the holy, œcumenical, and general Council of *Trent* having considered the Importance of what they had to do, namely, the Extirpation of Heresies, and the Reformation of Manners, which are the two Causes for which principally it is called, and exhorts all the Fathers in particular to put their confidence in God, and to cloath themselves with spiritual Arms; and that it might begin this Work happily, it resolves to prefix the Profession of our Faith before all that it is to do; imitating herein the Fathers of the ancient Councils, which used to oppose this Buckler to all Heresies, whereby they often brought Infidels to the Faith, vanquished Heresies, and confirmed the Faithful in sound Doctrine: That it was with this View, that this Council thought it convenient to recite the Symbol which the Church of *Rome*

[(b) To a Man that believes Transubstantiation, as all did, or pretended to do in the Council of *Trent*, such Eloquence as this may pass: To any other Man it will appear very extravagant.]

ses, as it is recited in all Churches, as being the only solid Foundation, against which the Gates of Hell shall never prevail.

After this Decree was read, the *Nicene Creed* was repeated, and inserted into the Acts of the Council.

The Fathers were asked their Opinions of this Decree. All accepted it as it was, except three, who gave in a Paper containing their Demands, which they would not propose *viva voce*, for fear of raising a Dispute. The Bishop of *Fiesole* demanded, that the Words, *Representing the universal Church*, should be prefixed to this, and all future Decrees: And the Bishops of *Cappaccio* (c) and *Badajos* set down in their Papers, that they consented the Words, *Representing the universal Church*, should be omitted in this Decree, upon condition they should be inserted in those that were to come.

This Session was concluded with the reading of another Decree, which assigned the next Session to the 8th. of April; alledging this Reason, that several Prelates were just a coming, and some were already upon the Road in their way to *Trent*, and that their Deliberations would be more esteemed if they were authorized by a greater Number of Prelates; and that in the mean time they should not fail to labour after the Discussion, and the Examination of those things which the Council should judge expedient.

The 8th. of February, Cardinal *del Monte* held a Congregation, wherein he desired the Fathers of the Council to remember the Prayer he had formerly made to them, not to give their Opinions anew in the Sessions upon the Decrees that were published there; since those Decrees having been past in the Congregations by plurality of Voices, this served only, as he had formerly told them, to give the Hereticks an occasion of talking, when they should see that the Decrees that were published in the Sessions were contradicted by the Fathers of the Council themselves.

Then he told them, that he thought the Decree which had been made to treat of Doctrine and Discipline together, might be suppressed; because he did not see that that was a Subject which deserved to have a Decree made on purpose for it, since the Pope had explained himself sufficiently upon that Subject in his Bull, when he intimated that the Council was called for the Extirpation of Heresies, and the Establishment of Discipline: Or at least they ought to add, to shew that the Council did nothing that was superfluous, that in order to have both Subjects treated of according to their Dignity, they ought to stay till the Prelates, who were upon the Road, were arrived at *Trent*; which he had already added to the Decree.

Didacus d' Alaba, Bishop of *Astorga*, told the Cardinal *del Monte*, that if he spoke, he did it not with a design to contradict him, but to know of him by what Authority he added any thing to a Decree after it had been determined in a Congregation; that he had had the honour to assist in several Tribunals in *Spain*, where the Emperor's Commissioners were present; that he had never seen any President take upon him to add any thing to what had been once concluded. Cardinal *del Monte* replied, that he had done nothing but what the Bishops might have done themselves, since the Decree was not yet published; and that before it was, he proposed to them what he thought might be added, in order to know their Opinions: But if any Man would know what was the Extent of his Authority, he could not explain it in few Words, because it was too great for him to do at that time, let him do what he could; that all that he could say upon that Subject, was, that when the Canonists speak of the Legates *a Latere*, they say that these may lawfully do whatsoever a Coun-

cil can do, and the Pope, from whom they have received their Authority.

After this Answer, Cardinal *del Monte* told the Congregation, that they must now consider what they must decree the next Session; that he thought they could do nothing better than to extract out of the *Lutherans* Writings, the Articles that were contrary to the orthodox Faith, in order to have them examined in the Committees by the Divines; upon whose Opinions Decrees might be formed to be presented to the general Congregations, in which the Fathers might give their Voices, and might determine what should be proper to be published in the Sessions. The whole Council agreed in this with Cardinal *del Monte*.

These four Propositions were taken out of *Luther's* Books.

I. *That the Christian Doctrine, which we ought necessarily to believe, is wholly contained in the holy Scriptures; and that 'tis a Fiction to add unwritten Traditions as left to the Church by Jesus Christ, and by his Apostles, and convey'd to us by the Bishops their Successors; and that it is sacrilegious to equal the Authority of these Traditions to that of the Old and New Testament.*

II. *That among the Books of the Old Testament, none ought to be received, but those which were owned by the Jews; and among the canonical Books of the New, we ought not to reckon the Epistle to the Hebrews, that of St. James, the second and third of St. John, that of St. Jude, and the Revelation.*

III. *That if we would understand the holy Scripture thoroughly, or quote its proper Words, we must recur to the original Text, and reject the Latin Translation as full of Errors.*

IV. *That the Scripture is very easy and very clear, and that there needs no Gloss nor Commentary to understand it, only the Spirit of the Flock of Jesus Christ.*

It was proposed at the same time, whether Canons with Anathema's should be drawn up against Errors?

These Propositions were examined in the Committees, in which two Prelates, one a Divine, and the other a Canonist, assisted to draw up the Decrees. The two first Propositions were debated in the four Assemblies held February 12, 15, 18, and 20. Upon the first all the Divines were agreed, that the Christian Doctrine was partly in the Scripture, and partly in Traditions, and several Passages out of the Fathers were quoted to prove it. But when they came to the manner how they should manage this Subject, their Opinions were different.

Vincentius Lunellus, a *Franciscan*, said, that since the holy Scripture and Tradition ought to be laid down as the Foundation of Faith, the Church ought first to be treated of, which is the principal Foundation of Scripture and Tradition, because the Scripture receives all its Authority from it, according to St. *Augustine's* Opinion; and because Tradition has no force but by the Authority of the Church, to which it belongs to determine what we ought to receive for Tradition. This Opinion was rejected; because it is certain, that by the Church the Ecclesiastical Order was always understood, or to speak more properly, a Council, and the Pope who is its Head: Whereas this would give the Hereticks an opportunity to believe that the Authority of the Council was still questioned, if the Church and its Authority should be the Subject of their Debates.

Antonius Marinarius a *Carmelite* said, that Traditions ought not to be spoken of; and that in order to determine the first Proposition, they ought first to determine, whether it were a Question of Fact or of Right? that is to say, whether the Christian Doctrine has two Parts, one, that which God command-

[(c) *Capaccio*, in Latin *Caput Aquinum*, is a small Town in the Kingdom of Naples, near the Gulph of Salerno, in the South Principality.]

ed to be written; and the other, that which he prohibited to be put in Writing, and commanded to be taught by word of Mouth? Or whether all the Doctrine being taught, one part was accidentally committed to Writing. He added, that it was manifest that under the old Covenant, God commanded the Faith to be written, and that he wrote it himself with his own Finger; but that under the New, Jesus Christ engraved the Evangelical Law in Mens Hearts, yet without forbidding it to be written; so that no Man can say, that the Apostles having preached and written as they were inspired by the Spirit of God, God forbid them to write any particular thing in order to keep it as a Myſtery. From whence it follows, that we are not to distinguish two sorts of Articles of Faith, some publish'd in Writing, and others taught only by word of Mouth: And if any one, says he, is of a contrary Opinion, he will have two great Difficulties to encounter: One is to determine wherein the difference of these Articles does consist: The other, how the Successors of the Apostles could put that in Writing which God forbid. To say that it was by Accident that some things were written, is to do God an Injury, who guided the Apostles Hands. Whence he concluded, that it was better to imitate the Fathers, who never mentioned Tradition, but upon urgent Necessity; and who also took great care not to equal it to the holy Scriptures; and so much the rather, because the Lutherans had not yet enlarged upon this Question, tho' they had said that they would have no other Judge but Scripture. This Advice was not followed; because thence it might be inferred that there was no such thing as Tradition.

Upon the second Proposition it was agreed, that they should compose a Catalogue of the canonical Books, according to the Example of the Council of *Laodicea* under *Innocent I.* and of the third Council of *Carthage* under *P. Gelasius*; in which all those Books which are read in the Church of *Rome* should be mark'd, as also those which the *Jews* do not admit. And here the Divines were divided into four Opinions.

1. Some would have two Lists made; one, of those Books that are universally received; the other, of those which have been formerly rejected or doubtful.

2. Others said, the Books ought to be divided into three Classes; one of which was to contain those which were always look'd upon as divine; another, those which tho' they were doubtful at first, yet Usage has made them canonical, such as the six Apostolical Epistles, the *Revelation*, and some Passages of the Gospels; and a third, those which were never put into the Canon, such as the seven in the Old Testament, and some Chapters in *Daniel* and *Ezra*.

3. Some again were of opinion, that no distinction ought to be made; but that the Canon of the Council of *Carthage* should be followed, wherein the Catalogue of the sacred Books was made without any Reflection.

4. The Opinion of the last was, that all should be equally declared canonical, in the same manner as they lie in the *Latin Bible*.

The general Congregation of *February 22.* unanimously concluded to receive all the Books contained in the *Latin Bible* for canonical. It was considered, that the greatest part of them had formerly been received in the Council in *Trullo*, and in that of *Laodicea*; that the third Council of *Carthage* had placed *Judith*, *Tobit*, and the *Revelation*, amongst the divine Books: and lastly, that the Council of *Florence* had received them all as sacred.

Some made Difficulties about the Book of *Baruch*, because it is not in the List of sacred Books, drawn up by the Council of *Carthage*; whereupon Cardinal *Cervinus* said, that that Council looked upon *Baruch* as Secretary to *Jeremiah*, and so comprehended him under that Prophet; and that the Church own-

ed that Book to be canonical by using it in its Offices for *Easter-Eve*, and the *Eve of Pentecost*.

It was also agreed in this Congregation, to declare Traditions to be of equal Authority with the Scripture.

But it not being agreed in what Form the Catalogue of the Books of Scripture should be drawn up, there being three Opinions about it: The first, not to specify the Books: The second, to divide them into three Classes: And the third, to put all these Books into one Class, and to make them all equal: It was moved, that three Minutes might be drawn, which should be examined in the next Congregation. That was a put off, because *Don Francisco de Toledo*, the Emperor's second Ambassador at the Council, made his Entry into *Trent* that Day in which it was to have been held.

Accordingly the general Congregation was not held till *March 15.* and the three Minutes which were proposed concerning the sacred Books, the last, which was to make a Catalogue of them all under the same Class, and to make them all equal, was carried by plurality of Voices.

Afterwards the third Proposition was debated in the Committees, which was, that if we would understand the Scripture well, or quote its genuine Words, we must recur to the original Text, and reject the *Latin Version* as full of Errors. In these Committees there were very great Disputes between the Doctors who understood *Greek* and *Latin*, and those who had no Knowledge of the Languages.

Alloysius Cantaneus said, that to decide this Question, nothing could be proposed better, or more convenient for the Seasons, than the Judgment of Cardinal *Cajetan*, who related, that when he was Legate in *Germany* in 1523, and sought how the Hereticks might be reduced and convinced, he found that the true Remedy was to understand the literal Text of the Scripture in the original Tongue, to which he wholly applied himself the last 11 Years of his Life, making use of very able Men to give him the Construction of the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Texts, word for word, which he did not understand; because to understand the *Latin Text*, was not to understand the Word of God, but the Word of the Translator, who might err: And that *St. Jerome* had reason to say, that to prophecy, and to write sacred Books was the Effect of the Holy Spirit; whereas to translate them, was the Work of a human Spirit. This Doctor added, that no Version could be approved without rejecting the Canon, *Ut veterum Dist. 9.* which commands Men to examine the Books of the Old Testament by the *Hebrew* Text, and those of the New by the *Greek*. That if the Council would correct any Version by the true Text, the Holy Ghost, which directs the Council in Matters of Faith, would hinder it from falling into Error, and that a Version so made might be called authentick; whereas, without that he durst not say, that it could approve any one, and be assured of the Assistance of the Holy Ghost. But this being too long a Work to be done in a Council, it was better to leave things as they had been for 1500 Years.

Most of the other Divines on the contrary said, that that Version which for so long time had been read in Churches and Schools, ought to be esteemed divine and authentick; that otherwise they should give up the Cause to the *Lutherans*, and open the way to a thousand Heresies; that the Doctrine of the *Roman Church*, which was the Mother and Mistress of all others, was almost wholly founded upon Passages in that Version: That if every one had the liberty to examine whether that Version be faithful, by examining what the *Greek* and *Hebrew* say, they would soon see Grammarians set themselves up for Judges of the Faith.

To these Reasons, which were received with applause, others added, that if God has given an authentick Scripture to the Synagogue, and an authentick

The History of the Council of Trent.

The History of the Council of Trent.

Questions concerning the Canon of the Sacred Books.

Questions about the Authority of the Text, and the Version of the Scripture.

Resolution concerning the Canon of the Holy Books, and concerning Traditions.

tick New Testament to the *Greeks*, it can't be said, without doing Injury to Justice, that the Church of *Rome*, his beloved, was deprived of so great a Benefit; that therefore we ought to believe that the same Spirit which dictated the Scripture, dictated the Version too, which was to serve the *Roman Church*.

Dom Isidorus Clarius, a learned *Benedictine*, said, the primitive Church had several *Greek Versions* of the Old Testament, which *Origen* put together into one Volume, where they were ranged under six Columns; that the principal of these Versions was that of the *LXX.* from which several *Latin Translations* were made; that several Translations were made of the *Greek New Testament*, one of which called the *Italic*, was read in the Church; that *St. Augustine* who valued it, yet owned nevertheless that the *Greek Text* was unquestionably to be preferred before it; that *St. Jerome* perceiving that the Version of the Old Testament did not give the true Sense of the *Hebrew*, because the *Greek Interpreter* and the *Latin Translator* were both mistaken, made his own upon the *Hebrew Text*, and corrected that of the New Testament, upon the *Greek*: That the Credit of that Father caused very many People to receive his Translation; but that those who were the most obstinately bent to maintain the ancient Errors, rejected it either for Envy, or thro' Hatred of Novelty; and that at last it was received by all the *Lazins*, and called the new Version. That *St. Gregory* declared the holy apostolick See made use of both Versions, but loved the new better, as being agreeable to the *Hebrew*; that in following times one was made out of them both, by mixing some of the old and some of the new together, which was called the *Vulgate* (*d*); that the *Psalms* however were of the old, because nothing could be changed in them, by reason of their being sung every day in the Church; that the minor Prophets are of the new Version, whereas in the major Prophets there is a Mixture of both; that it was very true, that all this happened by the permission of God; but yet for all that, it could not be said, that any thing more than human Knowledge was employed in making this Version: *St. Jerome* himself said, that no Interpreter ever spake by Inspiration; from whence *Clarius* concluded that no Version of the Bible could ever be equivalent to the Text, and that the *Vulgate* ought not to be preferred before all others, till it had been corrected by the original Text, with a Prohibition to make or use any others.

Andrew de Vega, a *Franciscan*, said, that it was true, according to *St. Jerome*, that an Interpreter has not the Spirit of Prophecy, nor any other Gift which makes him infallible; and that he was of opinion that Translations ought to be corrected by the original Texts: But yet this did not hinder the *Latin Church* from looking upon the *Vulgate* to be authentick, that is to say, that it contains nothing contrary to Faith and good Manners; tho' it be not in every thing conformable to the original Text, and that it has been used by ancient Councils; that the Learned in the mean time might have recourse to the Originals; but that to suppress this great number of contrary Versions, which produce nothing but Confusion, the *Vulgate* alone ought to be declared authentick.

In the Congregation of *March 27.* the Prelates agreed, that the *Vulgate* ought to be declared authentick, being touched with the Reasons which the Divines gave in the Congregations, and especially to hinder the introducing bad Versions; and to establish Uniformity in Lectures and Citations of the holy Scriptures.

Then they past to the Examination of the fourth Proposition, that the Scripture is very easy and very clear, and that there needs no Gloss or Commen-

tary to understand it, but only the Spirit of the Sheep of Jesus Christ. There were different Opinions in the Committees: Some looked upon it as a spiritual Tyranny to hinder the Faithful from exercising their Wits according to the Graces which God had given them, and to oblige them to abide by the sole Sense of the Fathers; that on the contrary, Men ought to be excited to the reading of the Scriptures, by the Pleasure of Novelty; that if they were debarred this Pleasure, they would forsake the Study of holy Books, to give themselves up to profane Learning, and so lose their Taste of holy Things; that this Variety of spiritual Gifts was the Perfection of the Church; that this Age ought not to be deprived of a Liberty which had produced so good Effects in all others; that tho' the School-men were agreed about the Sense of the Scripture, yet they had great Differences among themselves about the Facts of Religion; that it was better therefore to imitate the Ancients, who left the Interpretation of the Scripture wholly at liberty.

Others said, that popular Licence was a greater Mischief even than Tyranny; that too free Spirits ought to be kept in with a Bridle, without which we should never see an End of the present Disputes; that it was allow'd formerly to write upon the Bible, because they wanted Commentaries, and there was nothing to be feared from the Men of that time, who had quiet Minds, and lived holy Lives; that afterwards, when the School-men saw that the Scripture was sufficiently explained, they took another Method to treat of holy things; and that since Men took delight in disputing, it was thought adviseable to employ them in examining the Reasonings of *Aristotle*, whereby the Reverence was preserved to the Scripture that it deserved, whilst it was not suffered to be the Subject of the Studies and Disquisitions of the Curious.

Richard du Mans, a *Franciscan*, went farther and said, that the School-men had so well explained the Doctrines of Faith, that we need no longer learn them from the Scripture; that whereas formerly it was read in Churches to instruct the People, it was now read only as a Form of Prayer, to which purpose it ought solely to serve, and not to be studied, and that herein consisted that Reverence which every Man owes to the Word of God; that this Study ought at least to be forbidden to all that are not School-divines, because the *Lutherans* got ground upon none but those that studied the Bible. These Opinions had severally their Adherents.

Some said, that the Understanding of the Scriptures ought not to be attributed to the Fathers alone, whose Interpretations were for the most part allegorical; and besides, that those who interpreted them literally, spake according to the Manner of their own Times, and that their Expositions would not agree to ours; that according to *Cardinal Cusanus*, the Understanding of the Scripture ought to be accommodated to Times and Custom; and therefore one ought not to be amazed, if the Church expounded it one way in one time, and another way in another; that thus the last Council of the *Lateran* is to be understood, when it ordains that the Scripture shall be interpreted according to the Sense of the Fathers of the Church, and according to the Usage introduced by Time; and in short, that new Interpretations ought not to be rejected, unless they are contrary to the Sense commonly received.

Dominico Soto a *Jacobin*, distinguished Matters of Faith and Manners from other things; saying, that in Matters of Faith and Manners, it was very reasonable to restrain Mens Minds, but that in other things there was no Inconvenience in leaving to every Man a Liberty of Writing and Thinking, provided it be done without hurting Piety and Charity;

[(*d*) The English Roman-Catholicks do unanimously call the vulgar *Latin*, the *Vulgate*, from the *Latin Vulgata*; for which Reason that Word is retained.]

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that the Fathers never pretended to lay a necessity upon Men to follow them, but only in things that are necessary to be believed, and to be done; that when the Fathers explained some Texts of Scripture in their Decretals, they left Men a liberty to affix any other reasonable Sense to them; that without this Distinction we should run into Absurdities, because of the Contraries, and even Contradictions, which are found in the several Expositions of the Ancient Fathers.

This Resolution was carried with the Opinions of the Divines into the General Congregation, which was held April 1. where Cardinal Paceco said, that the Scripture had been explain'd by so many able Men, that it could not be hoped that anything better could be done; and that new Senses given to Scriptures had produced new Heresies. That the Licentiousness heretofore of the Spirits of this Age ought to be stop'd; and they ought to be reduced to the Government of the Ancient Doctors, and of the Church, or at least kept from troubling the World by publishing singular Opinions. This Advice was follow'd by most of the Fathers.

The Divines were not a little busied in disputing about the fifth Proposition, whether Canons ought to be formed with Anathema's against the preceding Propositions? because they thought it belong'd to the Council to make Statutes.

But the Prelates in the Congregation of April 1. could not tell what to resolve. To omit the Anathema entirely, was to suppress the Decree of Faith, and immediately to break the Order that was at first established to treat of Faith and Reformation together, and on the other side, to condemn every one that would not own the *Vulgar-Latin*, in every particular and perhaps inconsiderable Passage, as an Heretick; or it through lightness he should publish any new Explication upon the Scripture, to be accused of Heresy, appeared too rigid. At last it was resolved to make two Decrees; one, precisely containing all that related to the Catalogue of the Holy Books and the Traditions, and to conclude that with an Anathema; and the other, concerning what belonged to the Translation, and the Sense of the Scripture: The first as belonging to Faith, and the other to Reformation.

In the Congregations of the 3d. and 5th. of April, much was said concerning the Abuse of the Words of Scripture, and the Enchantments which were used to find Treasures, and to execute immodest Designs; concerning the superstitious Practice of carrying the Gospel, or the Name of God, in Writing about with them, to prevent or cure any Disease, to avoid Evils, or to obtain good Luck; and of repeating the Gospel over Arms, to give them greater force against an Enemy: The evil Use of sacred Words in Libels, Lampoons, and Pasquinades, was also mentioned. All the Fathers agreed that the Word of God could not be used with sufficient Respect; that it was not only indecent to employ it in the Commendation of Men, even Princes and Prelates, but to use it profanely was sinful: But that the Council ought not to dwell particularly upon these things, since they were not met to remedy all Abuses; and that all that they could do, was to condemn those Abuses in general, and to remit the Punishment to the Discretion of the Bishops.

April 7. the last General Congregation was held where the two Decrees that were to be publish'd in the Session that was to be held the next Day, were read. The Bishop of Astorga, and the Archbishop of Palermo, said, the Church had nothing to do to condemn those that should disobey its Decrees, to a pecuniary Punishment: But they were answered, that herein Leo X's Decree in the Council of Lateran was observed. Some others spake concerning the vulgar *Latin*; but that did not hinder the Approbation of the two Decrees. The Legatè desired

the Fathers to observe a respectful Silence, and not to start Difficulties when these Decrees were publish'd.

May 8. the fourth Session was held. After the Archbishop of Sassari had sung Mass, and the General of the Servites had preached, two Decrees were read. In the former, concerning the Books and Tradition, it was said, 'That the Holy Council having always for its Object, the Banishment of Errors, and the Preservation of the Purity of the Gospel in the Church, which God promised in the Scriptures by the Prophets, which Jesus Christ declared with his own Mouth, and which was afterwards preach'd by his Apostles, as the Fountain of Truth and of good Manners: And considering that this Truth and these Rules of Holy Living are contained in the Holy Scripture, and in unwritten Traditions, received by the Apostles from the Mouth of Jesus Christ, or inspired by the Holy Ghost into the Apostles, and preserved in the Catholick Church by an uninterrupted Succession: And following the Example of the Orthodox Fathers, declares that the Books of the Old and New Testament and the Traditions, which relate to Faith and Manners, ought to be received and revered in the same manner; That it believes the Catalogue of the Holy Books, ought also to be inserted into this Decree, that no Man may doubt what Books it receives for such.' After the Enumeration of all these Books, it adds, 'If any one receives not these Books for Sacred and Canonical, with all that they contain, as they are read in the Catholick Church, and as they are in the *Vulgar Edition*: Or if any one despises Traditions, the Council pronounces an Anathema against him; which Declaration it makes, that all may know what Order the Council intends to observe, after it has laid its first Foundations by its Profession of Faith; and what Succours and Testimonies it intends to use to confirm its Doctrine, and to re-establish the Discipline of the Church.'

The second Decree concerning the Edition and Use of the sacred Books imports, 'That the Holy Council considering that the Church may draw great Advantage from the marking which of all the *Latin* Editions of the Books of Scripture ought to be esteemed as Authentick, declares, and has declared, that the Ancient vulgar Edition, which for several Ages had been in use in the Church, and which has been employed in publick Lectures, Disputations and Sermons, is that which ought to be held Authentick; so as that it was not allowed to reject it upon any pretence whatsoever; and that to stop wanton Wits, it forbids all Men whatsoever to explain the Scriptures, in things relating to Faith, and the Doctrine of Manners, by trusting to their own Lights according to their particular Sense, contrary to the Senses which our Holy Mother the Church has held, and does hold, to whom only it appertaineth to judge of the Sense and Interpretation of Scripture; or to explain it in a manner opposite to the Unanimous Doctrine of the Fathers, tho' it should be without any design of publishing such Explications. Lastly the Council ordains that the Disobedient shall be punished by their Ordinaries; and that to repress the Liberty which some Printers allow themselves to print and sell the Books of Scripture with Notes and Interpretations, without the Permission of their Ecclesiastical Superiors, care shall be taken to cause the *Vulgate* to be printed correctly, and that no Man shall print, or cause to be printed, and sold, or dispersed, or shall keep any Book upon sacred Subjects, without the Author's Name, and if they have not been examin'd and approv'd by the Ordinaries of the Places; which it forbids under Pain of Excommunication.

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The History of the Council of Trent. communication, and the pecuniary Mulct ordained by the Council of *Lateran*: It also forbids Regulars to print any thing without the Permission of their Superiors, and condemns those that shall print or divulge such sort of Books, under the same Penalties as Printers: And the Council concludes with ordaining, that those that shall make use of Scripture Expressions in Matters of

The History of the Council of Trent. Buffoonery, or Fables, or Panegyricks, or Satyrs, or Superstitions, or Divinations, or Sortileges, or Libels shall be punished by the Bishops, as they shall judge convenient. After these two Decrees were read, which were approved of by the whole Assembly, the next Session was fixed upon *June 17*.

CHAP. II.

The History of what past in the fifth and sixth Sessions, and in the Congregations which were held to prepare Matters for those Sessions.

Matters proposed, and Congregations appointed.

Since nothing could be concluded upon in the last Session, concerning the Abuses in Lectures of Divinity and Sermons, because of the great Disputes which happen'd upon that Subject, between the Bishops and the Regulars; the Legates immediatly proposed this Matter in the first Congregation, which was held *April 15*. That it might, be a-new examined and discussed. They proposed also at the same time to establish two sorts of Congregations, to proceed the more regularly, both in the Discussion of Articles of Faith, and in the Business of Reformation; and that the first Congregation should be divided into three Committees, which should be held at each of the Legates Houses; and that when they should treat of Doctrine, none but Divines should be in the Committees; but in those for Reformation, the Canonists should be admitted: That in each of these the Fathers might be present to hear what should be said; and that every one of them might have one of the Council's Notaries to write down their Opinions. That the other Congregation should be compos'd of Prelates, who should form Decrees of Doctrine and Reformation, to be afterwards proposed in a general Congregation, where Resolutions should be taken by a Majority of Voices.

Legates decree concerning Lectures and Sermons.

The Lectures and Sermons were accordingly treated of in this Order, and several Minutes of Decrees were formed and reformed in the Congregation of *May 2*. without being able to give them such a Turn as would content every Body. The Bishops were for taking away the Exemptions of the Monks; the Legates on the contrary were for upholding them, especially those of the Mendicants and the Universities. It was hoped that this Difference might have been accommodated in the Congregation that was appointed upon *May 10*. but though it lasted till it was Night, it was never possible to make them agree upon some certain Heads, because of the Variety of the Opinions of the Prelates themselves; nor upon others, because the Legates would never consent to the Suppression or Restriction of the Privileges of the Monks.

Cardinal Paccio's Opinions

Cardinal *Paccio* said, that hitherto the Fathers had been more nice in finding out Abuses, than happy in applying Remedies: That the Council of the *Lateran*, formerly held under *Innocent III*. had proposed to the Bishops, but without Success, to set up a Divinity-Lecture in their Cathedrals; that this Ordinance constantly came to nothing, when it was to be done at his Expence who was commanded to put it in Execution; and since the Bishops could not set up a Divinity-Lecture, but it would be a Charge to them, it were better to petition the Pope to give the first vacant Prebend to found a Divinity-Lecture; that he could not forbear to represent the Complaints which the Faithful made of the *Pardoners*, especially with relation to those Pri-

vilages which in *Spain* they call the *Crusade*; that for the future they ought to ordain that no Man should preach without the Approbation of the Bishop. Several approved of this Advice.

The Bishop of *Fiesoli*, who had set down his Opinion in writing, rose up and read it with a good deal of Heat; declaring to the Assembly, that if he took so great a Liberty, it was only because he thought himself obliged in Conscience to do it: That Bishops ought never to lose sight of the principal Functions of their Ministry; that they ought to think of nothing so much as performing them themselves, without having Recourse to Hirelings; that he could not sufficiently manifest the Grief which he had, to see the Liberty which the Regulars allow'd themselves, to preach every where without addressing themselves to the Bishops for a Licence, that to suffer such an Abuse, was to let in the Wolves into the Flock, to destroy the Sheep; that therefore he conjur'd the Assembly, in the Name of God, and of whatsoever else was most sacred, to apply some Remedy to this Disorder; that as for himself he would labour all he could to stop it; and if the Assembly were of a contrary Opinion, he wash'd his Hands of it, and appealed to the Sovereign Tribunal of God.

Bold Opinion of the Bishop of Fiesoli.

The principal Legate then taking up the Discourse, replyed to the Bishop of *Fiesoli*, that before Men appealed to the Tribunal of God, they ought to reflect upon what they had to answer for to God, for their Negligence in preserving the Flock of our Lord, which would have been scatter'd, if it had not been for the Care which the Regulars took, to whom the Holy Father thought he did but Justice in granting them their Privileges; that to take them away would be to take from them their Opportunities of Preaching, and at the same time to do a very great Prejudice to the Faithful.

The Legates broke up the Congregation, and called another for *May 18*. In that they drew up a Summary of the Canonists Opinions, which they had given in the Committees, that so, said they, from these Opinions they might the more easily form Decrees.

Congregation of May 18.

The Bishop of *Fiesoli* rising up to speak, the Legates asked him, if he would again repeat what he said before in the precedent Congregation. He replyed, that what he had now to say, was not the same with what he had said before; and then resuming his Discourse, he said, that it was a surprising thing to see Bishops come so far, with so much Pains and Charge; to hear an Extract of the Opinions of some Divines read to them, as if that was sufficient for them to decide the most important Subjects; that for his part, he believed it was absolutely necessary that the general Congregation should hear the Reasons of every Man in their full length, that the Council might decide with all the Dignity, and all the Authority

Bold Discourse of the Bishop of Fiesoli.

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Authority that became them; that nothing was minded, but to form a Decree which should preserve their Name only to the Bishops, but which would in effect deprive them of all their Privileges; and therefore he prayed the Bishops to awake, and consider, that their Inferiors were raised with new Privileges, whilst the Bishops were abased with Impositions and Tenths; that nothing would remain to them more than the bare Name of Bishops; that they ought not to suffer Monks or Fryars to be allowed to preach in their Dioceses, without obtaining the Ordinary's Permission; that by the Manner in which the Decree was drawn up, nothing seems to be left to the Bishops, more than a Right to examine the Superior's Letters; that it was drawn up in unequivocal Terms, put in expressly to strike at the Authority of the Bishops. Then directing his Discourse to the two oldest Legates, he said, Remember that formerly you were only simple Bishops, that you enjoy that Title still, and that it will be Glorious for you not to suffer its Dignity to be abased; on the contrary, it is your part to contribute to its Elevation. Cardinal *del Monte*, offended with this Discourse, asked him, if he persisted in his Appeal to the Tribunal of God, which he mentioned the last Meeting. The Bishop of *Fiesoli* replied, that he had no design in that Speech to derogate from the Authority of the Council, but only to speak, as he usually did, for the Discharge of his Conscience. The Legate asked him if he believed still, as he had said before, that Bishops were Vicars of Jesus Christ upon Earth. *Yes I believe it*, reply'd he, *and shall believe it till I am shew'd the contrary*. The Archbishop of *Armagh* answer'd, that it was very true that Bishops were called Vicars of Jesus Christ, with relation to their Power of Absolution, and of exercising their other Functions; but that they were not his Vicars-General, as the Pope is, and that they were called only to one part of the Cares, and of the Labour.

Every one gave his Opinion upon this Subject; which displeased the Legates very much. Cardinal *Pozze*, to put an end to this Dispute, said, that the Bishop of *Fiesoli* had explained his Notions with too much Heat; that he had Reason in many things; but that he was in the wrong to reject the Ministry of the Regulars, which was so useful to the Church. A Man cannot be Silent, reply'd the Bishop of *Fiesoli*, when he sees himself robbed.

Cardinal *del Monte*, who was apprehensive lest this Congregation should not have such an End as he desired, said, it was time to rise, because Cardinal *Cervinus* found himself indisposed.

Next Day the Legates wrote an Account to *Rome* of the Disputes that had been between the Bishops and the Regulars, and the Impossibility that there was to make them both agree; and they prayed his Holiness to acquaint them with what they should do in that Conjunction, and to remove the Bishops of *Fiesoli* and *Chiozza* from *Trent*, because they spake with somewhat too much Liberty in the Congregations, and disturbed every thing.

The Pope replied, that they ought to manage these two Prelates, and give them time to retreat when it might be convenient; and acquaint the Bishops, that they ought to look out for some Expedient, for fear of causing a Schism, if they should carry every thing against the Monks, who were in great Reputation with the inferior sort of People: That it was just the Bishops should have some Satisfaction; but that it was fit the Monks should have some Satisfaction too: That if it came to a Determination, they might yield every thing about the *Pardoners*, but do nothing against the Monks, without acquainting the Generals of the Orders: That however, they should take care that the Satisfaction which they should give the Bishops should be such, as that the Orders and the Universities should lose nothing of their Privileges, it being necessary that

both should depend upon the Pope, and not upon the Bishop; whose Power, if it increased too much, it would not be easy for the Court of *Rome* to keep it within Bounds.

The Legates having received this Answer from the Pope, remonstrated to the *Italian* Bishops, that it was for the Honour of their Nation that the Dignity of the Holy See should be defended, which was attacked when *Privileges* were struck at; and that they might expect much from the Pope, by the Means of the Legates, if they left to the Regulars a Right which they had so long enjoyed: That it was dangerous to despise so many learned Men, at a time when the Church needed them so much, to resist the Hereticks: That the Authority of the Bishops would be increased, if the Power of approving and excluding Preachers, when they were to preach out of their Convents, were allowed to the Bishops, and the Preachers were obliged to receive the Blessing from them before they preached, even in Churches of their own Order: Besides, that they might punish or interdict these Preachers for Heretic or Scandal; and hereafter the Bishops would still have more granted to them. These Prelates yielded to the Reasons of the Legates, as did several others, whom they soon acquainted with them; so that they were assured that the Decree would pass upon these Conditions.

The Bishop of *Fiesoli*, who had made so much noise, seeing himself the Object of the Indignation of the Legates, and fearing some Mischief from *Rome*, yielded at last, and protested, that he never had any Intention to oppose the Holy See.

Nothing remained now to be spoken of, but the Divinity-Lectures. Every one thought it convenient they should be re-established in Cathedrals and Monasteries: This seemed easy to be done in Cathedrals, since it was only leaving the Care of it with the Bishops; but difficult in Monasteries, for if such a Power were given to the Bishops; it was to be feared that they might take an Occasion to attempt something against the Privileges granted to Monasteries by the Holy See. *Sebastianus Pighinus*, Auditor of the *Rota*, found an Expedient, which was to give the Direction of this Matter to the Bishops, as Delegates of the Holy See. This was looked upon as a wonderful Expedient, because it pleased the Bishops, without lessening their *Privileges*, since the Bishops were to act as the Pope's Commissaries, and not as Bishops. There was some Difficulty to know whether all Monks in general should be obliged to read Lectures in their Houses; and what was to be the Subject of these Lectures. *Ambrosius Pelargus*, a Dominican, Proctor of the Archbishop of *Triers*, giving his Opinion as a Divine, was for having nothing taught in Monasteries, but Lectures upon the Scriptures, with these Words added to the Decree, *Omissis Scholasticorum Cavillationibus*. *Dominico Soto* made hereupon a large Discourse, that they should be allowed to study School-Divinity also. What he said of the Usefulness of School-Divinity was well enough approved of; but many People remained persuaded, that the Study of the holy Scriptures was sufficient for a Monk. Cardinal *del Monte* put an end to these Debates, by remonstrating, that this did not deserve the Attention of the Council.

The Questions concerning who should have a Right to preach the Word of God publicly? seemed to be much more important. It was proposed, that the Regulars should be allowed a Liberty to preach in their own Houses, and when Curates called them, in their Churches, without the Permission of the Bishops. The Decree forbade both, pursuant to the Constitution of *Adrian VI*. Cardinal *Pacoco* opposed it; and *Seripandus* strongly defended the Privileges of the Regulars. The Bishops were divided upon this Head; but at last Cardinal *del Monte* got this Expedient to pass, that the Regulars

Of the Regulars Right to preach.

regulars might preach in their own Churches, without a Licence from the Bishop; but that they should not do it in other Churches, without his Leave.

The Obligation which the Council imposed upon Bishops to preach themselves, caused the Question about Residence to be started. It was agreed, that Prelates were obliged to it; but the Dispute was, by what Right, and what Penalties ought to be imposed on that Head? Several strongly maintained, that Residence was of divine Right, and ought to be declared to be so: Others thought it was only of Ecclesiastical Right. And as for the Penalties upon the Offenders, some were not for having new ones laid, but thought they needed only to put the old ones in Execution; others were for only suspending them for one Year *ab Officio & Beneficio*. Some were for leaving to the Pope a Liberty to lay what Punishment he should think proper upon non-resident Prelates. The principal Legate said, he did not think it convenient to declare Residence to be of divine Right; pretending, that it was an useless Question, started only to take away the Power of dispensing from the Pope: that he had been present at Signings, and yet had never seen Dispensations of this Nature granted: That Bishops themselves took the Liberty to be absent, whereas they needed only reside, and the Pope would never concern himself to dispense with their Non-residence. He added, that as for the Cardinals, they were not obliged, being rather Administrators of Bishopricks than Bishops; and besides their Authority was so considerable, that they governed their Bishopricks better when they were absent, than most Bishops did when they were present: Cardinal Cervinus brought the Question to this, Whether they should make a Decree concerning Residence at that time, or defer it? This they put to the Vote; and the Conclusion was, that they should take another time to debate more largely upon that Matter.

The Legates, well pleased that the Business of Reformation was thus ended, and that the Imperialists could not hinder them from treating of Matters of Faith, declared, that they were resolved in this Session to condemn the Errors concerning Original Sin; and they proposed the following Articles to be examined.

I. That Adam, by his Transgression of the Commandment, lost his Integrity, and incurred the Indignation of God, and Death; but that tho' he be fallen from the Perfection in which he was, as well in regard of the Soul, as of the Body, yet he did not transmit Sin to his Posterity, but only corporal Pains.

II. That Adam's Sin is called Original, because it pass'd from him to his Posterity, not by Transgression, but by Imitation.

III. That Original Sin is Ignorance or Contempt of God, which makes Man to be without Fear, without Confidence, and without Love of God, subject to Concupiscence, and irregular Desires; and, in short, this Sin is a general Corruption of Man, in his Will, in his Soul, and in his Body.

IV. That there is in Children an Inclination to Evil, which proportionably, as their Reason comes to them, produces in them a Dislike for divine Things, and a blind Love for the Things of the World; and that this is Original Sin.

V. That Children, at least those born of faithful Parents, bring none of Adam's Sin into the World, tho' they are Baptized for Remission of Sins,

VI. That Baptism does not efface Original Sin, but only causes it not to be imputed to us; or, that this Sin, by Means of Baptism, begins to lessen in this Life, and is never entirely rooted out before the next.

VII. That this Sin, remaining in the Baptized, retards their Entry into Heaven.

VIII. That the Concupiscence, which remaineth after Baptism, is truly Sin.

IX. That the principal Punishment due to Original Sin, is that of Hell-Fire, besides corporal Death, and

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the other Imperfections to which Man is subject in this Life.

Concerning the first Article, the Divines agreed in the Committees, that Adam, having lost Justice, his Passions rose up against his Reason, which the Scripture calls the Concupiscence of the Flesh against the Spirit: That Adam incurred the Wrath of God, and corporal Death, with which he had been threatened, and spiritual Death besides: That however none of these Defaults could be called Sin, Sin being formally a Transgression of the Commandment.

When they came to explain what that thing is, which being transmitted from Adam to us is called Sin, their Opinions were different.

The Franciscans, grounding their Notions upon St. Anselm and Scotus, said, that since Sin is effaced by Baptism, and Concupiscence always remains, we ought to say, that that which is transmitted to us from Adam is a Privation of original Justice, which is given us again, not as it was in Adam before the Fall, but in an equivalent manner by Grace.

The Dominicans asserted with St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure, that Concupiscence in Man was the material Part of Sin, and Privation of Justice the formal; and consequently that original Sin in us is Concupiscence, destitute of original Justice.

Ambrosius Catharinus remonstrated, that these Notions did not explain what original Sin was: That Concupiscence and Privation of Justice were Punishments of Sin, and not the Sin it self; and consequently what was not Sin in Adam, could not be Sin in us: That it was plain that Concupiscence and Privation of Justice were not Sin in Adam, since they were not Adam's Actions, and consequently they cannot be Sin in us: That if in him they were only the Effect of Sin, they are only the Effect of Sin in others: And by consequence that it cannot be said, that the Enmity of God against the Sinner, or of the Sinner against God, is Sin, since it is only the Effect of Sin. He asserted therefore, that Adam's Sin was in us only by Imputation, upon the account of the Covenant which God made with Adam.

The Divines were not less perplexed when they went to explain how the Sin of Adam past to his Descendants, because St. Augustine, who first gave occasion to that Question, did not clearly explain it: However they all agreed in this, that the Soul contracts Sin when it is infused into an infected Body, like Liquors which contract ill Smells from stinking Vessels, into which they are poured.

They unanimously therefore agreed to condemn the first Article.

The second Article likewise was condemn'd without any difficulty.

The first part of the third Article was censured, as it had been in several Colloquies in Germany; because they were persuaded, that Contempt of God, and Want of Love, could not be original Sin, these Dispositions never being in little Children, who are not capable of performing such Actions; and besides, they are not found even in all Adults.

Upon the second part it was said, that if the Protestants meant a privative Corruption, their Opinion might be tolerated: But since they meant a corrupted Substance, or rather a Transmutation of human Nature into another Form than that in which it was created; and since they reprehend the Catholics for calling Sin a Privation of Justice, and on the contrary pretended, that Sin was a real and a positive thing, which produced Acts of Incredulity, Distrust, Hatred, &c. in that Sense, they absolutely condemn'd that Article.

They censured the fourth Article, because he that makes original Sin to consist in the Inclination only, does absolutely deny it. Upon this Occasion it was that the Franciscans demanded, that it should be declared, that the Virgin Mary was exempt from original Sin by a special Privilege. This the Dominicans opposed; and the Dispute grew so hot, that notwithstanding the Legate laboured all he could to appease it, by remonstrating that they were assembled

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bled to condemn heretical Notions, and not the Opinions of catholick Divines, he had very much difficulty to impose Silence upon them both.

As to the Remission of original Sin, it was unanimously said, that Baptism blots it out, and makes the Soul as pure as it was in the State of Innocence, tho' the Punishments which follow Sin always remain to exercise the Virtue of the Just.

The sixth Article was unanimously declared to be heretical, as also the seventh, and the eighth; tho' here *Antonius Marinus* said, that *St. Augustine* seems to have altered his Opinion in this Matter: For in his Writings against *Julianus* he says, that Concupiscence is a Sin; and in his Book to Count *Bonifacius* he says on the contrary, that it is no Sin, but the Cause of Sin: And since this Saint says nothing in his *Retractions* of these two Opinions, it is to be presumed, that he did not take it to be a Matter of Faith. But he was answered, that *St. Augustine* taught two Concupiscences, one before Baptism, and another after: That the first, which is a Resistance to the Will of God, is sinful: And the other, which rises up against Reason, is the Cause and Effect of Sin. That *St. Augustine* might believe that Concupiscence is a Sin; but he was persuaded that it ceased to be so by the virtue of Baptism.

The ninth Article raised a Question, Whether Children that die without Baptism, are subject to the Pains of Hell-fire? The Opinion of the *Master of the Sentences*, and of all the School-men, except *Gregorius Ariminensis*, that they are deprived of Blessedness, but endure no Torments, was that which the Divines followed. But there was some Dispute between the *Franciscans* and the *Dominicans*, concerning the State of these Children after the Resurrection: The *Dominicans* held that they should remain in a *Limbus*, a subterraneous dark Place; and the *Franciscans* maintained that they should be upon the Earth, and enjoy Light: The *Augustinians* demanded, that this Article should not be condemned as heretical, tho' they believed it to be false: *Catharinus* insisted on the other side, that since the *Lutherans* had renewed this Error, and the Catholics themselves had fallen into it, there was a necessity of a Declaration of the Council.

The Censure of the Divines upon the nine Articles was carried May 21. into the Congregation, that the Form of the Decree might be resolved upon. The Prelates who composed it were very much perplexed to decide about the Essence of original Sin: All these Opinions of the School-men seem'd to them to be full of Obscurities; *Catharinus's* pleased them most, because it made them better comprehend how *Adam's* Sin past to all his Posterity; but they durst not receive it, because it was not supported by the Testimonies of the Fathers.

As to the Forgiveness of Sin, they made no Dispute but all Men have original Sin, and that Baptism entirely effaces it: And they concluded to damn all contrary Opinions as heretical; but they believ'd it was impossible to define original Sin with so much Circumspection, as that among so many Opinions some one should not be condemned; and no one Opinion could be condemned without running the Risk of making a Schism.

Andrew de Vega a *Franciscan* remonstrated, that it was without Example, and without Reason, to condemn an Opinion as heretical, without first proposing the catholick and orthodox Doctrine; that no negative Proposition has in it self the Cause of Truth, but is true because the affirmative is so; and that no Proposition is false, but because the contradictory to it is true: Besides that the Falsity of one Proposition cannot be known, if the Truth of its opposite is unknown; and consequently the Opinion of the *Lutherans* can't be condemned, unless the Opinion of the Church be beforehand explained. That all the Councils which have treated of Matters of Faith, have always laid down the Foundations of orthodox Doctrine, before they condemned Here-

fies: That therefore it was necessary to observe the same Order in this Council: That if they should come to condemn that Proposition of *Luther's*, That original Sin is Ignorance and a Distrust and Contempt of divine Things, without giving a Definition of original Sin; every one would ask what is this original Sin? and what is the catholick Opinion? And if it should also condemn that Proposition of *Zuinglius's*, That the Children of the Faithful are baptized to obtain Remission of their Sins, but that Adam transmitted only the Punishment and Corruption of Nature; Men would not fail to ask, What then did Adam transmit to his Posterity? Whence comes it that the Council did not explain it?

Marcus Viguierius, Bishop of *Sinigaglia*, push'd this Thought very far; so that the Legates, who, according to the Orders which they had receiv'd from the Court of Rome, were desirous to make an end of this Matter the first Session, said, that if they would form such a Decree as that there should be nothing to be said against the Council, the Divines ought to be call'd in; and that the Divines who had formed the greatest Difficulties might have nothing to say against the Decree, they should make use of them to draw it up, exhorting them to facilitate the Conclusion of it as much as they could.

June 8. the Decree which was drawn up by the Prelates, assisted by some Divines, was read in the Congregation of Decrees to be examined.

According to Cardinal *Paceco's* Advice, in the Passage where it was said, That Adam, because of his Disobedience, having lost the Holiness wherein he was created, instead of those last Words they put in, wherein he was established.

In the Minute of the Decree it was said, that Adam, after his Sin, was corrupted in his whole Body, and in his whole Soul, so that there was no part of his Soul which was sound, These last Words were struck out.

They disputed long upon this Expression, There remains nothing which God detests in the Regenerate.

Seripandus said, that since Concupiscence remained after Baptism, and that it was the Cause of Sin, God could not but hate it; and consequently it ought not to be put into the Decree, that there is nothing in the Regenerate that God hates. Cardinal *Pool* was of the same Opinion, and added, that the Decree spake too generally, and that it was better to say with *St. Paul*, That God finds nothing that displeases him in the Regenerate, who are in Christ Jesus.

Petrus Bertanus, Archbishop of *Fano* and *Modena*, said, that nothing needed be changed in the Decree, because by the Word *Regenerate*, not only the Baptized are meant, but those whose Lives answer to the Profession they make in Baptism, wherein as the Decree says, they are buried with Jesus Christ: So they all agreed to change nothing in the Decree.

June 16. there was a general Congregation held, in which the Decrees that were to be published next day in the Session were read, and unanimously approved. Cardinal *Paceco* and some others made some Difficulties upon the Clause of the Decree about original Sin, which contained the Exception of the Virgin Mary: They desired that there might be an express Declaration that the Council would define nothing upon that Subject, tho' it were piously believed that the Virgin was conceived without Sin. The Word *piously* displeased some; for said they, if this Opinion is pious the other then is impious. It was agreed at last to leave the thing undecided; and since every one endeavoured to slide in some Terms which struck at the Opinion he was not of himself, the Legates, pursuant to the Bishop of *Astorga's* Advice, inserted, That the Council did not intend to decide any thing about that Matter at that time. Some desired that it might be added, That no Man should be suffered to speak against the immaculate Conception; and the Archbishop of *Aix* was of opinion, that it ought

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ought to be forbidden to speak of either side. The Bishops of *Tagliari* and *Saffari* were of opinion, that it should be ordained, that nothing should be spoken about it in the Pulpit.

Approbation of the Decree of Reformation.
After that, the Decree of Reformation was read and approv'd of. The Bishop of *Saffari* desired that the Bull which the Pope had made in favour of the Bishops might be read, to bring them to consent to pass this Decree; and that afterwards it might be registred amongst the Acts of the Council. This Bull was dated June 7. 1546. The Legates had caused a Copy of it to be taken, in which they changed some things, because in the Original which they received, there were some Words which seemed to call the Authority of the Council in question; and the Legates were apprehensive that this might occasion a troublesome Dispute. The Tenor of the Bull was this,

'Tho' the Council had been lawfully called, and the Legates presided there with full Power, yet to give more Force to what should be appointed against common Right and the Apostolical Constitutions, such as the applying the Fruits of the first vacant Benefice to set up Lectures upon the holy Scriptures, and whatsoever else should be ordained against the Regulars, Preachers, Curates, and other Persons exempted by Privileges, and Pardoners: It has desired the Pope to consent to it, and to ratify it. For which reason his Holiness approves and confirms all that the Council shall ordain upon these Matters.

When this Bull was read, all were silent, except the Bishop of *Fiesoli*, who said this would do well, if the Authority of the Council did not suffer by it. The Article concerning Pardoners began with these Words, *The Pardoners, that accursed Race of Men*; but they were struck out, as not being moderate enough.

Session V. June 17. the fifth Session was held. *Alexander Piccolomini* Bishop of *Pianza*, sung Mals; and *Marco Laureo* a *Dominican*, made the Sermon after the accustomed Prayers: The officiating Bishop read the Decree of Faith, containing five Canons.

Canons of Session V.
I. If any Man refuses to acknowledge that Adam by his Transgressions lost the State of Holiness and Justice, in which he was created, and that by his Offence he incurred the Wrath of God, and that Death with which God threatened him, and that he is besides fallen into Captivity under the Power of him who has the Empire of Death, that is to say, the Devil and that he is corrupt both in Body and Soul; let him be Anathema.

II. If any Man says, that Adam by his Fall hurt only himself, that he lost Justice and Holiness for himself alone, and not for us; that he transmitted to his Posterity the Death of the Body only, and not Sin, which is the Death of the Soul; let him be Anathema.

III. If any Man asserts, that Adam's Sin, which was one in its Original, and becomes proper to every Man, being transmitted by Generation, and not by Imitation, can be effaced by the Strength of Nature, or by other Means than by the Merit of Jesus Christ our Lord and only Mediator, who has reconciled us to God by his Blood, and is become our Righteousness; our Sanctification, and our Redemption; or denies that the Merit of Jesus Christ is applied, as well to Adults as to Infants, by Baptism conferred according to the Form and Usage of the Church; let him be Anathema.

IV. If any Man says, that Infants new born, whose Parents have been baptized, have no need of Baptism, or that they are baptized for the Remission of Sins, and not because they have contracted any original Sin in Adam, for which they have need of Baptism, in order to obtain eternal Life; let him be Anathema.

[(e) One is not to suppose that *Monf. Du Pin* here mistook *Charonea* for *Cherroneus*; and there is no question but he knew perfectly well that one is in *Baotia*, the other in *Taurica Cher-*

V. If any Man denies, that the Guilt of Sin is remitted by the Grace which Jesus Christ confers by Baptism, or asserts, that all that is sinful is not entirely taken away, but only raised and not imputed; let him be Anathema: Because there is nothing that God hates in the Regenerate, there being no Damnation for those that are buried with Christ Jesus in Baptism, and consequently nothing which stops their Entrance into Heaven. The Council acknowledges that Concupiscence remains in those that are baptized, to exercise them, but without hurting those that resist it: And it declares, that tho' the Apostle St. Paul sometimes calls this Concupiscence Sin, yet the Catholick Church never taught that the Apostle gave it that Name, as if it were truly and properly Sin in the Baptized, but because it comes from Sin, and leads to Sin.

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The Council adds that it declares, that it is not its Intention to comprehend the blessed and immaculate Virgin Mary, the Mother of God, in this Decree, when it speaks of original Sin, but commands the Constitutions of *Sixtus IV.* to be observed under the same Penalties; and therefore renews those Constitutions.

When this Decree was read, Cardinal *del Monte* demanded of the Fathers of the Council, whether they approved of it? They answered, that they did approve of all the Canons concerning original Sin; but as to the Article in which the Conception of the Virgin is excepted, they were divided.

Various Opinions concerning the Decree about immaculate Conception.

The Cardinal of *Jaën* said, that he approved of the Decree as it was in the former Congregation, where all the Fathers unanimously approved it, except the Article about the Conception: That there he was for adding these Words; *As the greatest part of the Church does very piously believe: Or, As many believe that the Virgin was not conceived in original Sin.*

The Archbishop of *Aix* gave his Opinion in Writing; which was, that he liked the Decree, provided they would add, upon the Article of the immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, that they commanded Silence upon that Matter, that no Man might dare to preach any more upon it.

The Bishop of *Saffari* said, that he approved of all the Decree, but the Article of the Conception of the Virgin; because there one Party was displeased, without satisfying the other; and the ancient Tragedies were renewed, which were at the time of the Publication of *Sixtus IV.*'s Bull, which is mentioned in the Decree.

The Bishop of *Sienna* said, he approv'd of the Decree, if it did not prejudice the Virgin.

The Bishop of *Palermo* approv'd of it under the same Limitations with the Cardinal of *Jaën*:

The Bishop of *Cava* persisted in the Opinion which he gave in the Congregation.

The Bishop of *Clermont* was of opinion, that it ought to be absolutely decided in the Decree, that the Virgin was conceiv'd without original Sin.

The titular Bishop of *Charonea*, or *Cherroneus* (e) said, that he approved of the Decree, provided it did no prejudice to the Conception of the Virgin.

The Bishop of *Fiesoli* said, he approv'd of the Decree, saving the Protections he had already made.

The Bishop of *St. Mark* said, he approv'd of it, upon the Conditions proposed by the Cardinal of *Jaën*.

The Bishop of *Badajos* approv'd of all the Decree, except the Title.

The Bishop of *Belluno* declared, he submitted to the Majority.

The Bishop of *Huesca* said, he was of the Opinion of the Bishop of *Pace*.

The Bishop of *Calahorra* gave his Opinion in Writing; wherein he says, he approves of the Decree,

forseus: But in the Subscriptions which he saw in his Manuscript which he here transcribes, he found *Epif. Cheron*. which might indifferently answer either.]

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provided

The History of the Council of Trent. provided this was added, that since several dared to assert in their Sermons that the Virgin Mary is not conceiv'd in original Sin, which causes Scandals among the People, no Man for the future shall be permitted publickly to preach that Doctrine, till the Church has decided that Question; that however it is not the Intention of the Council to reprove that Opinion: Last of all, that he did not approve of the Title of the Decree.

The Bishop of *Castile-a-Mar* said, that he approved of the Decree, all but the Article of the Conception, to which he wish'd they would have added such Terms as might have stopt the Scandal, without prejudicing either of the two Parties.

The Bishop of *Pesaro* said, he was of Cardinal *Pool's* Opinion, one of the Presidents, who approv'd of the Decree.

The Bishop of the *Canaries* said, he approv'd of the Decree, but he wish'd they would impose Silence upon the Question of the Conception of the Virgin.

These *Suffrages* were gathered, and read aloud by Secretary *Maffarelli*, and acknowledged by the Fathers of the Council; and then they pass'd to the reading the Decree concerning Reformation.

All that we have said of the different Opinions of the Fathers of the Council, concerning the Article of the Conception of the Virgin, is taken from a Manuscript of the eight first Sessions of the Council, written by *John de Courtenboscbe* of *Gaunt*, who was present at the Council when these things pass'd, and who faithfully set down the Decrees and Acts of these Sessions in a Manuscript, which was given after his Death, that happened at *Rome*, Nov. 18. 1550. to *Levinus Torrentius*, then Archdeacon of *Gaunt*, afterwards Bishop of *Antwerp*, and at last Archbishop of *Mechlin*, and which now belongs to Monsieur *Balzanius*, who was so kind as to communicate it to me.

It appears by that, that the whole Decree was unanimously approved, except the Article of the Conception of the Virgin, upon which their Opinions were divided; and that this is the Reason why that Article is not found in the old Editions of the first six Sessions of the Council; namely, that which was printed at *Paris* by *Claudiere*, in the same Year 1546. in the *Antwerp* Edition the next Year; in the *Cologne* Edition by *John Quental*, in the Year 1551. in another Edition made the same Year at *Paris*; in an Edition of *Crabbe's* Councils the same Year; in an Edition at *Paris*, in 1555. nor in the first Editions of *Caranza's* Sum of the Councils: *Calvin* indeed, in his *Antidote* printed in 1547, mentions this Article of the Decree; and it is printed in an Edition of the fifth Session, printed at *Milan* in 1548.

Courtenboscbe's Manuscript discovers to us the Reason of this Difference of Editions; for this Article not being generally approv'd of, it was omitted in the first Editions, but since it had been proposed and read in the Council, several Authors mentioned it, and at last it was put into the Decrees of the Council under *Pius IV.* printed in an Edition of the Council, which that Pope caused to be made at *Rome*; and after that it was inserted into all the Editions.

Decree of Reformation concerning Divinity Lectures. After this, the Decree of Reformation was read, which was drawn up in these Words. The holy Council conforming it self to the Constitutions of Popes and Councils, and adding to them besides, ordains, that in Churches where there is a Prebend, or a Fond settled for the teaching of Divinity, the Archbishops, Bishops and Ordinaries shall constrain those that possess this Prebend, or this Fond, upon pain of Deprivation, to read themselves, if they are capable, if not, to substitute some able Man in their place, who shall be chosen by the Bishops; and that for the future these sort of Benefices shall be given to none, but Persons who can perform their Duty themselves. That in Churches of populous Towns, and also in collegiate Churches that shall be in any considerable Place,

where there is no Prebend or Revenue set apart for a Reader in Divinity, the first Prebend that shall fall (except in case of Resignation) shall be appropriated and set apart for this purpose; and in case there is no Prebend sufficient, the Bishop shall provide, with the consent of his Chapter, either by annexing some simple Benefice, or by making the Beneficiaries of the City and Diocess contribute. That in Churches where the Revenues are small, and where the Clergy and People are few, there shall be at least a Master to teach Grammar to the Clerks, to whom the Revenue of some simple Benefice shall be assigned, or else some creditable Salary from the capitular or episcopal Table, that these Clerks may be in a condition to go from thence to the Study of the holy Scriptures: That in the Monasteries likewise, there shall be Lectures upon the Scriptures, where they may conveniently be had: That if the Abbots fail to get them performed, the Bishops of the Provinces as Delegates of the holy See shall force them: That in Convents also of other Regulars, there shall be Lectures upon the holy Scriptures; and able Masters shall be chosen for that purpose: That in Colleges where such sort of Lectures have not been instituted, Princes and Commonwealths shall erect them, for the Defence and Preservation of Religion, and shall restore them where they have been interrupted thro' Negligence; and that no Man shall exercise that Employment, either in publick or private, without being examined and approv'd by the Bishop, except the Readers who teach in the Monks Convents: That the publick Readers of Scripture shall peaceably enjoy all the Privileges granted them by common Law, and particularly the Profits of their Benefices, tho' absent, whilst they shall teach, and the Scholars also, whilst they shall study, in those Schools.

As nothing is of more Importance for the Good of the Church than that, there should be Preachers as well as Readers upon the holy Scriptures, the Council ordains that the Bishops shall preach the Gospel themselves, if they have no lawful Impediment; or shall appoint capable Persons, if they can't do it themselves: That Parish-priests, and those that shall have Cures of Souls, shall upon Sundays and solemn Feast-days, teach the Faithful those things which are necessary to Salvation themselves, or by others, if they have no lawful Impediment; and if they fail, they shall be constrained by the Bishops, notwithstanding any Exemption: That the Bishop, when he has admonished them, shall at the end of three Months take out of their Functions, and to teach the People: That if there are any Parishes subject to Monasteries that are of no Diocess, wherein the regular Prelates neglect to cause this Decree to be observed, they shall be constrained by their Metropolitans, as Delegates of the holy See: That the Regulars, of whatsoever Order they be, shall not preach in Churches of their Order, without the Approbation of their Superiors, nor without having first received the Blessing of the Bishop; and that they shall not preach in Churches that are not of their Order, without the Bishop's Licence, which shall be given them gratis: That if any Preacher should preach in any of the Churches of his Order, or in any other, any erroneous or scandalous Doctrines, the Bishop shall forbid him to preach; and if he shall preach heretically, the Bishop, as Delegate of the holy See, shall proceed against him, according to the Disposition of the Law, or the Custom of the Place, even tho' the Preacher should pretend that he is exempt: That the Bishops shall take care that Preachers be not calumniated, nor wrongfully disturb'd, that they may not have any Reason to complain of them: That Regulars who live out of their Cloysters, or Seculars that are not known, shall not be suffer'd to preach, whatsoever Privileges they may alledge, till

The History of the Council of Trent. till the holy See be inform'd, which cannot grant such a Privilege to unworthy Persons, unless they have concealed the Truth, and informed it wrong: That (f) Pardoners shall not preach, or cause others to preach; and if they do, the Bishops shall hinder them by such Ways as they shall judge convenient.

This Decree being read, the Fathers answer'd, that they approv'd of it; tho' some would not give their Approbation, but under the following Modifications.

The Bishop of *Saffari* said, that he lik'd the Decree, as to the Preaching of the Regulars in their Churches, provided it was not done against the Bishops Will, according to the Spirit of the Council, and the Purity of their Rule; lest if they should do otherwise, the Blessing should be changed into a Curse; and for what concern'd the Derogation to their Privileges, he earnestly demanded, that since it was thought convenient to confirm this Article by a Breve, this Breve might be inserted in the Acts of this Session.

The Bishop of *Clermont* desired, that to the Article of Privileges these Words might be added, *With regard to those that have no Cure of Souls.*

The Bishop of *Fieseli* gave his Opinion in Writing; in which he declares his Dislike to the Decree, unless they would restore to Pastors and Bishops, a Power to exercise the Functions and Duties of Preaching with an entire Liberty, and that no Man might preach any where without the Bishop's Licence; and in that manner he protested.

The Bishop of *Alba* did not approve of what was said of the Readers in Cloysters, because those Words seem'd to him to be added after what had been concluded the Day before.

The Bishop of *Belcastro* approv'd of the Decree, with this Addition, *If the Regulars shall neglect to present themselves to the Bishops, they shall not preach.*

Another Bishop was of the same Opinion.

The Bishop of *Aquino* said, he also approved of it, provided the Regulars would not preach against the Bishops Will.

The Bishop of *Huesca* said, he lik'd the Decree, but he did not like the Title.

The Bishop of *Belluno* joined with the Bishop of *Aquino*.

The Bishop of *Calahorra* gave in a Paper to this purpose, 'I approve of the Decree, provided, that if the Bishops will not approve of those Regulars, who shall be presented to the Bishops to receive their Blessing, those Regulars shall not preach in any Place of their Dioceses without their consent.'

The Bishop of the *Canaries* said, he approved of the Decree; but that in the Article which relates to the Permission to preach in Parish Churches, which the Regulars ought to ask of the Bishops, he thought that when once a Regular is presented, and his Licence not revok'd, it was sufficient that the Parish-priest gives him leave to preach.

The Secretary read these Suffrages aloud; and they were owned as true by their respective Voters.

After this, the Promotor of the Council required, that a Process of Contumacy should be drawn up against those Bishops and Prelates who did not come to Council: Several Prelates had a mind to do it; but the Majority excepted the *German* Bishops, as long as the Diet should last.

Then the Letter of Credence of the *French* Ambassadors was read, which ran in this Form. 'Francis, by the Grace of God, King of France, to all those who shall see these Letters, Health. P. Paul having lately called a general Council at *Trent*, whither every day, from all Christian Countries, Ambassadors and Persons of Merit arrive; we believed that we ought to embrace this Opportunity that has been so long desired, and that God and

The History of the Council of Trent. Jesus Christ have offered us for the Good of all Christians; and as a Mark of our Respect, and of that of our Ancestors, towards the Christian Religion, we could have wished to have been present our selves in person at this holy Council, and have applied all our Cares towards it: But being employed in troublesome Wars, we send thither the Sieurs *Claude D'Urfe*, Governor of *Foretz*, *James de Liguieres*, President of the third Chamber of Inquests in the Parliament of *Paris* and *Peter Dannez*, whose Merit, Piety towards God, and Zeal for the common Good of Christendom we are acquainted with; and by these Presents we constitute them our Proctors, to assist in the Council in our Name, and to act there, to do and to propose, as we would do our selves, whatsoever should be necessary for the Christian Faith, and the Purity of the Doctrine of the Gospel, for Peace, the Reformation of the Clergy and the Catholick Church, promising upon the Faith of a King to ratify all that should be done for that purpose in the Council by our Proctors.' *In Witness whereof we have set our Seal. Given at Fontainebleau, March 30. 1545.*

Peter Danne's Speech. *Peter Dannez* made a long and learned Speech; wherein he set forth, that from the time of *Clovis* the Kingdom of *France* has always preserved the Christian Religion in its Purity: That for that Reason Pope St. *Gregory* gave the Title of *Catholick* to *Childebert*: That the Kings of *France* had procured the Conversion of Idolaters and Heretical Strangers, and had constrained them by force of Arms to embrace the true Religion: That *Childebert* constrained the *Visigoths* to renounce *Arianism*, and to unite to the *Roman* Catholick Church: That *Charles the Great* for above 30 Years made War upon the *Saxons*, to make them receive the Faith of Jesus Christ. *Dannez* after that made a particular Recital of the Favours which the Church of *Rome* received from *France*; extolled the Enterprizes of *Pepin* and *Charles the Great*, against the *Lombards*, and the Right which Pope *Adrian I.* granted to *Charles the Great*, of chusing the Pope, and of giving the Investiture to the Bishops under his Obedience, after having received their Oath of Fidelity. He added, that though *Ludovicus Pius*, his Son, renounced his Right of chusing the Pope, yet he covenanted that the Popes should send him Legates to keep up Friendship by reciprocal Services: That the Popes of *Rome*, when driven from their Sees, or persecuted, have taken Sanctuary in *France*, as in their ordinary Asylum: That the *French* have run thro' thousands of Dangers, profusely Spilt their Blood, and wasted their Estates to extend the Limits of the Christian Empire, either to recover the holy Places which the Barbarians had seized upon by Violence, or re-establish Popes in St. *Peter's* Chair: That *Francis I.* as Heir of his Predecessor's Piety, after the Battle of *Marignan*, went to find *Leo X.* at *Bononia*, to unite himself more strictly with him, and after that continued the same Correspondence with *Adrian VI.* *Clement VII.* and *Paul III.* hindering by his Care any Change in Ecclesiastical Discipline, and desirous that all Matters of Religion should be remitted to a general Council: That though he was naturally of a sweet Temper, and very far from Rigor, yet he had employ'd Severity, and made thundering Edicts, to preserve a Kingdom to the Church, in which that horrible Tempest which had overturn'd all other States had as yet shaken nothing: That he was so well satisfied, that it was the Happiness of Christendom to have the Bishop of *Rome* for its Head, that having been tempted and invited by very advantageous Conditions to follow the Example of another Prince, he rather chose to lose the Friendship of his Neighbours, and to seem careless of the Quiet of his Subjects, than to do any thing that

[(f) Pardoners is the old English Word for those who preached up Indulgences, whom the Canon-Law calls *Quaestors*

from *querere* to seek. One of *Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, is the *Pardoners*.]

might injure the Catholick Religion: That knowing there was a Council called, he immediately sent some Bishops to it; and seeing that they labour'd now in earnest, and that their Sessions were frequent, he had made him his Ambassador to assist at it, and to solicit them publickly to propose the Doctrine which all Christians ought to profess, and to re-establish Ecclesiastical Discipline according to the Canons; after which he would cause the Decrees of the Council to be exactly observed throughout his whole Dominions. This Ambassador added, that the Merits of the Kings of France towards the Holy See were so great, that it was very just that his Master should be maintain'd in the Privileges which *Ludovicus Pius* and his Successors enjoyed, and that the *Gallican-Church*, of which the King is Guardian, should be preserved in all its Rights and Immunities; assuring them, that if the Fathers of the Council did so, they should never have Reason to repent of it.

Council's Thanks to French Ambassador.

Hercules Severollus, Promoter of the Council, answered in few Words, that the Fathers thank'd his most Christian Majesty: That the Presence of his Ambassador was very agreeable to them: That they would use all their Endeavours to establish the Doctrine of Faith securely, and to restore Discipline, and that France, and the *Gallian-Church*, might expect from them all possible Favour.

Legates Proposition concerning Justification, and the Residence of Bishops.

The 21. there was a general Congregation, at which Cardinal *Cervinus* presided in the Absence of Cardinal *del Monte*, who was Sick that day; in which he set forth, that the Fathers having by Divine Inspiration condemned the Heresies concerning original Sin, the Order of Matters required that the Doctrine of the Moderns, concerning Divine Grace, should be examined, since, that is the Remedy of Sin; and so much the rather because it was the Order observed by the Confession of *Augsbourg*: That the Council proposed to examine it entire: That in order hereunto the Fathers and Divines ought to implore the Divine Assistance, and to study this Matter exactly, since all *Luther's* Heresies terminate therein; for when he at first undertook to oppose Indulgences, and found he could not bring his Matters to an Issue, if he did not destroy the Works of Penance, the Default of which, Indulgences supply, he invented this unheard of Doctrine of Justification by Faith alone, from whence he inferred, that good Works are not at all necessary, nor by consequence does the Observation of the Law of God, and of those of the Church consist in them: That he at the same time rejected the Virtue of the Sacraments, the Power of the Priests, the Sacrifice of the Mass, and all other Remedies that are appointed for the forgiveness of Sins. So that to establish the Catholick Doctrine, this Heresy of Justification by Faith alone must be destroy'd and Blasphemies of this Enemy of good Works condemned.

He added, that to observe the Order established in the Council, to treat of Dogmes and Discipline at the same time, he thought it necessary to treat of the Residence of Bishops, because the whole World had long complained, that the Absence of Prelates had been the Cause of all the Evils of the Church: That Heresies, Ignorance and Disoluteness among the People, with the Corruption of Ecclesiasticks, reigned, because the Pastors being estranged from their Flock, no Man took care to instruct them, and to reform the Clergy; so that Residence was the Sovereign Remedy of all the Evils of the Church, and that whatsoever Councils and Popes had ordained, the Means that had been employed to execute this Regulation becoming useless, more strong and effectual ones must be applied.

This Advice was approved of by those Prelates that voted first.

Bishop of Vaison's Opinion concerning Residence.

James Cortezi, Bishop of *Vaison*, said, that he was persuaded that the Presence of Prelates, and the

Parochial Clergy, had formerly served to keep up Purity of Faith among the People, and Discipline amongst the Clergy; but he thought that the Bishops could not at this time of the day be accused of being by their Absence the Causes of the Evils now complained of, since they left off to reside, only because they were become useless in their Dioceses, where they could do nothing towards the Preservation of sound Doctrine, whilst the Monks and Pardoners had the Power of preaching, whether they would or no. That no Man was ignorant that the Innovations in Germany arose from the Preaching of *John Teclius* and *Luther*: That *Samson* of *Milan's* Preaching had thrown *Switzerland* into Disorder; and that residing Bishops would oppose Persons armed with so many Privileges to little purpose; that Bishops cannot keep the Clergy to their Duty, as long as the Regulars are exempt from their Jurisdiction; that all Chapters have their Immunities; nay, that there are few private Priests who are not exempted; that it does not depend upon Bishops to chuse capable Persons, because of the Licences that are granted of being ordained by Titular Bishops, who hardly suffered the Ordinaries to perform their Episcopal Functions. So that it may be said in one Word, that Bishops do not reside, because they have nothing to do in their Dioceses, from which they choose rather to be away out of Prudence, than every Day to be at Daggers drawing with an Army of privileged Persons, from whence thousands of Disorders would arise. He concludes, that if it should be thought necessary to oblige Bishops to reside, it would be first necessary to provide for the Re-establishment for their Authority.

The Bishops who gave their Votes afterwards confirmed his Opinion; whereupon the Bishops consented that that Matter should be debated.

A few Days after, twenty five Articles were distributed amongst the Divines to be discussed.

Articles to be examined about Justification.

I. Faith alone is sufficient for Salvation; and it alone justifies.

II. Justifying Faith is that Confidence, whereby we believe that our Sins are forgiven thro' the Merits of Jesus Christ; and the justified are bound to believe that their Sins are certainly forgiven them.

III. By Faith alone we may appear before God, who is not solicitous for our Works: Faith alone makes Men pure and worthy to receive the Sacrament.

IV. Those that do praise-worthy Actions without having the Holy Ghost, sin; because they do them with an impious Heart, and it is a mortal Sin to observe the Commands of God without Faith.

V. That Repentance is good which leads a new Life: Penance for past Life is not necessary, and to repent of actual Sins does not dispose Men to receive Grace.

VI. There needs no Disposition to Justification; and Faith justifies, not because it disposes a Man, but because it is a Means or Instrument to receive the Promise and Divine Grace.

VII. Fear of Hell is of no use to acquire Righteousness: On the contrary, it is a Sin which puts Sinners in a worse Condition than they were in before.

VIII. That Contrition which rises from a Remembrance and Detestation of our Sins, and makes us weigh their Enormity, and take a view of their Ugliness and Multitude, with the Eternal Damnation which attends them, makes a Man a Hypocrite, and yet still a greater Sinner.

IX. Those Terrors with which Sinners are inwardly tormented by the Motions which God Inspires or outwardly by Sermons, are Sins till they are overcome by Faith.

X. The Doctrine of Dispositions destroys that of Faith, and takes away comfort from the Conscience.

XI. Faith alone is necessary, the rest is neither commanded nor forbidden; and there is no other Sin but Unbelief.

XII. He

The History of the Council of Trent. XII. He that has Faith is free from the Law, and has no need of Works to be saved, because Faith gives all abundantly, and it alone fulfils all Obligations, no Work of him that has Faith being so wicked, as that it can condemn him.

XIII. He that is baptized, cannot damn himself by any other Sin besides Unbelief, which alone separates from the Grace of God.

XIV. Faith and Works are contrary to one another; and to teach Works is to destroy Faith.

XV. The Works of the second Table are pure Hypocrisy.

XVI. Those that are justified, are acquitted of all Fault and all Guilt, and have no need to satisfy either in this Life, or after Death; and by consequence there is no Purgatory.

XVII. Though the Justified have the Grace of God, they cannot fulfil the Law, nor avoid sinning mortally.

XVIII. Their Obedience to the Law is weak and impure in it self, and pleases God only upon the account of their Faith, by virtue of which the remainders of their Sin are forgiven.

XIX. The Just Man sins in all his Works, and he does nothing but what is a Venial Sin.

XX. All the Actions of the Men that lead the most holy Lives, are Sins: The good Works of the Just are Venial through the Mercy of God, but mortal according to the Rigor of his Judgments.

XXI. Though the Just Man ought to think that his Actions are Sins; he ought also to be certain, that his Sins are not imputed to him.

XXII. Grace and Righteousness are nothing but the Divine Will: The Just have no inherent Righteousness in themselves, and their Sins are not blotted out, but only forgiven and not imputed.

XXIII. Our Righteousness is nothing but the Imputation of the Righteousness of Jesus Christ; and the Just have need of continual Justification, and Imputation of our Saviour's Righteousness.

XXIV. All the Just are admitted to the same Degree of Grace and Glory; and all Christians are as great in Righteousness and Holiness, as the Mother of God.

XXV. The Works of the Righteous Man do not merit Happiness, and he ought not to have any confidence in his own Works.

League between the Pope and the Emperor against the Protestants. June 26. Cardinal Madrucci concluded a League between the Pope and the Emperor against the Protestants. It was said in the Treaty, that since Germany had for a long time persevered in Heresy; and since the Protestants refused to submit to a Council, which was actually held to put an end to these Controversies; the Pope and the Emperor thought it was necessary, for the Glory of God, and the Salvation of that Nation, to take up Arms against those that would not own the Council: That for this Intent the Pope was to deposite 100000 Crowns of Gold at Venice; that he had remitted them already, and they were only to be employ'd for the Use of the War. That he should furnish besides, 12000 Foot, and 500 Horse, Commanded by an Officer that the Pope should name; and that he should grant to the Emperor for this current Year, the half of the Revenues of the Churches of Spain, with a Permission to alienate of the Estates of the Monasteries of that Kingdom, to the value of 500000 Crowns, to be employ'd solely in this War. That for six Months the Emperor should make no Agreement with the Protestants without the Pope, who should have a certain Portion out of all that should be gained from them: That when that Term was expired, if the War continued, they should make new Agreements, as it should please the Parties: And last of all, that it should be free for other Catholick Princes to enter into this League, and to have part of the Costs and Acquisitions.

Debates upon the Articles concerning Justification.

June 28. The Divines to the number of 45 assembled at the Legates to give their Opinions upon the

Articles that were proposed: Some Prelates were there. Cardinal del Monte, who had recovered his Health, and presided in that Assembly, propos'd that the Articles should be examined one after another, and that every one should be fix'd before they went to examine the rest.

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The three first Articles therefore were examined first. All agreed, that Faith justifies; but when they were to decide what that Faith is, and how it makes a Man just, their Opinions were divided. For since the Scripture attributes several Properties and Vertues to Faith, which some of them could not apply to Faith alone, they were forced to observe that this Word had different Significations, that sometimes it was taken for an Obligation to keep a Promise: As when St. Paul says, *That the Jews Unbelief has not made the Faith of God of none effect*: Sometimes for the Gift of working Miracles, as in that Passage of St. Paul, *If I had Faith to remove Mountains*: Sometimes for Conscience, as when that Apostle says, *Whatsoever is not of Faith is Sin*: Sometimes for Confidence in the Promises of God, Pray, says St. James, *with Faith, nothing wavering*: And last of all, for a firm Belief of all that God has revealed, tho' we see nothing. Some also gave other Significations to this Word Faith.

Dominico Soto said, that to give Faith so many Significations, was to tear it in Pieces, and to give the Victory to the Lutherans, and that the Word Faith signify'd but two things; one, the Truth of him that promises or assures; the other, the Consent of him that believes: That the first Faith is of God, and the second our own: That to understand by this Word, an Assurance or a Confidence, was an Interpretation of this Word, which was not only improper but abusive, and rejected by St. Paul: That Confidence did not differ from Hope, or at least very little; so that that Opinion of Luther's, wherein he asserts, that justifying Faith is a Confidence and a Belief, which a Christian has, that his Sins are forgiven him by vertue of the Merits of Jesus Christ, is an Error; nay, heretical: He adds, that this Confidence cannot justify, because it is rash and sinful, since Man cannot without Presumption be certain that he is in a State of Grace, because he ought always to be in doubt.

On the other side Catharinus said, that tho' Justification does not come from this Confidence, yet the just Man may, nay, he ought to believe that thro' Faith he is in a State of Grace. Several were of this Opinion.

Andrew de Vega started a third Notion, and said, that tho' the Knowledge we have of our Justification is not a certain Faith, yet it is not Rashness to believe we are in a State of Grace, because it may be known by Conjecture. This Controversy, on which the Censure of the second Article depends, divided the Fathers: For tho' they all agreed, that justifying Faith is a Persuasion of all those things which God has revealed, or which the Church ordains us to believe, and tho' this Faith is found sometimes with Charity, and sometimes without; yet some distinguished two sorts of Faith; one, that which is found in Sinners, and which is called in the Schools, a shapeless or dead Faith; and the other, that which is animated by Charity, which is found in good Men, and is called, a formed, an effectual and lively Faith. This was the Opinion of Marinarus.

The Dominicans and the Franciscans, by justifying Faith, understood a general Faith, without specifying whether it were alive or dead, because the one justifies differently from the other; the lively Faith does it perfectly, and the other is the Principle and the Foundation; and that St. Paul attributes Righteousness to it, just as 'tis said that Philosophy is in the Alphabet, that is to say, as in a Basis, which is as it were nothing in comparison of the Statue which is to be set upon it.

Cardinal del Monte ordered the Divines then to give their Opinions, that they might be examined

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Propositions concerning the Committee of Reformation.
 in the Congregation of Prelates; and after that, asked if they had any thing to say upon the Article of Reformation. The Bishop of *Saffari* said, it would be necessary to depute some to inform themselves of the Prelates what they should think proper to be done in that Matter.

Marcus Viguierius, Bishop of *Sinigaglio* said, these Deputies ought to be chosen out of all Nations. Cardinal *del Monte*, who was afraid that that might insensibly be practised in this Council, which was done at *Constance*, that Men should vote nationally, said, if any Bishop of any Nation had any Obstacles to represent, which he or his Brethren might meet with in their Countries, which hindred the Exercise of their Jurisdiction, that Bishop need only represent it to him, and he would take care he should have Satisfaction, would keep his counsel, and would not so much as name him to the Pope.

June 30. there was a general Congregation, in which it was proposed how they should receive the French Ambassadors, and what Rank they should have. Cardinal *Paceco* began with commending the King of *France's* Piety towards the Council, exhorted the Legates to receive his Ambassadors with all possible Marks of good Will and Gratitude; and said, he did not question but their Presence in the Sessions and Congregations would be of great weight in the Decision of Matters, since they were understanding and prudent Men; but he did not think it proper for them to determine what place the Ambassadors should have; that for the present, since there were no Ambassadors from the King of the *Romans*, or from any other King, there was no danger of any Dispute; that if there was a necessity of deciding it in the mean time, they ought to see what had been done in other Councils, which he was not sufficiently acquainted with. Most Men were of his Opinion, and amongst the rest the Legates.

The Bishop of *Matera* said, if they were to follow what had been practised in former Councils, there was no dispute but the King of the *Romans's* Ambassadors ought to precede those of *France*, because they did so in the Council of the *Lateran*.

The Archbishop of *Armagh* answered, that there was a difference to be made between *Maximilian*, then King of the *Romans*, and *Ferdinand* now, because *Maximilian* was only called King of the *Romans* then, because he was not crowned Emperor, which hindered not his enjoying all Privileges annexed to the Empire; whereas *Ferdinand* was not in the same circumstances, since neither the Empire, nor its Privileges belonged to him, but to *Charles V.*

The Bishop of *Feltri* alledged several Instances, to shew there might be more than two Emperors at one time; and concluded, that *Ferdinand* did well deserve that Rank, since he gave Investitures, and granted Privileges.

The Bishop of *Bitonto* took him up, and said, he had never read or heard, that *Charles* and *Ferdinand* were both Emperors; and concluded, that the King of *France's* Ambassadors ought certainly to precede those of the King of the *Romans*.

Fabio Mignanelli, who dreaded the consequences of these Disputes, said, the Council was not called to regulate that Point of Honour, and that it had better be left to the Prudence of the Legates. The Majority which was for the *French*, inclined to that Opinion. The Legates willingly undertook the Business, and put the Prelates in mind of what had been declared in the beginning of the Council; that what Place soever any Man took, it should be no prejudice to another Man's Right.

When the *French* Ambassadors understood what past in the Congregation, they were surprized that so uncontested a Right should be disputed. They caused the Bishop of *Agde* to speak of it to the Legates; and they mentioned it themselves, when they visited the Legates privately, and they declared they would go back, if they had not the first Rank after the Ambassadors of the Empire. The Legates en-

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 deavoured to sweeten them, and said, that the Majority of the Cardinals owned the first Place to be due to them; that they ought not to be concerned that two or three only should raise Difficulties; that it was no strange thing, that in a Place where every Man had a liberty of speaking what he thought, some should not be of the Opinion of the rest; that they could satisfy them that the Ambassadors of the King of the *Romans* had not been at any of the Councils Meetings since the Emperor's Ambassadors arrived at *Trent*; and consequently, that there was no room for a Dispute, since none could dispute Precedency with them after the Emperor's Ambassadors. The King of *France's* Ambassadors were not entirely satisfied with this Answer, and desired some time to consider of it. Cardinal *Cervinus* was persuaded, that the Ambassadors not finding things disposed in the Council as they fancied before they came from home, made use of this as a pretence to go back again; and since they were not satisfied with all that had been said to them, in all probability nothing would satisfy them. On the other side, the two other Legates were persuaded, that it would be an easy thing to satisfy the *French*, if the King of the *Romans's* Ambassadors could be prevailed upon not to be at their Meetings, which they might do without hurting their Dignity, since they had not been at any of them since the Emperor's Ambassadors came; because it could not be said, they kept away when they saw they were obliged to give place to the Ambassadors of *France*; and so by that means the *French* Ambassadors would have all the Advantage they could desire. They were the more persuaded that this Expedient would take, because they did not perceive *Ferdinand's* Ambassadors to make any Motion; and they considered, that if the Emperor's Ambassador should pretend that the *French* Ambassador ought not to sit next him, and that there ought to be an empty Space between them, to mark out his Dignity the more, it would be an easy thing to let him understand that it was for his Honour to have an Ambassador of *France* sit next him; and if he was not contented with that, they might let him know, that it was never known that there was a void Space between the Emperor's Ambassador and other Ambassadors; and lastly, that they might represent to him, that this Prerogative which he desired, might be an occasion of dissolving the Council against the Emperor's Intention.

It fell out luckily that these Ambassadors agreed the Matter among themselves, so that there was no Dispute. *Ferdinand's* Ambassadors abstained from the Council, and the *French* Ambassadors took the first place immediately after the Emperor's.

July 3. the Pope wrote a Letter to the *Swissers*, which was printed at *Paris* the next Year, in which he declared, that the contumacious (speaking of the Protestants) had reduced him to a necessity of coming to Force and Arms; and that the Emperor having resolved to be revenged of them by Arms, he had joined himself with him, resolving to assist him with all his Forces.

The 4th. of the same Month, his Holiness went to hear Mass in the Church of *Santa Maria Arce-ferse*, the particular Patroness of the Emperors and People of *Rome*; there with all Solemnity he put the Cross into Cardinal *Farnese's* Hands, whom he sent Legate into *Germany*; declared *Ottavio Farnese* his Brother General of his Armies, and blessed the Standard which he gave him. Both of them as they went out of the Church, seemed to take the Road for *Germany*, and the Cardinals waited upon the Legate to the Gate: However they did not go out of *Rome* till *July 13.*

July 5. the Divines at *Trent* met to examine the Articles concerning Works: They were distinguished into three Sorts; those which Man doth before he has Faith or Grace, those which he does after he has received the first Grace, and those which he does when he is justified. For the first, the greatest

est part of the Divines declared against that Proposition, that all Works done without that Faith which precedes Grace, are Sins.

But *Catharinus* maintained, that without God's special Assistance, Man cannot work any good Work: So that all the Works of Infidels, whom God does not call to the Knowledge of the Faith, and all those of the Faithful who are in Sin, are Sins, even tho' Men should look upon them as heroical, because they consider only outward Circumstances at that time, without examining those Circumstances which render them evil: And consequently, that *Luther* was not to be condemned in that, but in those Articles which speak of Works that follow preventing Grace, and which prepare to Justification, such as are a Detestation of Sin, and a Fear of Hell. He confirmed his Opinion by *St. Thomas*, who says, that all Circumstances must concur to make an Action good, whereas if but one fails, it is enough to render it evil; and since the End is one of the principal Circumstances, all Actions, whose End is evil, are spoiled and corrupted. Since therefore Unbelievers refer every thing they do to an evil End, their Actions cannot be good. He added, that according to *St. Augustine*, it is not only a Sin to tend to an evil End, but also not to tend to a good one, as we are obliged to do; maintaining, that without God's preventing Grace, Man can refer nothing to him: And he concluded, that Man could do nothing that was morally good without this Grace. He cited to this purpose several Passages of the Fathers, adding, that we ought to learn Divinity from them and from the Scriptures, and not from the Schoolmen.

Soto opposed this Opinion so hotly, as to say it was heretical, and pretended that it might be inferred from thence that Man is not at liberty to do well, nor capable of obtaining his natural End; which, said, he would be to deny Free-will with the *Lutherans*. He maintained, that Man by the Strength of Nature was able to observe all the Precepts of the Law, as to the Substance of the Work, though he could not do it as to the End, and that this alone was sufficient to avoid Sin. He distinguished three sorts of Works: First, the Transgression of the Law, which is a Sin: Secondly, the Observation of the Law out of a Motive of Charity, which is meritorious and agreeable to God: And thirdly, something between both, which is Obedience to the Law, as to the Substance of the Commandment, which is a Work morally good and perfect in its kind; so that he who fulfils the Law, and only does Works that are morally good, avoids all Sin. Now to moderate this great Perfection which he gave to human Nature, he said that hereby Man might indeed avoid every Sin, but not all Sins. And as to the Questions which were ask'd him, Whether he thought that these Works which he called morally good, prepared to Justification? He said, they did, but it was only at a very great distance.

The *Franciscans* maintained, that this sort of Works are not only good, and really preparatory to Justification, but that they are in some sort meritorious before God, for as much as they merit Grace *de congruo* by a certain infallible Law, since Man can by his sole natural Strength have Sorrow for Sin capable to merit Pardon *de congruo*, according to that Sentence, that God is never wanting to him who does all he can. Some *Franciscans* went farther, and said, if God should not give Grace to every Man that does all he can, he would be unjust, partial, and better to some than others: They cried it would be a strange Absurdity for God to make no difference between a Man that lives morally well, and one that is plunged into all manner of Vice; and that it would be neither reasonable nor just in God, to give Grace rather to one than to another.

The *Dominicans* strongly maintained the contrary Opinion, and produced a Canon of the Council of *Orange* as an Argument, which asserts, that Grace is preceded by no Merit, and that God is the first Principle of Good. They added, that since the *Lutherans*

had cried out against the Church about this Merit of Congruity, it was so much the more necessary that it should be entirely taken away; and the rather, because it was never heard of in the primitive Ages of the Church, in the Heat of their Disputations against the *Pelagians*; and lastly, that since the Scripture attributes our Conversion to God, we ought to be cautious how we otherwise speak.

As to the Preparations to Justification, all the Divines agreed, that after the first divine Motion, there arises in us a Fear, and a Knowledge of the Sinfulness of Sin; and they censured *Luther* for saying, that this Fear is sinful, since God excites the Sinner to reflect upon his Sin; and it cannot be said that God stirs up any Man to Sin. Besides it is the Duty of a Preacher to amaze a Sinner, who by this means passes from a State of Sin to that of Grace: Now it would be strange that a Man could not pass from Sin to Righteousness, but by another Sin.

They had not much difficulty about Works done in a State of Grace; they all agreed that they are perfect, that they merit eternal Life, and that *Luther's* Opinion, which makes them to be so many mortal Sins, is impious and sacrilegious.

July 6. the Prelates met upon the Articles that had been discussed by the Divines; and they agreed that it could not be denied without contradicting *St. Paul*, that Man is justified by Faith. But when they came to explain that Proposition, they said, we ought to know what an Infidel can do by himself to obtain Faith first, and Grace afterwards.

The Archbishop of *Sienna* said, all depended upon Jesus Christ, and nothing upon us, and that all our Justification ought to be attributed to Faith, and that we ought not to say that our Preparations contributed thereunto.

The Bishop of *Matera* opposed this Assertion, and shew'd how those Works which contribute to our Justification and Salvation, tho' they depend upon the Grace of God, are from our selves. To explain this, he urged the Example of *Zaccheus*: And concluded that our Conversion depended upon God and upon us, since when God gives us his Grace, he leaves us at liberty to receive it, and consequently that Faith alone was not sufficient to work out our Salvation, as *Luther* pretended, but that it ought to be accompanied with Efforts of Liberty, and the Reception of Baptism; and so our Conversion depended upon Grace and Liberty. And when he went to explain the Passages of the Fathers, which say, that Justification is the Effect of Grace, he quoted the Rule of the Law, which says, that what belongs in common to two Persons, may be proper to them both. To confirm his Notion, he alledged *Pope Celestin's* Letter to the Bishops of *Gaul*, and some Passages out of *St. Augustine*.

The Bishop of *Sinigaglia* said, that Faith ought only to be considered as a Gate, which is opened to us to go thro' to Justification; but then it was not enough to go thro' the Gate, we ought also to run in the way of the Commandments, which we do when we place no Obstacles in the way of the Grace of God, which leads us thither.

The Bishop of *Cava*, on the contrary, attributed Justification and Salvation to Faith alone, and said that Hope and Charity were inseparable Companions, but not the Cause. This Opinion was refuted by several Prelates.

July 8. there was a general Congregation, in which the Ambassadors of *France* were admitted: *Mendoza* went along with them to do them Honour, though he had his Quartan-Ague still; and that this Reception might be the more solemn, and in the face of the whole World, the Legates ordered the Doors to be opened. *Peter Danes* presented Letters of Credence from the King his Master, which were publicly read.

After the Legates Compliment to the Ambassadors of *France*, *Bertanus*, Bishop of *Fano* and *Modena*, gave his Opinion upon the Articles proposed, and spoke for near two Hours: His Discourse turn'd

upon two Points; first, upon the Passage of St. Paul, that Man is justified by Faith; upon which he observed that St. Paul said that Man is justified by Faith, but not from Faith; *per Fidem non autem a Fide: i.e.* That our Righteousness consisteth not in our Faith it self, but that we acquire it by Faith. Secondly, upon that Passage in *Isaiab*, where our Righteousness is compared to a polluted Cloth; from whence the *Lutherans* concluded that all our Works were vicious: He shew'd that this was not the Sense of the Prophet, and that he only designed in those Words to reproach the *Jews*, because by reason of the Corruption of their Hearts, their best Actions were constantly mingled with Malice and Iniquity.

The Bishops of St. *Agatha* and of *Lucca* said, that St. Paul spake only of Works precedent to Faith, and not of those which go along with it, when he said that Justification did not consist in Works: That if we would be satisfied that that was St. Paul's Sense, we need only consider, that he wrote to *Jews*, who placed their sole Confidence in legal Ceremonies.

The Bishop of *Bitonto* gave his Opinion thus: In a justified Sinner we are to consider two things, his Deliverance from Sin, and the Righteousness which he obtains: His Deliverance from Sin is the Effect of the Righteousness of J. Christ, which is imputed to him, and by vertue of which he obtains Remission: His Justification, which is granted to him afterwards, comes from infused inward Righteousness, and not from that outward Righteousness of Jesus Christ which is imputed to him, as *Luther* pretended. For, says he, if *Adam* had not sinned, we should have inherited his infused Righteousness: But since the Merits of Jesus Christ can do us much more good, than the Sin of *Adam* could do us harm, it follows, that after we have obtained the Forgiveness of our Sins by Jesus Christ, we receive infused Righteousness. He added, that our Justification ought only to be attributed to Faith as its Beginning, and not as its immediate Cause: But then this Faith being accompanied not with those outward Works which Saint Paul speaks of, but with these inward Acts which it forms in the Heart, produces a total Justification.

On the contrary, *Julio Contarini*, Bishop of *Beluno* said, that our Justification depends entirely upon the Merits of Jesus Christ and our Faith, and not at all upon Works, which are only Signs of Faith and Righteousness, being of themselves unable to procure or to preserve our Justification. That in his Opinion, the Vertue which was ascribed to Works, was a lessening of the Merits of Jesus Christ; and that if our Lord should demand Works in the Day of Judgment, it would not be because these Works are the Cause of Righteousness, but because they are Signs of that Faith which merits Salvation. This Opinion was not well received by the Generality of the Fathers, and put them in mind, that *Gasparo Contarini*, who was this Man's Uncle, had been accused of holding such sort of Opinions.

Bernardo Diaz, Bishop of *Cagliari*, said, that an Infidel could not work any good Work, that could merit his Vocation, because this Vocation is a Gift which comes entirely from the free Goodness of God. But when Man is once called, it depends upon him to obey or not to obey; if he obeys, he believes, he hopes, and turns towards God, whom he acknowledges to be full of Goodness towards those that address themselves to him; he detests his Sins, he takes a Resolution to obey the Law of God, and he receives Baptism, whereby he obtains of God that Grace, which being infused, renders him just. Consequently God works two things in us without our Aid, that is to say, independantly upon our Liberty, namely Vocation, and infused Grace; and there are two things likewise which depend upon us, namely to answer that Vocation, and to receive the Righteousness which God offers us; and if in the use of these two Gifts, we concur with God, our Actions are good, and are in common with us and God;

with God as the Agent, and with us as the second Cause. Therefore, adds he, we have reason to say we are justified by Faith; because by it we are raised above our low Estate, and it gives us Notions above the Condition of our Nature, and upon its account, God looks upon us, and thro' it we walk in the way of Righteousness.

The Bishop of the *Canaries* asserted, that tho' Actions done by the sole Strength of Nature, do not in any measure deserve the Grace of Jesus Christ, yet God gives it to them in consideration of their Works, tho' he does it out of pure good Will, and does sometimes call those who have done none of these good Works. This Opinion seemed to some to be *Pelagian*.

F. Jay a Jesuit, Proctor for the Bishop of *Augsbourg*, explained himself thus. The Apostle's Intention is to shew that our Justification is purly gratuitous, because of all those things which contribute to our Salvation, Faith is the only Gift which comes entirely free, since by Faith we obtain other things: So that we are not just by Faith, but by it we may become so. Consequently Faith alone is not sufficient to obtain Justification.

Scripandus distinguish'd two sorts of Justification; one, by which from being wicked a Man becomes just; and the other, by which a Man perseveres in the Observance of the Commandments of God. The first does not in the least depend upon Works. The second is an Effect of the Gifts of the Holy Spirit, which gives us power to observe the Commandments.

July 13. there was a general Congregation to re-examine the Opinions of the Divines and Prelates upon the Articles of Justification.

July 15. there was another, in which the Archbishop of *Armagh*, the Bishops of *Guadix*, *Bitonto* and *Belcastro* were appointed to draw up Decrees upon the first Articles which had been examined.

After this the Opinions of the Prelates were asked upon the other Articles. Some Archbishops and Bishops having given their Opinions, *Jacobus Causus*, Archbishop of *Corfu*, said, that since they ask'd his Opinion, he must own he was unprepared, having thought of nothing but leaving *Trent*, where he saw no Security, the Enemies being almost at the very Gates.

The Archbishop of *Sienna* added, that the Duke of *Wittemberg* intended to besiege *Inspruck*, as soon as he had taken *Chiuzza*, so that he had no time to lose, but prepared to get out of *Trent* as soon as he could.

The Bishop of *Matera* said, he was not ignorant of the Danger the Fathers of the Council were in, but for his part, he was resolved to run the same Risque with the Legates.

The Congregation being thus put into a Fright, the Legates went out, and wrote at the same time to the Pope, and begged his Holiness to consider the Danger they were in; that every place was full of Soldiers about *Trent*; that the *Grisons* who were for the most part *Lutherans*, would not fail upon the first Opportunity to enter the City; that they would be assisted by great Numbers of Persons from the Cities of *Verona* and *Vicenza*, who profess the same Doctrine; that there were several Protestants in *Trent* it self, and that the Garrison would never be able to resist such great Multitudes; that they had no place in which they could be secure, because if they should once want Subsistence, the Garrison would employ their Arms against the Fathers of the Council themselves, instead of defending them; that they believ'd this was a favourable Conjuncture to remove the Council; that since they were persuaded that the Prelates of the Emperor's Party would stay at *Trent*, and might make Decrees in the Name of the Council, they took the liberty to represent to his Holiness, that it would be convenient for him to issue out a Bull, to forbid the Prelates that should stay at *Trent* to make Decrees.

The Pope did not think it convenient to follow the Legates Advice, for fear of provoking the Emperor, and so sent them word to continue the Council at Trent.

The same 15th. of July, the Pope published a Jubilee at Rome: After he had set forth in the Preamble of the Bull, his fatherly Tenderness, and pastoral Vigilance for the Salvation of Souls, and after that made a long Recital of the Damages he every day sustained by the Encrease of Heresies; he says, he called a Council to extirpate them; but the Obstinacy of the Hereticks, who despised the Council, and refused to submit to it, was such, that to remedy these Disorders, he knew no other way but that of Force: That under these Circumstances every Christian ought to apply himself to God, by Prayer, Fasting, Confession, and Contrition, to obtain a happy Conclusion of a War, whose only Object was the Glory of God, the Extirpation of Heresies, and the Exaltation of the Church.

July 17. there was a general Congregation in the Morning to examine the Articles proposed. The Bishop of Cava, who had brought a great number of Books to prove the Opinion he had advanced in the former Congregation, when they discoursed of Justification, desired of the Legates and the other Prelates, that he might have leave to speak, which was allowed him: Then he began with proving what he had laid down before, that all depended upon Faith, in consequence of which Man was justified, tho' at the same time it was supported by Hope and Charity, its two inseparable Companions, tho' they were not the Causes of Justification. To prove his Assertion, he read a great number of Passages, which he accompanied with several Reflections, that took up the whole Congregation. When he had done speaking he rose up, and *Dionisio Zannetini*, Bishop of Chiron told some Bishops, that he hoped in the next Congregation to refute all that the Bishop of Cava had said; and then told him, that he would demonstrate to him his Ignorance or his Obstinacy. The Bishop of Cava being moved with Passion, took him by the Beard, and tore out some of the Hairs. The whole Assembly were in Indignation at this Action. The Legates ordered them to meet in the Afternoon to consult about this Affair. Cardinal *del Monte* said, he thought there was no need of taking any Informations upon this matter which they were met about: That they were all apprized of the Bishop of Cava's Fault, and so had nothing to do, but to give their Opinions how they should give Sentence against the Criminal.

Cardinal *Paceco* said, they must take Informations: For his part, he could not give his Opinion in a Matter which happened he knew not how.

Several Prelates were for referring it to the Pope, since the Council was not called to determine such Businesses.

Others spake in favour of the Bishop of Cava, particularly the Bishop of Bitonto, who represented that the Sorrow which he was in for his Fault, and the Services he had done the Council, as Vice-Legate, merited that he should have some Compassion shewn towards him.

Then the Legates conferred upon these different Opinions, and determined to take Informations about the Bishop of Cava's Action, and ordered him to be shut up in the mean time in the Convent of St. Bernardin, of the Order of St. Francis, where he was to have Communication with no Man, because of the Excommunication which he incurred by actually abusing the Bishop of Chiron.

Maffarelli, the Secretary of the Council, was ordered to take the Informations.

From the 17th. to the 28th. of July, there was no Congregation held at Trent. All this intermediate Time was taken up in Preparations to receive the Cardinal Legate in Germany, with his Brother *Ostasio*, who was at the Head of those Troops that the Pope sent to the Emperor.

July 20. The Emperor put the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse to the Ban of the Empire, accusing them of always crossing his Designs, of refusing to obey him, of conspiring against him, of making War upon the Princes of the Empire, of seizing upon Bishopricks and other Benefices, and the Estates of several particular Persons, and of covering their Violences with the mild and specious Name of Religion, Peace and Liberty, tho' they had quite contrary Views. That for these Causes he proscribed them as perfidious, rebellious, seditious, guilty of High Treason, and Disturbers of the publick Peace; forbidding all Persons whatsoever to give them any Assistance, or to join with them; acquitting their Subjects of their Oaths of Allegiance, and comprehending within this Ban, all those that should continue to obey them.

July 25th. the Bull for the Jubilee that was to be opened in the Beginning of August, was published at Trent.

July 28th. the Fathers being met, condemned the Bishop of Cava to perpetual Banishment, and to cast himself at the Pope's Feet, who only could take off the Excommunication which he had incurred; in order to receive Absolution. When the Pope was informed of this Bishop's Action, he wrote to the Legates to pronounce a very severe Sentence against him, whereby he might have room to shew him Mercy by sending him home to his Diocese, and by dispensing with his Journey to Rome, giving the chief Legate Power to absolve him. So, when Sentence was pronounced, the Cardinal *del Monte* let the Assembly know the Favour which the Pope was willing to shew to the Bishop of Cava. All commended the Pope's Goodness; and the Bishop was sent home to his own Diocese, after he had been absolved by the Cardinal *del Monte*.

The next Session having been fixed for July 29th. and those Matters having not been sufficiently examined, which were to be determined there; Cardinal *del Monte* proposed to the Assembly to retrench the ordinary Ceremonies next Session, and the Sermon, that the Decree upon those Articles, on which they were in a manner agreed, might be formed that Morning.

Cardinal *Paceco* said, he could not in Conscience be of Cardinal *del Monte*'s Opinion; because the Articles concerning which the Fathers seem'd to be agreed, had not yet been sufficiently examin'd; and considering their Importance, it was impossible they could be with Dignity dispatched in one Morning; and therefore he thought it more convenient to adjourn the Session, and fix it to a certain Day.

The Bishops of Astorga and Badajos said, that they would give the World an occasion to complain of the Council, if only some Articles of Faith were treated of next Session, without touching upon Reformation, when they had promised not to treat of those Matters apart.

Cardinal *del Monte* replied, that he intended to execute what had been promised by the Council, as to the treating of those two Matters; but since there was very little time till next Day, when the sixth Session was to be held; and since Matters of Reformation had not been under Agitation, they might be mentioned in a Decree, and notice might be given, that immediately after that Session was finished, they would set about the Business of Reformation.

For when this Cardinal found that the Fathers had a mind to prorogue the Session, he would not seem to oppose it; but if it should be once debated, whether they should determine the Day of the Session or no, he would not be for fixing of it, because he was not certain of the Day in which the Matters proposed could be decided, no more than what Event the War might have; which might be such, that the Fathers, struck with Terror, might be obliged to retire from Trent in such great Numbers,

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The History of the Council of Trent. that those that were left, could not be called a Council. It was therefore more advisable to declare, that the next Session should be held at a time that should be most agreeable to the Fathers.

Cardinal *Paceco* replied, that to leave the Session so undetermined, was not only an Innovation, but it would give the World reason to believe, that they intended to dissolve the Council, and so give the Bishops a just Pretence to retire.

The Archbishop of *Corfu* said, it was to no purpose to pretend to keep the Prelates at *Trent*, to treat of the manner how wicked Men are justified, whilst themselves were exposed to the Fury of wicked Men; and therefore that it was much more to the purpose to command the Bishop to retire home, or to transfer the Council.

Cardinal *Paceco*, who knew the Emperor had no mind the Council should be transferr'd, or that the Bishops should leave *Trent*, told the Archbishop of *Corfu*, that it did not belong to him to give his Opinion about things in which the President did not ask it.

The Bishop of *Matera* took the Archbishop of *Corfu's* Part, and said, that to oblige the Fathers to stay at *Trent*, was to tempt God, and to expose the whole Church to the utmost Infamy; that he did not see why it should be taken ill that they left *Trent*, when the Prelates were excused, who absented themselves because of the Danger of the Roads; that less was not to be feared for those who were shut up in *Trent*, where they were surrounded with Soldiers on every side. In a Word, he could not conceive how any Man could pretend a Council could be held at *Trent* in time of War, when they saw great numbers of Prelates absent themselves every Day, as if the Name of a general Council could be given to a little Assembly of Bishops. He did not question for his part, but if the Emperor knew how things stood, he would be the first that would consent to have the Council transferr'd to another place.

Cardinal *Paceco* hereupon replied to the Bishop of *Matera* in a Rage, speak upon what is proposed to you, and do not make the Emperor here think of what you know nothing of.

Cardinal *del Monte* upon this, addressing himself to Cardinal *Paceco*, told him, that he did not know by what Right he went about to deprive the Prelates of a Liberty to give their Opinions upon the present Posture of Affairs: It was what he never assumed, though he was President of the Council; that he did not see why the Bishop of *Matera* should be so severely reprov'd, who had made the Emperor think nothing that was unworthy of himself, and that all that he said, was very much to the purpose, since he only spake for the Interest and Security of the Fathers of the Council.

This angered Cardinal *Paceco* yet more; and the Spanish Bishops joyning with him, the Congregation was in so great a Disorder, that Cardinal *del Monte* was obliged to withdraw, and to retire with those Bishops that were of his own Party.

Cardinal *Paceco* oppos'd his withdrawing, and said, that the Day in which the next Session was to be kept, ought to be determined, otherwise this would be to declare the Council dissolved, which was no more the Emperor's Intention, than it was to transfer it: That he knew his Imperial Majesty's Thoughts much better than the Bishop of *Matera*, who spake only by Conjecture.

But Cardinal *del Monte* replied, that the Dissolution of the Council did not depend upon the Uncertainty of the Day in which the next Session was to be held, but upon the Event of the War; and lastly, that this Matter should be debated in the next Congregation that should be held.

July 30. The Prelates being met, the Bishop of *Bitonto* immediately began to make a long Discourse upon the Subject of Justification; and as soon as he

had made an end, Cardinal *del Monte* rose up, and bad the Prelates get ready for the next Congregation, that they might form a Decree upon the Articles propos'd from the Opinions that had been given.

Hereupon Cardinal *Paceco* challenged Cardinal *del Monte* to keep his Word, and to put it to the Vote when the next Session should be held, especially since several Prelates were for fixing the last Days Congregation.

Cardinal *del Monte* replied, that the number of those, who voted for fixing the Day of the Session, not being greater than those who were of a contrary Opinion, by above two or three; and it being allowed that the Legates were of the weakest side, their Votes ought to prevail, and to carry it, at least, above the Votes only of three or four Bishops.

The Validity of the Legates Votes above those of the Bishops, was contested by *Paceco*. Both sides were so hot, that Cardinal *Madrucci* taking up the Discourse, said, 'I tremble with Horror, when I see Prelates, whose Stations are so exalted as yours are, act with so much Heat; and I cannot forbear conjuring you both to act more moderately, and more Christianly.'

Cardinal *del Monte* being very angry at this Reprimand, replied, 'I have nothing to reproach myself withal; I have said nothing which can hurt Christian Charity; but I perceive I am treated here rather like a School-Boy than the President of the Council: Those that would have me use good Manners towards them, must use the same towards me.'

Cardinal *Madrucci*, who took this Answer of Cardinal *del Monte's* to be directed to him, because it had been told him, that it was said he was resolved to be Master, because the Council was held in his Capital City, replied, that when he made that Answer, he did not intend to reproach Cardinal *del Monte* with speaking any thing improperly; but only to advise him to take care, lest in the Heat of his Dispute some Expressions might escape him, of which he might afterwards repent: That he did not think any Man could complain that he wanted good Manners; since on the contrary, he had always testify'd the sincere Desire that he had to please every Man.

Cardinal *del Monte* immediately repli'd that those whom he meant, when he said some were for giving Laws to him, were the Cardinals *Madrucci* and *Paceco*; that he would obey them willingly any where else, but in that place he could not do it without lessening his Dignity, which he would maintain with all his Might: And that this pretended Advice which Cardinal *Madrucci* was so willing to give him, that he should take care that nothing should escape him of which he might afterwards repent, was rather a Threatning than an Advice, which tended towards taking away all Freedom of Speech in Assemblies, which he allow'd all Mankind to use: That if this Cardinal pretended always to have very much Deference to the Fathers of the Council, he (the Cardinal *del Monte*) had yet more for those two Cardinals; for though the Presidents were to have a higher place, and apart from the other Prelates of the Council, yet he had made these two Cardinals sit upon the same Bench with himself, and placed them among the Presidents.

'Tis not to you, replied *Paceco*, to whom I owe the Rank which I hold in these Assemblies, but to this Purple with which I am clad.

These Disputes thus encreasing, *Tagliavia*, Archbishop of *Palermo*, threw himself at all their Feet, conjuring them in the Name of Jesus Christ to end their Disputes; and the whole Assembly joined their Prayers to his.

The Cardinals yielding thus to the Prayers of the Assembly, the Suffrages of the Fathers were taken.

Twenty

Twenty seven were for leaving the Day for the next Session undetermined, and twenty nine were for fixing it. These last not agreeing about the Day when the Session was to be held, it was resolved to leave it undetermined. However Cardinal *del Monte* said, that before they determined any thing, he was for referring it to Cardinal *Gerwinus*, who was then Absent.

When the Congregation was up, Cardinal *Paceco* made some Excuses to Cardinal *del Monte*, for any thing that he might say that was disobliging.

Cardinal *Madrucci* did not take quite the same Method for addressing himself to Cardinal *del Monte*, 'For my part, said he, I care not how you took what I said; it is enough to me, that you understand that I am a Man of Quality, who am incapable of doing a mean Action.'

Cardinal *del Monte*, who was sensibly touched with these Words, and looked upon them as a Reproach upon the meanness of his Extraction, reply'd furiously, 'If you are a Man of Quality, believe that you have not to do with a pitiful Fellow, and that I shall one Day be in a place where Persons of the highest Quality shall have nothing to do to command me.'

From August 1st. to the 12th, there was no Congregation, because of the opening of the Jubilee. In the Congregation of the 12th. the Legates pursuing the Letters which they had received from the Pope of the 3^d. and the 4th. of August, proposed to the Prelates to remove the Council; but however, order'd them to finish first what related to the business of Justification. Most of them agreed to it, but the *Imperialists* opposed it, and said, as from the Emperor, that if they thought of removing the the Council, his Imperial Majesty would quickly agree with the Protestants, and would take such Measures as should be for his Interest.

Next day the Legates wrote to the Pope, and gave him an Account of what had past in the Congregation of August 12. desiring him to consider the unhappy Posture of their Affairs, wherein they were exposed to be carried into Captivity, if the Arms of the Protestants should get the Advantage: And that it was for the Interest of the Church, that his Holiness should use his Endeavours to engage the Emperor to consent to remove the Council; that his Imperial Majesty seem'd so averse to it, that he had even threatned the Cardinal *Santa Croce* to throw him into the *Adige*, if he dared to mention its being removed. That in the mean time they would labour to procure the Doctrine of Justification to be decided.

Accordingly Matters of Faith began again to be examined at *Trent*, and in the Congregation of August 20. the Minute of the Canons, which had been drawn up concerning the twenty five Articles, was re-examined, and they entered a-new upon the the same Disputes concerning the Certainty of Grace, the moral Actions of Infidels and Sinners, *Meritum congrui*, Imputation, and the Difference between Grace and Charity; but with more Heat than formerly.

Cardinal *de Santa Croce* seeing that these Disputes were not at an end, said, they had disputed long enough, and there ought to be time given to think of those things which had been debated, that they might judge of them the better: And he proposed to treat of Preparatory Works, and the Observation of the Law. And therefore Prelates and Divines were nominated to draw out of *Luther's* Works such Articles as they were to censure. These six following Articles were taken out.

I. God is the total Cause of our Works, whether Good or Evil: St. Paul's Vocation was no more the Work of God, than the Adultery of David: And the Cruelty of Manlius, than the Treachery of Judas.

V O L. III.

II. No Man can of himself think well or ill, but all comes from absolute necessity, and there is no Free-will in us, but in Fiction or Imagination.

III. Free-will is lost by Adam's Sin, and is only the Name of a Thing which no longer exists: When Man has done all he can, he has sinned mortally.

IV. Free-will is only for Evil: Man not being able to do Good.

V. It is a lifeless Instrument, that can co-operate to nothing, or like an irrational Animal.

VI. God converts only whom he pleases, and that too, whether they will or no; nay though they kick against him.

The two first Articles were generally condemned, and rejected as Frenzies and Impieties of *Luther*, formerly maintained by the *Manichees*, the *Priscillianists*, *Abelardus* and *Wicklif*. *Marinarius* observed, that though it was Blasphemy to say that Men have entirely lost their Liberty, and that no human Action is in their Power; yet one cannot truly say, that Men are free in all their Actions, since they are not free in their first Motions.

Then there arose a Dispute upon the Question, Whether Man is at Liberty to believe, or not, as he pleases? The *Franciscans* denied it; because, said they, as Demonstrations are a necessary Cause of Faith, so Persuasions necessarily cause Faith to begin; and this Faith is in the Understanding, which is a natural Agent, naturally moved by its own Object. The *Dominicans* said, on the contrary, that nothing is more in the Power of the Will, than to believe; and that by the sole Determination of the Will, Man may believe the Number of the Stars to be even.

Upon the third Article, several Passages out of St. *Augustine* were produced, which expressly assert, that Man has lost his Liberty. *Soto*, to explain St. *Augustine's* Doctrine, said, that the Word *Liberty* is equivocal, coming either from the Adjective *Liber*, or the Verb *Liberare*: That in the first Sense it is opposed to Necessity, and in the second to Servitude; and that when St. *Augustine* said that the Liberty of Man was lost, he only meant that Man was become a Slave to Sin, and to the Devil.

The fourth Article seemed intolerable to many, who said, that Liberty consisted in a Power to do two contrary things equally; and consequently, that it could not be said there was a Liberty for Evil, if there were not also for Good: But then they were told, that Saints and Angels are free only to Good; and for the same Reason also those might be said to be free, who were only so towards Evil.

Upon the fifth and sixth, the *Franciscans* and the *Dominicans* were of contrary Opinions. The first maintained, that since the Will is of it self able to prepare it self, it is still more at its own Choice to accept or reject the Divine Vocation when God gives it Strength before it makes use of the Strength of Nature: The others denied those Works which precede the Divine Call to be truly preparatory; and consequently they always gave the first place to God. These, that is to say, the *Dominicans*, were also divided among themselves; for *Soto* asserted, that though Man could not acquire Grace, without being prevented by the special Assistance of God, yet the Will was always able in some Measure to refuse this Assistance; and that if it accepted it, it was because it was willing so to do. And if our Consent was not required, there could be no Reason why all Men were not converted, since God knocks at the Door, and that, according to the common Opinion of the Fathers, he gives his Grace to all that desire it; besides that, the Scripture says, that our Consent is necessary; and to say otherwise, would be to take away Liberty, and to suppose that God does Violence to Mankind.

Aloysius Cataneus, a Jacobin, said, on the contrary, that, according to the Doctrine of *St. Thomas*, God prevents by two sorts of Graces; one sufficient, the other effectual: That the Will can consent to and resist the former, but not the latter; since otherwise it would not be effectual. He produced to this Purpose several Passages out of *St. Augustine*, and said, that the Reason why all Men are not converted, is because they are not effectually prevented; and that for this Reason Liberty is not hurt; because, according to *St. Thomas*, things are violently moved, when they are moved by a contrary Cause; but that no Motion which comes from its proper Cause can be violent; God therefore being the Cause of the Will, the Motion which comes from it or from him, is always the same.

Soto answered this Distinction of sufficient and effectual Grace thus, that all Divine Inspirations are in themselves sufficient, and that which obtains the Consent of the Free-will, draws its Efficacy from that Consent; for want of which it continues ineffectual, not through its own Insufficiency, but through Man's.

Cataneus replied, that then the Distinction of the Elect and the Reprobate would proceed from our selves; which contradicts the Sense of the Church, which teaches, that it is Grace alone which separates the Vessels of Mercy from the Vessels of Wrath; and that it would give Occasion to Men to believe, that Predestination is not the pure Effect of the Divine Will, but of the sole Prescience of our Merits.

This last Consequence, drawn by *Cataneus*, led them to debate upon, and to examine the Protestants Doctrine of Predestination, because of the Connexion between the Arguments. Now since they found nothing to censure in the Books of *Luther* and his Followers, nor in the *Augsbourg* Confession upon this Head, these seven following Articles were taken out of the Writings of the *Zuinglians*.

Articles concerning Predestination to be examined.

- I. In Predestination and Reprobation there is nothing on Man's Part; but all comes from God, and the Divine Will.
- II. The Predestinate can never be damned; nor the Reprobate saved.
- III. The Elect and Predestinate only are truly justified.
- IV. Faith obliges the Justified to believe that they are truly Predestinated.
- V. The Justified can never lose Grace.
- VI. Those that are called, but not predestinated, never receive Grace.
- VII. The just Man ought to believe with certainty of Faith, that he shall always persevere in his Righteousness; and hold for certain, that if he loses Grace, he shall again recover it.

Different Opinions concerning Predestination.

Upon the first Article their Opinions were divided; some looked upon it to be Catholick; others said it was Heretical. The former went upon the Doctrine of *St. Thomas*, and the Generality of the Doctors, who held, that God chose, before the Creation of the World, out of the whole Mass of Mankind, some Creatures that should be saved out of pure Mercy, which is called Predestination: That the Number of the Predestinate is fix'd and determined; so that not one can be added to it: That the rest cannot complain, because God prepared Succours for them, sufficient for their Salvation, though none but the Elect were to be saved. They cited *St. Paul* for their Authority, who speaking of *Jacob's* Election, and *Esau's* Reprobation, says, that the Decree was pronounced before they were born, not in View of their Merits, but for the sole good Pleasure of God: And as of two Vessels made out of the same Mass of Earth, the Potter designs one for an honourable Use, and the other for mean ones; so God chose whom he pleased out of the Mass of

Mankind, and rejected the rest. Upon which *St. Paul* quotes what God said to *Moses*, *I will have Mercy on whom I will have Mercy*; and concludes, *That Salvation does not depend upon him that willeth, nor upon him that runneth, but upon God that sheweth Mercy*. They added, that therefore the Apostle calleth the Council of Predestination, and of Reprobation, *the impenetrable and incomprehensible Height of the Wisdom and Knowledge of God*.

The others called this Opinion severe, cruel, inhumane, and impious, making God partial, if without any Knowledge of the Cause he should choose some, and reject others; and unjust, if he determined Men to Damnation by his proper Motion, and not for their own Faults; and if he should create so many Millions of Souls, only to damn them. They said moreover, that this Opinion destroyed Free-will, since the Elect could never do Evil, nor the Reprobate Good; that it threw Men into Despair, out of Fear of being Reprobate; that it kept wicked Men in Sin, by giving them Hopes of thinking, that if they were of the Number of the Elect, they should never perish; whereas if they were Reprobate, it would be a Folly for them to do better. They owned, that Works are not only not the Cause of Predestination, which being from all Eternity, is prior to them, but not even humane Works foreseen. But, said they, God out of his infinite Mercy wills all Men to be saved, and prepares a Supply sufficient for them all, which every Man accepts or refuses as he pleases; and as he foresees from all Eternity who will make good Use of these Supplies, and who will not, thence it comes that he predestinates some, and rejects others: Otherwise no Man can give a Reason why God complains of Sinners in Scripture, or why he exhorts them to Repentance, if he does not give them such Means of Conversion, as may be effectual; but that the sufficient Supplies which they talk of are useless, and do not deserve that Title, because (as they own themselves) that Grace never had its Effect, nor ever will have.

To solve these Passages in Scripture, *Catharinus* proposed an Opinion, which was as it were in the middle between them both. God, said he, out of his Goodness, chose a small Number of Men, whom he would save absolutely, and accordingly prepared for them effectual and infallible Means; and for the rest, he willed also that they should be saved, and prepared for them a sufficient Supply, which they were free to accept, and be saved, or to refuse, and to be condemned. Of these some are saved, though they are not of the Number of the Elect, because they accept of this Assistance; and others are damned, because they refuse to cooperate with God, who would willingly save them. The Cause of the Predestination of the former is the sole Will of God; the Salvation of the second comes from their Acceptance and good Use of his Grace; and the Reprobation of the latter, from a Foresight of their Refusal of Grace, or of the Abuse which they would make of it: And so the Passages of Scripture, in which all is absolutely attributed to God, are only to be understood of the first; the Admonitions, Exhortations, and general Supplies, are verified of the second, who are saved if they cooperate, and are undone, through their own Faults, if they do not. The Number of the Elect is determined; but that of others, who are saved of their own Accord, is not fixed, unless it be so far as the Works of every one of them are foreseen. He said, he was surprised at the Stupidity of those who said, that the Number of the Saved was certain and determined, and yet maintained, that the rest might be saved; which was to say, that their Number was fixed, though it might be increased: As also at the Absurdity of those who said, that the Reprobate have sufficient Supplies to save them, though they still want greater, that is to say, they had a sufficient Supply which was insufficient. He added, that *St. Augustin's* Opinion was never heard of before his time; and that Father owned

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The History of the Council of Trent. owned it was not to be found in the Writings of those that went before him: And besides, he did not always believe it to be true, especially when he attributed the Cause of the Will of God to our Merits: and said, *That though God shews Mercy to whom he will, and whom he will he hardens*; yet this Will of God cannot be unjust, because it is founded upon very occult Merits; and that there is great Difference among Sinners, there being some, who though they are never justified, yet deserve to be so: That it was true, that the Father spake differently afterwards, suffering himself to be carried away in the Heat of Dispute against the *Pelagians*; which scandalized the Catholics of that time, as St. Prosper sent him word; and 50 Years after *Gennadius of Marseilles*, in his Censure of Illustrious Writers, said, that what *Solomon* says, happened to St. *Augustin*, that through much speaking he was frequently mistaken; but through good Fortune his Fault, though aggravated by Contradiction of his Adversaries, had not yet raised any Controversy which had formed any Heresie: From which Words one would imagine that *Gennadius* had foreseen the Divisions which this Opinion might afterwards occasion.

The Censure of the Second Article was different, according to the three Opinions now related.

Catharinus asserted, that the first Part was true, as it related to the Efficacy of God's Will towards his Elect; and the second Part false, as it related to those sufficient Supplies which God gives to all Men, and the Liberty they have to co-operate with them. Those that attributed the Cause of Predestination to Man's Consent, condemned that Article entire: The Defenders of St. *Augustin* distinguish'd, and said, it was true in a compounded Sense, and false in a divided one. Others said, that God rules and moves every thing according to its proper Nature; so that in free Agents his Determination is such, that with the Act it self the Power to do the contrary still remains.

The other Articles were unanimously Censured: After that, Anathema's were framed against Errors in the Matter of Predestination and Free-will; but these met with Difficulties, every Man making scrupulous Objections about those Terms, which seemed to prejudice his own Opinion. *Jacobus Caneus*, Archbishop of *Corfu*, remonstrated, that since some of these Articles had been censured with Restrictions and Ampliations, they ought to be added to the Anathema's. Others maintained, that if a Proposition had but one erroneous Sense, that was sufficient to condemn it; and that the Primitive Councils followed this Method in condemning Errors barely and simply: That it was easy to know in what Sense a Proposition was condemned, because when the Error was condemned, the Catholick Doctrine opposed to it was pointed at, as it had been done in the last Session. But since this Mixture of Truths and Falshoods made the Canons more perplexed and less intelligible, the Bishop of *Sinigaglia* proposed to make two separate Decrees, one to explain the Doctrine of the Church in a continued Series, and the other to anathematize the contrary Sense. This Opinion was followed by the Fathers, and made use of in subsequent Sessions: So that the Anathema's were put by themselves, and called *Canons*; and the Doctrine by its self, and called a *Decree*. Cardinal *Cervinus* was commanded to draw up the *Decree* and the *Canons*.

Questions concerning Residence. It having been often debated in the Congregations which had been held concerning Reformation, Whether Residence of Bishops was of Divine Right? the Legates did not fail to give an Account of it to the Pope, who sent them Word, that they should take great Care not to suffer that Question to be handled any more; and if it were proposed, to let the Council know, that it was not their Business to examine, Whether Residence was of Divine Right, or no; but to reform Abuses. Now, since

The History of the Council of Trent. Non-Residence was one, they ought only to consider what Penalties they should inflict to stop it in those who having the Care of Souls should not reside; for if they should once go to establish Residence to be *Jure Divino*, Men of turbulent Tempers would take occasion to say, that the Favours which the Holy See grants of this Nature for a time, and for good Reasons, are null. In the same Letter the Pope advised the Legates to beware lest it should be inserted into the Decree, that the Cardinals who possess Bishopricks should be subject to the same Penalties with other Bishops, if they did not reside.

The Generality, however, of the Divines were of Opinion, that Residence was of Divine Right; only the *Canonists* and *Catharinus* were of a contrary Opinion, who said, that Episcopacy was of Divine Institution in the Pope, and of Papal Institution in all other Bishops; to whom the Pope assigns what Number of Sheep they shall feed: And that as the Pope can assign them more or fewer, and even take away from whom he pleases his Power to feed, so he can command them to do their Duties by themselves or by another.

In the Congregation of January 3. 1547. The Spanish Bishops particularly, and several other Bishops, demanded that it should be declared, that Residence was of Divine Right; which was opposed only by some few Italian Bishops. *Thomas Campanius*, Bishop of *Feltri*, was one of these, who said, that according to St. *Jerome*, indeed Bishops are of Divine Institution; but the Division of their Bishopricks is of Ecclesiastical: That *Jesus Christ* committed to all the Apostles the Care of governing his Church, without tying them to any certain Place; as their Actions and those of their Disciples evince: And that the Church appointed the Distribution of Dioceses, only that it might be better governed.

Cardinal *del Monte* following the Pope's Instructions, let them see that this Matter had its Difficulties, which might be easily guest at by the Variety of their Opinions; that if they resolved to determine it exactly, it would infallibly lead them into an Enquiry which would not be so quickly ended: That therefore it was much more advisable to renew the Penalties inflicted by the ancient Canons against those Bishops that should not reside: That even though they should Decree Residence to be *Jure Divino*, such a Decree would be much less capable to oblige Bishops to Residence, than the Penalties which the Council might inflict upon Non-residence; and that it would produce only a 1000 *Chicaneries*, which would tend to an Endeavour to take away from the Pope his Power of dispensing with Residence, which it was well known he never abused, since he never gave such sort of Dispensations, but upon important Reasons.

When Cardinal *del Monte* had done speaking, it was resolved, that since the Session was to be held the 13th Instant, they should not enter upon the Enquiry, Whether Residence was *Jure Divino*? but content themselves with obliging those that had Cure of Souls to reside, under such Penalties as the Council should judge convenient.

Next day (January 4) there was a general Congregation, where it was demanded, that in pursuance of the Resolution which had been made in the precedent Congregation, concerning Residence of Bishops, the Cardinals who had Bishopricks should be obliged to reside in their Dioceses. Cardinal *del Monte* said, he and his Colleagues were ready to protest to the Assembly, that they would be very Religious Observers of that Law, and he durst promise the same thing of the other Cardinals; but he believed, that out of the Respect which was due to their Dignity, they ought not to be named in the Decree, because it might in some sort offend them, and accuse them of not residing: Yet however such general Terms might be used in the Decree; as
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should include those of the Sacred College that should hold Bishopricks.

Cardinal *Paceco* and the *Spanish* Bishops proposed, in order to oblige Bishops to Residence, that Provincial Councils should be held every two Years, in which, Bishops should give an Account of their Residence, and should be judged by their Brethren, if they should fail of their Obligation and their Duty.

Lippomannus Bishop of *Verona* said, that no Advantage could be got by these Provincial Councils; and he thought it was better to say nothing of them, because they could not be called, but by the Prince's Authority, who would seldom suffer them, unless when they were to oppose the Court of *Rome*; which had been constantly observed for these 300 Years last past; and though indeed in the Primitive Ages, some Advantages had been gotten by Provincial Councils, yet it had often happened, that Schisms and Heresies had been seen to arise from them.

As for the Penalties to be inflicted upon the non-resident Bishops, some were for inflicting heavier ones than those already laid by the Canons; others required that Princes should not dispense with Bishops Residence, upon Pretence of using them in their Councils; but several Prelates opposed that, and said if such a thing were inserted into the Decree, it would give Offence to the Princes.

Some were for having it declared in the Decree, that Bishops should have a Power of punishing all sorts of Regulars, without exception, if they should commit a Fault out of their Monasteries. Some were for extending the Bishops Jurisdiction in one thing, some in another. The more moderate said, they ought not to attempt to make so great a Reformation all at once, but they ought to go on by degrees.

In the Congregation of *January* 8. It was demanded that every Bishop, even the Cardinals, should be forbidden to keep the Titles of several Churches; leaving only to the Possessors a Liberty to choose which they liked best.

Cardinal *del Monte* said, it was not Possible to provide for every thing at one time: That this Matter had better be put off for some time; and even when it should be decided, the Pope must approve of their Determination at last, and that the Cardinals would not oppose it: That if it was looked upon as an ill thing that one Man should have a Title to more Churches than one, yet the Church of *Rome* could not be reckon'd the Author of this Abuse, because she never granted that Favour, but for good Reasons, which tended to the Glory of God: That they needed to have no other Example, than what had past at *Rome* upon Cardinal *Madrucci's* Account; where it had been long debated, whether they should grant him Bulls for the Bishoprick of *Brescia*, though the Chapter were very importunate to have them granted, since he had the Bishoprick of *Trent* already; and that at last they were granted by the Pope, only because it was for the publick good.

It was demanded also in this Congregation, and that with great Importunity, that it should be put at the Head of the Decrees, *The Holy Council representing the Universal Church*, because of the Importance of the Matters therein decided. The Legates opposed it, and answered all that could be said to them in Favour of this Title. Their Answers only stoppt the Mouths of the Prelates, without giving them Satisfaction.

In the last Congregations which were held before the Session, the Decree concerning the Faith, which Cardinal *Cervinus* was particularly charged to draw up, was first read. All Authors that mention it, give him mighty commendations for taking so much Care, and examining it in particular, by all the ablest Divines that were there at that time.

In these Congregations some Words of the Decree, which Cardinal *Cervinus* presented, were

changed; as these (for the purpose) at the end of the First Chapter, *the Gentiles had no Power to deliver themselves from Sin, or from the Power of the Devil and of Death, by the strength of Nature: nor had the Jews any Power by the Law of Moses: Instead of which last Words, it was said, by the Letter of the Law of Moses, that they might come the nearer to the Language of St. Paul. And immediately after followed these Words, Tho' Free-will was not extinguish'd in them, but only hurt; which were corrected thus, Though Free-will was not extinguish'd in them, but considerably diminished, as to its strength, and bent down.*

In the fifth Chapter, instead of the last Words of this Period, *So that when God touches the Heart of Man, by the Light of the Holy Ghost, Man is not entirely in a State of Inactivity, by receiving this Inspiration, because it is in his Power not to receive it*, these Words were put in, *because Man may reject it*. The Reason of this Alteration was, because it is not absolutely true, to say that it is in a Man's Power to receive Grace, or not to receive it, since God acts in us without our Concurrence; but it depends upon our selves whether we will receive Grace by consenting to it, or not receive it by withdrawing our Consent. In the beginning of the ninth Chapter, where it is said, *That Sins are not remitted by the Certainty we have of their Forgiveness*, the Word *Certainty* was changed into that of *Presumption*. At the end of that Chapter it had been asserted, *That no Man certainly knows whether he has received the Grace of God*; and they were contented to say, *with a Certainty of Faith, which is liable to a mistake*, that they might not openly condemn the Opinion of *Catherinus*, who before and after the Council always maintained, *That the Just may have a particular Certainty of Faith, that they are justified*.

Things being thus settled, the sixth Session was held *January* 13. 1547. in which there were four Cardinals, ten Archbishops, and forty five Bishops. The *French* Ambassadors, who were invited, would not appear, that they might give the Emperor no Uneasiness, who did not approve of the Decrees that were there to be published, and who for that Reason had commanded his Ambassadors to leave the Town.

Andreas Cornarus, Archbishop of *Spalato*, sung Mass; and *Thomas Stella*, Bishop of *Salpi*, made the Sermon; after which the Decrees were read.

The first was of Justification: It contained sixteen Chapters, in which the Doctrine of the Church concerning Justification is explained. After these Chapters follow 33 Canons, which pronounce Anathema against the Errors that are contrary to the Doctrine contained in the first Decree.

The Council begins with prohibiting all Persons in general to believe, teach, or preach any other Doctrine concerning Justification, besides what is defined and declared in this present Decree; wherein the true and wholesome Doctrine concerning Justification, which Jesus Christ taught, his Apostles left, and the Catholick Church always kept and preserved by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, is set forth.

In the 1st. Chapter the Council declares, that to understand the Doctrine of Justification, we must in the first place necessarily own and confess, that all Men having lost their Innocency by *Adam's* Offence, are fallen into Slavery, and are under the Power of the Devil and of Death, so that not only the *Gentiles* could not deliver themselves by the Strength of Nature, but even the *Jews* could as little do it by the Letter of *Moses's* Law, tho' Free-will be not extinct in them, but only diminished in its Strength, and bent down.

In the 2^d. Chapter it is said, that God sent his Son Jesus Christ in the fulness of Time, whom he had promised before the Law, and under the Law by the Prophets, to redeem the *Jews* that were under

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Session VI.

Decree concerning Justification.

The History of the Council of Trent. Under the Law, and to cause the *Gentiles*, who sought not after Righteousness, to obtain Righteousness, that so all Men might become the Children of God by Adoption, Jesus Christ having been proposed to be to us, thro' Faith in his Blood, the Propitiation of our Sins, and of those of the whole World.

In the 3^d. the Council declares, that tho' Jesus Christ died for all Men, yet all receive not the Benefit of his Death, but only those to whom the Merit of his Passion is communicated. For like as Men by their Birth contracted the Sin of *Adam*, so are they justified by being regenerated in Jesus Christ, since it is by this Regeneration, in vertue of the Merit of his Passion, that that Grace by which they are justified is given them.

In the 4th. Chapter the Council declares, that the Justification of the Wicked is only a Removal and Passage from the State of a Child of *Adam*, to a State of Grace, and of an adopted Child of God, by the second *Adam*, who is Jesus Christ; and that this Removal, after the Publication of the Gospel, cannot be made without Baptism, or a Desire to receive it.

In the 5th. the Council pronounces, that the Beginning of Justification in Adults, proceeds from the preventing Grace of God by Jesus Christ, without any Merit on our part: So that instead of being estranged from God, as they formerly were by reason of their Sins, they become disposed through the exciting and assisting Grace of God, to be converted in order to their Justification, by consenting to, and freely co-operating with this same Grace. So that when God touches the Heart of Man by the Light of the Holy Spirit, Man is not wholly unactive when he receives this Inspiration, because he may reject it; tho' in the mean time he cannot carry himself to Righteousness, without the Grace of God, by the sole Freedom of his own Will.

In the 6th. the Council explains the Manner how Adults dispose themselves to Justification, when being excited and assisted by Grace, and Faith being conceived in them by reason of the Word heard, they freely go to God, believing that his Revelations and Promises are true; especially that of a Sinner's being justified by the Grace of God, and the Redemption of Jesus Christ; after which, acknowledging themselves Sinners, they pass from a Fear of God, which served to terrify them, to a Consideration of the Mercy of God, and then raising themselves up to Hope, they trust that God will be favourable to them for the Love of Jesus Christ, and they begin to love him as the Fountain of all Righteousness, detesting their Sins by that Repentance which ought to precede Baptism; and last of all, when they are resolved to be baptized, to begin a new Life, and to keep the Commandments of God.

In the 7th. the Council gives a Definition of Justification, and assigns five Causes of it. It says therefore, that this Preparation is followed by Justification it self, which is not only Remission of Sins, but Sanctification, and a Renovation of the inner Man by a voluntary Reception of Grace, and of the Gifts which accompany it; the final Cause of which, is the Glory of God and of Jesus Christ, and eternal Life; the Efficient, God himself, as he is merciful; the meritorious Cause, our Lord Jesus Christ, who thro' his extream Love has merited Justification for us, and by his Passion has satisfied God the Father; the instrumental Cause, Baptism, which is the Sacrament of Faith, without which, no Man can be justified; and last of all the formal Cause, the Righteousness of God, that is to say, that by which he justifies us, in such a Manner that we are not only reputed just, but are really so, by receiving every one of us in our selves of his Righteousness, according to his Measure, and the Division which the Holy Spirit makes, as it pleases him, and according to every Man's own Disposition and Co-operation with the Spirit.

V O L. III.

The History of the Council of Trent. In the 8th. the Council teaches us how these Words of St. Paul, that Man is freely justified by Faith, are to be understood; namely, that Faith is the Beginning of Man's Salvation, the Foundation and Root of Justification; because without it, it is impossible to please God, and that all which precedes Justification, be it Faith, or be it Works, does not deserve the Grace of Justification.

In the 9th. Chapter it is said, that tho' we ought to believe that Sins are not, nor never were forgiven any other way than by the alone free Grace of God thro' Jesus Christ; yet we ought not to boast of being certain that they are forgiven; and rest upon that bare presumptuous Certainty; nor maintain it to be necessary for those who are truly justified to have this certain and indubitable Belief that they are justified; nor that no Man is absolved from his Sins, unless he firmly believes himself to be so absolved; nor lastly, that Justification and Forgiveness are effected by this Faith alone, as if he that had not this Faith, doubted of the Promises of God, and of the Efficacy of the Death of Jesus Christ: And that a Christian may, considering his own Weakness and Indisposition, without any doubt of the Mercies of God, the Merits of Jesus Christ, and the Vertue of the Sacraments, fear that he is not in a State of Grace; since no Man can know, without such a Certainty of Faith as is liable to no Mistake, that he has received the Grace of God.

In the 10th. the Council speaks of the Encrease of the Justification which we have received by advancing from Virtue to Virtue, by mortifying our fleshly Members, making them serviceable to Godliness and Justice, in order to live a holy Life, by observing the Commandments of God and of the Church.

In the 11th. Chapter the Council concludes from the Doctrine it taught in the 10th, that no Man, let him be never so justified, ought to look upon himself as exempt from keeping the Commandments of God; and forbids every Man to assert this rash Proposition, which is anathematized by the holy Fathers, namely, that the Observation of these same Commandments is impossible to one that is justified; because God never commands Man to do impossible things, but when he gives any Commands, he admonishes Men to do what they can, and to ask Assistance to do what they cannot do otherwise. The Council adds, that these Commands are not above the Strength of Man, aided by the Assistance of God; and it teaches us that tho' in this mortal Life the justest Men fall into daily Sins, which are called venial, yet they cease not for that Reason to be just; because God forsakes not those whom he has once justified by his Grace, if they forsake not him first, and leave off to live according to the Laws of Temperance and Justice: Wherefore the Council forbids all applauding and flattering of our selves, that because we have Faith only in our Thoughts, by this Faith alone we shall have a share in the Inheritance, tho' we suffer nothing with Jesus Christ. Last of all, it declares, that he contradicts the orthodox Doctrine, who asserts that the just Man sins, at least venially, in every good Action; or which is yet more insupportable, that he deserves eternal Punishments: As also he that says the just Man sins in all his Actions; if, besides the Glory of God, he has the Consideration of the Recompence of Reward in his View, in order to excite his Languor, and to encourage others in their Course.

In the 12th. it is said, that no Man ought to presume he is of the number of the Predestinate, as if it were true that when one is justified he can sin no more, or that if he sins he ought to promise himself that he shall certainly rise again; because, without a particular Revelation of God, it cannot be known whom he has chosen.

In the 13th. the Council speaks of the Gift of Perseverance, as it did in the former Chapter concern-

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ing Predestination, that is to say, that no Man can promise himself with an absolute Certainty that he shall persevere in Goodness unto the End; but he ought to place his whole Confidence in God, who will finish and compleat the good Work which he has begun, and will fail no Man, unless he fails the divine Grace.

In the 14th. Chapter mention is made of those who by Sin fall from the Grace of Justification; and it is said that they cannot rise again but by the Sacrament of Penance, which is called a second Plank after a Shipwreck: It says, that this Penance is very different from baptismal Repentance, because it requires not only that one should cease from Sin, and conceive a Horror for his Crimes, that is to say, that he should have a contrite and humble Heart; but it also contains a sacramental Confession of our Sins, at least in desire to do it whenever there is an Opportunity, and the Absolution of the Priest, with Satisfaction by Fasting and Alms-deeds, not indeed for the eternal Punishment, which is remitted with the Offence by the Sacrament, but for the temporal Punishment which is not always entirely forgiven as it is in Baptism.

In the 15th. the Council declared, that the Grace of Justification which is received, is lost, not only by the Crime of Infidelity, by which Faith is lost, but also by every other mortal Sin, by which Faith is not lost.

In the 16th. the Council exhorts all those that are justified in the manner above explained, whether they have constantly preserved the Grace they have once received, or whether they have recovered it after it has been lost, to live in the Practice of good Works, by which eternal Life is acquired as a Grace promised to the Children of God by Mercy, because of Jesus Christ, and as a Recompence, which according to the Promise of God himself, ought to be faithfully given to their good Works and to their Merits. Afterwards the Council declares, that it does not pretend to assert, that our Righteousness is our own, as if it proceeded from our selves; nor to dissemble nor exclude the Righteousness of God; because this Righteousness which is called our own, in as much as it is inherent in us, is it self the Righteousness of God, which he sheds abroad in us by the Merits of Jesus Christ. Last of all, the Council advertises all the Faithful not to attribute so much to their good Works, tho' Jesus Christ has promised to reward them; but to acknowledge the extreme Goodness of our Lord, who is willing that his own Gifts should become their Merits; and not to confide and glory in themselves, but in the Lord.

At the end of this Chapter, the Council declares, that after it had explained the catholick Doctrine concerning Justification, which every one ought faithfully and constantly to adhere to, it thought it expedient to join some Canons to the Doctrine, that every Man may know both what he ought to follow, and what he ought to avoid. Accordingly thirty three Canons, backed with Anathema's, were decreed by the Council against those that should say,

Canons
concerning
Justifica-
tion.

I. That Man may be justified before God by his own Works, done according to the Light of Nature, or according to the Precepts of the Law, without the Grace of God, merited by Jesus Christ.

II. That the Grace of God, merited by Jesus Christ, was given only that Man might continue the more easily in Righteousness, and so merit eternal Life; as if by his Free-will, without Grace, he could have done the one or the other, tho' with Pain and Difficulty.

III. That without preventing Grace, and the Assistance of the Holy Spirit, Man can perform Acts of Faith, Hope, and Charity, and repent in such a manner as is necessary to obtain Justification.

IV. That the Free-will, moved and excited by the Grace of God, by giving its own Consent, co-operates nothing as to the preparing or putting a Man into Condition to obtain Justification; and that he cannot refuse

his Consent if he pleases, but is purely passive and like a thing without Life.

V. That since Adam's Fall, Man's Free-will is lost and extinguished; that it is a Being that has only a Name without Reality, or a Fiction and vain Imagination, introduced by the Devil into the Church.

VI. That it is not in Man's Power to make his Ways evil, but that God works his evil Works as well as his good ones, not only so far forth as he permits them, but as he really works them himself, so that the Treason of Judas is no less his Work than the Vocation of Saint Paul.

VII. That all Actions which are done before Justification, let them be done in what manner soever, are truly Sins; or that the more a Man labours to dispose himself to Grace, the more grievously he sins.

VIII. That the Fear of Hell, which leads us to have recourse to the Mercy of God, and which is accompanied with Sorrow for our Sins, or which makes us abstain from Sin, is a Sin, or (which is the same thing) puts Sinners into a worse Estate.

IX. That the wicked Man is justified by Faith alone; by which is meant, that to obtain the Grace of Justification, there needs no other thing to co-operate with it, and that it is not so much as necessary that he should prepare and dispose himself by the Motions of his Will.

X. That Men are just without the Righteousness of Jesus Christ, whereby he merited for us that we should be justified; or that it is by that same Righteousness that they are formally just.

XI. That Men are justified, either by the sole Imputation of the Righteousness of Jesus Christ, or by the Remission of Sins without Grace and Charity, which the Holy Ghost spreadeth in their Hearts, and which is inherent in them; or else that the Grace of Justification is only the Favour of God.

XII. That justifying Faith is nothing but a Confidence in the Mercy of God, who forgives Sins because of Jesus Christ; or that it is by this sole Confidence that we are justified.

XIII. That it is necessary to every Man that would obtain Remission of his Sins, to believe certainly, and without any hesitation upon his own Weakness and Indisposition, that his Sins are forgiven.

XIV. That a Man is absolved from his Sins, and justified, as soon as he certainly believes that he is so; or that no Man is truly justified, but he that thinks he is justified, and that it is by this Faith alone that Absolution and Justification are compleated.

XV. That the regenerate and justified Man is certainly obliged to believe that he is of the Number of the Predestinate.

XVI. That a Man may have an absolute and an infallible Certainty of his final Perseverance, without having a particular Revelation.

XVII. That the Grace of Justification is only for those who are predestinated unto Life; and that all others who are called, are truly called, but receive no Grace, as being predestinated unto Evil by the Power of God.

XVIII. That the Commandments of God are impossible, even to him that is justified, and that is in a State of Grace.

XIX. That in the Gospel, Faith alone is commanded, and that other things are neither commanded nor forbidden, but left at liberty as indifferent; or that the ten Commandments do not belong to Christians.

XX. That a justified Man, let him be never so perfect, is not obliged to observe the Command of God and of the Church, but only to believe; as if the Gospel consisted only in a simple and absolute Promise of eternal Life, without any Obligation to keep the Commandments.

XXI. That Jesus Christ was given by God to Man, only as a Redeemer, in whom they ought to place their Confidence, and not also as a Lawgiver, whom they ought to obey.

XXII. That a justified Man can, without particular Assistance from God, persevere in the Righteousness which he has received; or that with such Assistance he cannot.

XXIII. That

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The History of the Council of Trent. XXIII. That a Man once justified can sin no more; and so when any Man sins, it is a sign he was never truly justified: Or on the contrary, that one that is justified can all his Life-time avoid all manner of Sins, even venial ones, without a particular Privilege from God, such as the Church believes to have been granted to the blessed Virgin.

XXIV. That the Righteousness received is neither preserved nor increased by good Works, but that these good Works are only Signs and Fruits of Justification received, and not a Cause that increases it.

XXV. That in every good Work the just Man sins venially at least, if not mortally, and consequently deserves eternal Punishments; and that the sole Reason why he is not damned is, because God imputes not his Works to him to Damnation.

XXVI. That the Just ought not to expect or hope from the Mercy of God, and by the Merits of Jesus Christ, eternal Recompence for the good Works they have done in the Sight of God, tho' they should persevere to the End in Goodness, and keep his Commandments.

XXVII. That there is no Sin mortal, but Infidelity; or that Grace once received is lost by no other Sin, be it never so great.

XXVIII. That Grace being lost by Sin, Faith also is lost at the same time; or that the Faith which remains is not true (though not lively) or that he who has Faith without Charity is no Christian.

XXIX. That he who falls into Sin after Baptism, cannot rise again by the Assistance of the Grace of God; or that he may recover by Faith alone, without the Sacrament of Penance, the Righteousness which he has lost.

XXX. That to every Penitent Sinner, who has received the Grace of Justification, the Offence is so remitted, together with the Obligation to temporal Punishment, that he has no Obligation to temporal Punishment remaining to be paid, either in this Life or in the next in Purgatory, before the Entrance into Heaven can be open to him.

XXXI. That he that is justified, sins when he does good Works with a view of eternal Recompence.

XXXII. That the good Works of him that is justified are so entirely the Gifts of God, that they are by no means the Merits of this justified Man; or that by these good Works, which he does by the Assistance of the Grace of God, and by the Merit of Jesus Christ, he does not truly merit an Increase of Grace unto eternal Life.

The XXXIII. is the Conclusion of these Canons, conceived in these Terms. If any one says that this catholick Doctrine concerning Justification, set forth by the holy Council in this present Decree, is in the least derogatory to the Glory of God, or to the Merits of Jesus Christ, instead of acknowledging that the Truth of our Faith is indeed explained by it, and the Glory of Jesus Christ rendered more illustrious, let him be Anathema.

Decree concerning Reformation. The Decree of Reformation contains five Chapters. The first is concerning the Residence of Bishops, and the Penalties inflicted upon those who do not reside. In the second, all those who are possessors of Benefices, which require Residence, are forbidden to be absent without the Permission of the Bishop of the Place, who shall settle Vicars in their Absence, to whom part of the Fruits of the Benefice shall be given for serving the Cure. In the third, Bishops are enjoined to correct the Excesses of secular and regular Ecclesiasticks, who shall be found out of their Monasteries. By the fourth, Bishops are required to visit Chapters, notwithstanding all Privileges to the contrary. And in the fifth, Bishops are required to perform no episcopal Function out of their own Dioceses.

Decree concerning Residence of Bishops. In the first Chapter the Council declares immediately, that being willing to restore ecclesiastical Discipline, which is extremely relaxed, and to correct the depraved Manners of Clergy and People, it thought it convenient to begin with those that have the Conduct of the greater Churches, since it is certain that the Salvation of the Inferiors depends upon those that govern. That trusting in the Mercy

The History of the Council of Trent. of God, and the Vigilance of his Vicar upon Earth, that for the future none shall be any more advanced to the Government of Churches (which is a Burthen, whose Weight is sufficient to make Angels tremble) but those who shall be found to be every way worthy, and who have been bred up from their tender Infancy in the Exercises of ecclesiastical Discipline; it exhorts Patriarchs, Primate, Metropolitans and Bishops, to watch over themselves, and over the whole Flock which the Holy Ghost has committed to their Care, and to fulfil their Ministry: And therefore that they ought to remember that they are not to forsake their Flocks like mercenary Shepherds, but to set themselves down to watch them, as those from whom the sovereign Judge will require an Account: That however, since there are some in this Age who forget their own Salvation, and prefer the Things of this World to those of Heaven, forsake their Flocks, and neglect the Care of the Sheep that are committed to them, that they may pass away their Time in Courts and the hurry of worldly Business; for this Reason, the holy Council has thought it convenient to renew, as it does indeed renew the ancient Canons against those who do not reside; and to make their Residence more fixt, and come thereby to a Reformation of Manners, it ordains, that if any Prelate of what Dignity or Pre-eminence soever he shall be, shall without any lawful Impediment, or just and reasonable Cause, absent himself six Months together from his Diocesis, he shall be deprived of a fourth part of a Year's Revenue, which shall be applied to the Church, and to the Poor; and if he continues absent six Months longer, he shall from that Moment be deprived of one quarter of his Revenue more, to be applicable in the same manner; and if his Contumacy goes yet farther, the Metropolitan shall be obliged, upon pain of an Interdict, to prohibit his Entry into the Church, and to inform against him to the Pope within three Months: And if the Metropolitan falls himself into this Fault, the oldest Suffragan shall be obliged, under the same Penalty, to inform against him to the Pope, who by his supreme Authority may proceed against the non-residing Prelate, and provide his Church with a better Pastor.

The second Chapter relates to those who are of an inferior Dignity to that of Bishops, and who possess any Benefice, which requires personal Residence, by Right or Custom, by Title or Commendam. *Decree concerning the Residence of beneficed Persons.* It is there said, that the Ordinaries of the Place shall take care to constrain them to reside by proper legal Methods, so that no Privileges or perpetual Indulgences to be exempt from Residence, or to receive the Profits in their Absence, shall be valid in favour of any Person whatsoever. As for Permissions and Dispensations granted for any determinate time, and for valuable and reasonable causes, and allowed as such by the Ordinary, they shall continue in force; and in such cases the Bishop, as the Delegate of the holy See, shall provide for the Cure of Souls, by committing them to good Vicars, to whom an handsome Allowance out of the Revenue of the Benefice should be assigned, any Privilege or Exemption to the contrary notwithstanding.

The third Chapter commands ecclesiastical Superiors to be watchful to correct the Faults of those who are submitted to their conduct; and that the secular Clergy, and even Regulars, who live out of their Monasteries, if they shall commit any Fault, may be visited, punished and corrected by the Ordinary of the Place, who shall proceed against them as a Delegate of the holy See, any Privilege personal, or of an Order, to the contrary notwithstanding.

The fourth Chapter was drawn up in these Terms. Chapters of cathedral Churches, and those which are called greater Churches, and the particular Persons of whom they are composed, cannot by any Exemptions whatsoever, Customs, Judgments, Oaths, or Concordates, (which can oblige the Persons, not their

their Successors) withdraw themselves from the Visitation or Correction of their Bishops or Superiors, whensoever, and as often as it shall be necessary.

Chap. V. No Bishop shall be allowed upon any Pretence whatsoever, to exercise his episcopal Functions in another Bishop's Diocese, without the express Leave of the ordinary of the Place, and upon those Persons only who are submitted to the Ordinary of the same Place. If any Bishop acts otherwise, he shall be of right suspended from his episcopal Functions; and the Persons whom he shall have

ordained, shall be also suspended from the Exercise of those Orders which they shall have so received.

After these Decrees were read, the next Session was appointed upon the 3d. of March.

February 18. the Pope made a Decree, by which he declared, that Cardinals were obliged to Residence; and he ordered those that had several Bishopricks to keep but one, and lay down the rest within six Months, if they were in the Pope's Gift; and within a Year, if they were in the Nomination of any body else.

C H A P. III.

The History of what past in the Council, until it was removed to Bononia.

Deliberation concerning the Subject of the next Session.

January 15. 1547. two Days after the sixth Session, a general Congregation was held, to consult about those things that were proper to be treated of the next Session. Now, since they had agreed to follow the Order of the Confession of *Augsbourg*, the Matter which now presented it self was the Ministry, which in the *Lutherans* Opinion respected the Authority of preaching the Word of God, and of administering the Sacraments. From thence some Prelates took an occasion to demand that they should treat of the Power of the Church, and of all the spiritual and temporal Privileges which it has over the Faithful, which the *Lutherans* rejected as not belonging to the Power of the Church. But the Legates, who apprehended, that if they came to treat of the Power of the Church, they would likewise treat of the Authority of Councils, and of the Pope, said, it was to no purpose to enter into the Question concerning the Authority of the Church, since it was not mentioned in the *Augsbourg* Confession; but only concerning the Power of preaching: That this Matter having been already decided by the Council, which decreed, that neither the secular nor the regular Clergy should be permitted to preach, without they had first obtained Permission from the Bishops; it was more adviseable to treat of the Sacraments, because of their Connexion with the business of Justification, since they are the Means by which a Man is justified. So it was concluded, that they should treat of the Sacraments; but the Subject being too vast, and the Undertaking too great for one Session, it was agreed, that they should treat of the Sacraments in general in the first place; and that Decrees of Reformation might be joined to those of Faith, it was resolved, that the Abuses crept into the Administration of the Sacraments should be examined.

Congregations settled.

Next Day (January 16) another general Congregation was held, in which a Congregation of Prelates and Divines was appointed, wherein Cardinal *Cervinus* was to preside, to examine Matters of Faith; and another for Reformation, made up of Prelates and Canonists, in which Cardinal *del Monte* was to preside: And it was ordered, that in the general Congregations, in which the Opinions of the particular Congregations were to be examined, both Cardinals, *del Monte* and *Cervinus*, should preside together.

In this same Congregation several Bishops, particularly the *Spanish* ones, demanded, that Bishops Residence might be declared to be of divine Right in the next Session. This Article having been sufficiently debated already, in order to its being decided there, and the general Good of the Church depending upon its Determination, Cardinal *del Monte* remonstrated to the Congregation, that the Pope having been informed of the Differences between the

Divines and the Prelates, upon the Question, Whether Residence was *Jure Divino*? acquainted them, that he would have this Matter examined at *Rome*, that he might assist the Council with his Advice: They ought therefore to wait his Decision, and endeavour to remedy the Abuses which Non-residence might have introduced, and that that was the Pope's Intention. So it was resolved, that they should labour to remove the Obstacles which hindered Residence; among which, Plurality of Benefices seemed to be the most principal, since it is impossible to reside in several Places at the same time.

The 17th. of the same Month, an Extract of Propositions concerning Sacraments in general, was read in the general Congregation, taken out of the Books of *Luther* and his Followers, to be examined in a particular Congregation.

Propositions to be examined concerning the Sacraments in general.

I. Sacraments, truly so called, are fewer than seven.

II. Sacraments are not necessary, Faith alone being sufficient to obtain Grace.

III. All Sacraments are equally excellent.

IV. The Sacraments of the New Law confer no Grace upon those, who on their parts do not hinder their Operation.

V. Sacraments never conferred Grace, nor blotted out Sins; it is only Faith in the Sacrament which does it.

VI. God instituted the Sacraments presently after Adam's Sin; by means whereof he conferred Grace.

VII. Grace is given in the Sacraments, only to those that believe their Sins are forgiven.

VIII. Grace is not always given in the Sacraments, nor to all by virtue of the Sacrament it self, but only when, and as it pleases God.

IX. No Sacrament imprints a Character.

X. An ill Minister does not give the Sacrament.

XI. Christians of both Sexes have Power to preach the Word, and to administer the Sacraments.

XII. All Pastors have an Authority to enlarge, abridge, and change as they please the Form of the Sacraments.

XIII. The Intention of the Minister is not necessary, and operates nothing in the Sacraments.

XIV. Sacraments are instituted only to nourish Faith.

After that 17 Propositions concerning Baptism, and 4 concerning Confirmation, taken out of the same Authors, were read.

The Propositions concerning Baptism were these.

Propositions to be examined concerning Baptism and Confirmation.

I. There is no true Baptism in the Roman Catholic Church.

II. Baptism is indifferent, and not necessary to Salvation.

III. Baptism conferred by Hereticks is no true Baptism.

IV. Baptism is Repentance.

V. Bap-

The History of the Council of Trent V. *Baptism is an outward Sign, like Red Oker upon Sheep, and has nothing to do in Justification.*

VI. *Baptism ought to be renewed.*

VII. *True Baptism is Faith; whereby Men believe that to those that Repent, their Sins are forgiven.*

VIII. *Baptism does not destroy Sin, but only makes it not to be imputed.*

IX. *The Baptism of St. John and of Jesus Christ, have the same Virtue.*

X. *The Baptism of Jesus Christ did not make that of John of none effect, only added a Promise to it.*

XI. *Of all the Ceremonies of Baptism, Immersion only is necessary, and others may be omitted without Sin.*

XII. *Children had better be left unbaptized, than be baptized whilst they do not believe.*

XIII. *Infants having no Faith of their own, ought not to be baptized.*

XIV. *Those that have been Baptized in their Infancy, ought to be Re-baptized when they are grown up, because they did not Believe.*

XV. *They ought to be ask'd, Whether they will ratify their Baptism or no? And if they will not, they ought to be left to their Liberty.*

XVI. *Sins committed after Baptism are pardoned upon the sole Remembrance of their having once been baptized.*

XVII. *The Baptismal Vow has no other Condition but that of Faith; and it even disannuls all other Vows.*

The Propositions concerning Confirmation, are these:

I. *Confirmation is no Sacrament.*

II. *It was instituted by the Fathers, and contains no Promise of the Grace of God.*

III. *It is at present an useless Ceremony; formerly it was an Account which Children, come to the Years of Reason, gave to the Church, of their Belief.*

IV. *The Bishop is not the sole lawful Minister of Confirmation; nor is he more so than a Priest,*

Disputes concerning the Questions of the Sacraments in general.

The Divines being met to examine these Propositions, all unanimously agreed, that the first was Heretical; the Council of Florence having determin'd (according to what Tradition, and the Usage of the Church of Rome, which ought to hold the Place of Tradition, teacheth) that there are no more, nor no fewer, than seven Sacraments.

Some demanded, that it should be declared to be of Faith, that Jesus Christ instituted seven Sacraments, because the Lutherans maintained that he instituted none but Baptism and the Eucharist. Others said, they need go no farther than the Council of Florence, because of the different Opinions of several Great Men; and they quoted the Master of the Sentences, who held, that Extream Unction came from St. James and St. Bonaventure, with Alexander Halensis, who taught that Confirmation is no older than the Apostles, to whom the same Father and other Divines also attributed the Justification of the Sacrament of Penance. They added, that several Divines have maintained that Marriage was instituted in the Terrestrial Paradice. The Dominicans replied, that the Lutherans ought not to be spared out of a false Fear of involving these Doctors in this Condemnation, because their Doctrines might be salv'd with the help of a Distinction.

As for the second Proposition, that the Sacraments are not necessary, some were for distinguishing; it being certain that all the Sacraments are not necessary to every Man, and some are incompatible together, as Orders and Marriage: Others were for condemning without Distinction all those that said, that the Sacraments were not necessary absolutely; only adding these Words, *but Superfluous*: which last Opinion was follow'd.

Now, since it was said in the second Proposition, that Sacraments are not necessary, Faith alone be-

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ing sufficient to obtain Grace; some were of Opinion, that the last part of this second proposition was not to be mentioned, since it had been determin'd in the foregoing Session, that Faith alone is not sufficient. Others said, If this Faith included a Desire of receiving Baptism, it was certain that it was sufficient to obtain Grace, *Marinarius* reply'd, that the Distinction of the Sacraments being received by Desire, was unknown to Antiquity, let it be never so true; and that none but the School-men ever used it; and that it laboured under great Difficulties, since we read that the good Thief was enlightened just at the Hour of his Death, and had no knowledge of Baptism to be able to desire it; that even several Heathens seeing the Constancy of the Martyrs, presented themselves upon the Spot to their Executioners to dye with them, when they knew not the Sacraments, so as to form a Desire of them: And so concluded, that it was better to leave this Distinction to the Schools, and not to insert it among the Articles of Faith.

It was replied to *Marinarius*, that though this Distinction was New and Scholastick, yet we ought to believe that Jesus Christ taught the Sense of it, and consequently hold it as an Apostolical Tradition: That in the Examples of the good Thief and the Martyrs, we ought to distinguish two sorts of Sacramental Vows; one explicate and formal; the other implicate, but at least necessary: That if the good Thief and the Martyrs had not that explicate and formal Desire, yet they would have had it, had they been instructed in the Sacraments. It was left to a General Congregation to determine, Whether this Point were an Article of Faith? though they were agreed in the Truth of it,

All the Divines condemned the third Proposition, that all the Sacraments are equally excellent; but they could not agree which was most excellent, without using a Distinction: Wherefore the most of them resolved to pass that Proposition over.

The fourth Proposition, in which it is said, that the Sacraments of the New Law give no Grace to those who hinder it not themselves, was universally condemned; and the Divines, when they gave their Opinions, said, that not only those ought to be condemned, who said, that the Sacraments conferred no Grace upon those who hindred it not themselves, but those also who do not own that Grace is contained in the Sacraments, and conferred not by Virtue of the Faith of him that receives it; but *ex Opere operato Christi*: And when they went to explain how Grace is contained in them, and why it is given, they agreed, that Grace is acquired by all those Actions which excite Devotion; which Grace comes not from the Action, but from the Strength of the Devotion of him that works; and that these are the Actions which the School-men say proceed *ex Opere Operantis*: That there are other Actions which cause Grace, not through the Devotion of him that works, or receives the Sacrament, but by Virtue of the Sacrament it self; as Baptism, for Example, which confers Grace, *ex Opere operato*, upon an Infant that receives it, though he has yet no Knowledge.

Hereupon, there grew a hot Dispute between the Dominicans and the Franciscans. It went so far, that Cardinal Cervinus, who presided in these Congregations, was obliged to impose Silence upon them, and to pray the Generals of both the Orders, to oblige their Religious to speak with more Modesty and Charity.

The Legates also wrote to Rome, that if the Liberty which the Members of these two Orders took, mutually to censure each other, were not restrained, it was to be feared, that if the Report spread abroad, it would draw a Scandal and a Reproach upon the Council.

The Dominicans maintained, that though Grace were a spiritual Quality, created immediately by God, yet there was in the Sacraments an instrument-

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tal and effective Virtue, which produced in the Soul a Disposition to receive them; and that it was in this Sense that it was said they contain Grace, not that it is in them as in a Vessel, but as an Effect is in its Cause.

The *Franciscans* said, that it could not be conceived how God, who is a Spiritual Cause, should use a Temporal Instrument for a Spiritual Effect, such as Grace: And therefore they denied all effective or dispositive Virtue in the Sacraments, saying, that their Efficacy comes from the Promise of God, that as often as the Sacrament shall be administered, he will confer Grace; upon which Account it is said, that the Sacrament contains Grace as an effectual Sign, not by any Virtue inherent in it self, but because of the Promise which God has made of his Infallible Assistance to this Ministry, which thereby becomes the Cause of the Effect that follows, not by any Virtue in it self, but with a View of the Promise of God to give Grace at the same time; just as Merit is called the Cause of Reward, though it has no Activity of its own; which they proved not only by the Authority of *Scotus* and St. *Bonaventure*, but also by that of St. *Bernard*, who says, that Grace is received by the Sacraments, just as a Canon receives his Investiture by a Book, and a Bishop by a Ring.

As for the fifth Proposition, namely, that Sacraments never conferred Grace, nor blotted out Sins, but that it was only the Sacramental Faith that did it; *Dominicans* and *Franciscans* beginning again to dispute about that Question, How the Sacraments contain and produce Grace? some Divines said, that this Proposition had been already sufficiently examined in the former Question, when they discoursed of Faith.

The *Dominicans* said, the sixth Proposition deserved to be censured, because it supposed that the Sacraments instituted immediately after *Adam's* Fall conferred Grace; which was entirely contrary to the Determination of the Council of *Florence*, which said, that the Sacraments of the old Covenant conferred no Grace, but were only Typical of that which was to be granted afterwards by the Merit of the Passion of Jesus Christ.

The *Franciscans*, on the contrary, asserted, that it ought not to be censured; grounding themselves upon St. *Bonaventure* and *Scotus*, who said, that Circumcision conferred Grace upon Children, *ex Opere operato*; that otherwise it would follow that the Children of the *Jews*, who died before Jesus Christ came, would be all damned: that to say with St. *Thomas*, that they were saved by the Faith of their Fathers, is to declare, that Christians Children are in a much more unhappy Condition than that of the Children who were born and died under the Law; because in this case the Parents Faith will signify nothing to Christians Children, if they receive not Baptism. But this sixth Proposition appearing Problematical; when their Opinions were heard, it was thought convenient to omit it.

The seventh and eighth, that Grace is given in the Sacraments only to those that believe that their Sins are forgiven, and that it is not always given in the Sacraments, nor to all by virtue of the Sacraments, but only when, and as it pleases God; were condemned unanimously.

The ninth Proposition, that no Sacrament impresses a Character, was variously debated. *Dominico Soto* demanded, that they should declare the Character of the Sacraments is founded upon Scripture, and that it always pass as an Apostolical Tradition in the Church; saying, that though all the Fathers did not use this Term, yet the thing signified was very Ancient. Others said with *Scotus*, that neither the Words of the Fathers, nor of the Scripture, obliged them to admit this Character; and that it was established only by the Authority of the Church.

[(g) This Bishop of *Minori* was the famous *Catherinus*, who the Pope had just before made Bishop of that See: *Minori* is a small Bishoprick in the Kingdom of *Naples* under the Archbi-

Some demanded to have the nature of this Character explained, and where it resides; some said, it was a Spiritual Power; others said it was a Habit or a Disposition, some called it a Spiritual Sign; others a Sensible and Metaphysical Quality; some pretended the Character resided in the Soul; others placed it in the Understanding or in the Will: And at last it was thought convenient to stick to the Determination of *Innocent III.* and the Definition of the Council of *Florence*.

The tenth Proposition, that an ill Minister does not confer the Sacrament, was condemned as contrary to the Doctrine of St. *Augustine*, and the Decision of the Council of *Constance* against *Wickliffe*.

The eleventh, that all Christians of both Sexes have a Power of preaching the Word of God, and administering the Sacraments, was rejected as contrary to Scripture, Tradition, and the universal Usage of the Church.

The twelfth, that all Pastors have an Authority to enlarge, abridge, and change the Form of the Sacraments as they please themselves, was distinguished upon, as capable of receiving two Senses. For by the Form, is meant, either the essential Words, or else the whole Ceremony of the Minister, which contains many things not at all necessary. In the first Sense, they were condemned that say the Form may be changed, since no Man is allowed to change any thing in the Words which Jesus Christ made use of in the Institution of the Sacraments. In the second, it was thought convenient to declare, that though the Ceremonies were only accidental, yet no private Man ought to change them without some pressing Reason, and without the Authority of the Pope.

The Council of *Florence* having decided, that the Intention of the Minister was necessary in the Administration of the Sacraments; the Divines condemned the thirteenth Proposition, which declared, that the Intention of the Minister in the Sacraments was not at all necessary. When some therefore asked, What Intention the Minister ought to have? Others said, it was absolutely necessary that he should have an habitual or a virtual Intention. The Bishop of *Minori* (g), on the contrary, maintained, that it was sufficient for the Sacrament to obtain its Effect, that the Minister should administer it with the usual Ceremonies; for said he, if the Effect of the Sacrament be made to depend upon the Intention of the Minister, there will be always reason to doubt, whether the Minister had this Intention, which is said to be necessary; and particularly, when they shall come to discover that the Minister was a wicked Man and a Hypocrite, who believe not the Sacraments, then those who shall have received the Sacraments from such a Minister will be under Trouble and Uneasiness.

The fourteenth Proposition, which asserted, that Sacraments were instituted only to nourish Faith, was condemned.

After that, the Propositions relating to Baptism were examined, and the two first were condemned; one, that there is no true Baptism in the *Roman* Church; and the other, that Baptism is indifferent and not necessary. The third Proposition was also condemned, all the Divines being of the same Opinion, that the Sacrament of Baptism administered by Hereticks was good, when they used the same Form and the same Matter, and had the same Intention to do what the Church does.

The other Propositions were likewise censured.

The Propositions concerning Confirmation gave them no Trouble, having been decided by the Council of *Florence*.

The Divines also, and the Canonists, according to *F. Pauls'* Account) who had been employed to col-

shop of *Amalfi*: In the Year 1551. *Catherinus* was made Archbishop of *Conza* in the same Kingdom.]

The History of the Council of Trent.

Articles of Reformation concerning Administration of the Sacraments of Baptism and Confirmation.

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left and reform the Abuses relating to the Sacraments, made a Decree containing six Chapters. *Palavicini* says, there is no mention of it in the Acts of the Council. The six Articles are these.

I. That the Sacraments shall be conferred Gratis, without producing a Basin or Cloath, which might look as if they asked something: That they shall not be refused, nor deferred under pretence of an ancient Custom of not administering them without some Recompence given first: So that the Transgressors shall incur the Penalties of Simoniacs.

II. That Baptism shall be conferred no where but in Churches, except in Cases of Necessity, and to the Infants of Kings and Sovereign Princes. That Bishops shall be clothed in their Pontifical Habits when they confirm; and they shall confirm no where but in Churches, or in their Episcopal Houses.

III. That Baptism shall be conferred only in Churches, where there are Baptismal Fonts; unless the Bishop shall give leave, because of the distance of places, to administer it in other Churches, where the Holy Water shall be kept in decent Vessels, which shall be taken from the Mother-Church.

IV. That for Baptism and Confirmation they shall have but one God-father, who shall be neither Infamous, nor Excommunicated, nor a Monk; and that no Man shall stand as God-father at a Confirmation, unless he has been confirmed himself.

V. That the Priest shall not suffer the Water with which Infants have been baptized to be carried away; nor shall the Bishops suffer any but the Clerks to take off the Bandage from those that have been confirmed, or to wipe of the Holy Chrism.

VI. That Bishops shall confirm no excommunicated Persons, nor such as they shall know to be in mortal Sin.

Canons and Decrees about the Sacraments drawn up.

The Bishops who were deputed to draw up the Decrees concerning Faith, having examined the Opinions of the Divines, and the Conclusions which had been taken in the general Congregations, and left out or distinguished the Propositions, as it had been determined, drew up 14 Canons with *Anathema's* concerning the Sacraments in general, 10 about Baptism, and 3 about Confirmation, all so carefully laid together, that no Opinion among the Catholics was censured, and every one was contented. But when they came to draw up their Chapters of Doctrine, as they had done before in the business of Justification, it appeared to be very hard to speak with so much Niceness and Exactness, as that they should make use of no Term which did not seem to prejudice the Opinion of some one of the Divines, and which could content them all alike. So that the deputed Bishops finding the Difficulty that there was to draw up this Decree, thought it was more convenient to leave it to the Congregation to determine how they should explain the Manner of the Sacraments containing and producing Grace.

The general Congregation was not less perplex'd than the Deputies: Some of the Fathers were for quite omitting the Chapters, and publishing only the Canons, as had been practised about Original Sin: Others were for doing just the contrary, giving this Reason, that they had done so before in the Matter of justification, and since they had begun so, they ought to continue it, and endeavour to do it with so much Prudence, that every Man should have Reason to be content: That they need not fear any Schism would arise, because they might see the Divines every day submit themselves to the Judgment of the Council, after they had defended their own Opinion with Heat: And last of all, that nothing ought to be omitted to convince the Heretic's.

John Baptista Cicala, Bishop of *Albenga*, & alibi, said, that it was never read in History, that any Man ever

quitted his Opinion, though it was condemn'd, unless he was forced to it: And that though all Catholics say they submit themselves to the Judgment of the Roman Church, yet when once their Opinion comes to be rejected, then it is that they obstinately defend it so much the more, because they think themselves offended, and thence it is that Opinions turn Heresies: That to hinder this Evil, there is no better way than to tolerate all Opinions, and so to keep all the Schools in Peace: That the Protestations which the Doctors made of submitting to the Judgment of the Church, were only Terms of Civility and Decency, which ought to be answered by a reciprocal Deference towards them, and preserving themselves Neuter amidst these Contraries: That that is the Stile of civil Life; that he that will be respected, ought to respect others, without imagining that he that talks of submitting, has a real desire to do it when he ought; Witness *Luther*, who as long as he had nothing to do with any but the Pardoners of Germany, or the Doctors of Rome, still said he would stand by the Judgment of the Pope; but when once Pope *Leo* laid hold of his seeming Deference for the Holy Sec, he flew out against it with more Violence than against the Doctors.

Upon this Division of Opinions, the Legates thought it adviseable to write to Rome, and to send thither the Canons which were drawn up, with the Difficulties that still remained in the Matters, both of Faith and Retormation. The Pope sent word back to the Legates, that they should omit the Chapters of the Doctrine of the Sacraments, which could not be explained without danger, and publish only the Anathema's; and likewise suppress the Decree concerning the Abuses in the Sacraments of Baptism and Confirmation.

When they came to debate in the Congregation concerning Plurality of Benefices, the wisest Bishops were of Opinion, that all Men should be forbidden to hold more than three Benefices at one time; some added this Cause, *In case two did not amount to 400 Ducates of Gold yearly Rent*, that so every Man might be ty'd down to the Rule of having but one Benefice of that Value; or two, when One of them did not rise so high; but never above three, though they should not be worth so much.

Aloysius Lippomannus was for having this Decree oblige those that had more than three at that time; so that without having any regard to their Qualities, they should be obliged to lay down those that they had over, within six Months if they were in Italy, or within nine if they were any where else.

The Bishop of *Albenga* represented, that Laws regard only the time to come, never what's past; and said, that he foresaw, if such a Decree were made, either it would not be received, or if it past, it would produce pretended and Simoniackal Resignations, and other Evils much greater than Plurality of Benefices: That this Ordinance seem'd to him to be superfluous for the time to come, because it was sufficient that the Pope gave no more Dispensations to hold several Benefices, and that he would make this Reformation himself. Abundance of Bishops were pleased with this Opinion, which pleased the Legates extreamly; both because of the Honour which it did the Pope, and because they saw themselves eased of an Affair which became very difficult by reason of the Diversity of Opinions. Besides, they were in hopes, that since the Council had once made that Step, to leave the Reformation of this Matter to the Pope, that it would be easy to obtain of the Council to let him decide the Point of Residence, which was still more nice, because it was pretended that it carried along with it the recovering of the Authority of the Episcopal Jurisdiction.

The Legates therefore, promising themselves Success if this were propos'd, wrote to the Pope, to whom

The History of the Council of Trent.

Deliberation concerning Plurality of Benefices

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whom this Advice was so much the more agreeable, by how much he was in Pain to know where the Designs and Enterprizes of the Bishops would terminate. Immediately therefore he dispatched a Bull, by which he called away the whole Business of Reformation to *Rome*, wherein he went farther than the Legates prescribed: But whilst his Answer was coming, the Council failed not to draw up a Minute of a Decree, which set forth, that no Man could have above one Bishoprick, and that those that had more, should be obliged to lay them down, and to keep but one: That those that should for the future get incompatible Benefices, should lose them without any other form of Process; and that those that should possess more than one, should be obliged to shew their Dispensation to the Ordinary, who should proceed according to the Decretal *Ordinarii* of Pope *Innocent IV.*

When they came to give their Opinions, several demanded that it might be added, that no more Dispensations should be given; and some found fault with the Clause which said, that those that were obtained already would be shown, and that they should proceed according to the Decretal of *Innocent IV.* saying, that that was the way to get them all approved, and so encrease the Mischief: For that Pope ordains, that they should be admitted if they were found to be good, and they should have Recourse to *Rome* if they were doubtful; and it might be believ'd that *Rome* would never fail to make a Declaration suitable to its own Concession.

Several therefore were of Opinion, that Dispensations ought to be taken away; others opposed it, saying, that Dispensations were always in the Church, and necessary too, but that all depended upon the good Use which was made of them.

Marcus Vigerius, Bishop of *Sinigaglia*, said, the Council might remedy all these Inconveniencies, if it would declare that no Dispensation should be granted without a lawful Cause, and that he that gives one without, sins, and can't be absolved unless he revokes it; and that he that obtains a Dispensation, shall be so far from being safe in Conscience, that he shall always be under Sin, as long as he keeps the Benefices which he has so obtained. Some replied, that he that grants a Dispensation without a lawful Cause, sins indeed, but still the Dispensation is valid; so that the Conscience of him that obtains it, is at quiet, though he knows the Cause is not lawful.

This Matter was disputed for several Congregations; some saying, that it took away all Authority from the Pope; and others affirming, that it was not in his Power to make what was Evil cease from being so. From this they went to another Question, Whether Plurality of Benefices be forbidden by the Law of God? Those that believ'd Residence to be *Jure Divino*, maintain'd that Plurality of Benefices was forbidden by the Law of God. Others, on the contrary, said, it was only forbidden by the Canons. The Legates had all the Difficulties in the World to allay these Disputes.

In this Confusion of Opinions, *Diego de Alava*, Bishop of *Astorga*, said, that since they could not agree about Dispensations, they ought to forbid *commendams* and *Unions for Life*, which are only Pretences to cover the Abuses of Pluralities, and new Inventions to satisfy Covetousness and Ambition, to the great Scandal of the whole World. The *Italian* Bishops, who were concerned in this Reformation, because they possess such sort of Benefices, did not like this Motion; they demanded indeed some Regulation, but they were for such a one as should not quite take away Dispensations.

The Legates having received the Pope's Answer in the beginning of *February*, with a Bull of Evocation, were exceedingly perplexed, because they thought the Bull was too large ever to be agreed to;

yet to make it pass, they thought it advisable to spread it about by their Confidants, that since there were so many Difficulties in the Business of Reformation, they had better leave it wholly to the Pope. But the Prelates that were in the Emperor's Interest, and several others, opposed it violently, saying, It would wound the Honour of the Council. The Legates perceived well by this Answer, that the Bull was ill timed, and wrote to the Pope, that he must not hope that they would refer the whole Business of Reformation to him; but they believed it might be divided, and that his Holiness need only chuse that part which was properest for him, which was the Reformation of the Cardinals and Dispensations: That here he might prevent the Council, and publish a Bull of Reformation at *Rome*, that no Man should have any thing to object against, because these two Points more particularly belonged to the Pope. And they gave him notice at the same time, that perhaps the Council might be so well pleased with what he should do, that they might leave the other Points of Reformation to his Holiness.

When the Congregation was breaking up, the *Spanish* Bishops, and some of their Party, being got together, to the Number of twenty, and having Cardinal *Paceco* at their Head, complained of the Manner of managing their Congregations, whereby all Resolutions were hindered to be taken, because all they said was either perplexed by Disputes, or dissembled by the Presidents; and they agreed together to change the Method, and to give in their Demands in Writing. Accordingly they drew up a Memorial, in which were the Articles which they proposed to the Legates.

The Legates were exceedingly surprized with this Writing; not so much because it tended to restrain the Pope's Authority, and to extend the Episcopal Jurisdiction, as for the Consequences, since it was to be feared, that if once the Bishops came to unite, they might afterwards also propose their Demands in Writing, and by that means make themselves Masters in all Congregations. They required therefore time to consider of it, and wrote that instant to the Pope, sending him a Copy of the Bishops Memorial, and representing to his Holiness, that the Bishops every day gave themselves greater Liberties than other; that they spake of the Cardinals without Respect, and without Scruple said publicly that they needed to be reformed; that they did not even spare the Pope, saying, he gave them nothing but Words, and held the Council only to amuse the World with a vain hope of Reformation. They added, that it would be difficult to keep them in for the future, because they had frequent Conferences among themselves. Last of all, they laid before him the Consequences which these Actions of the *Spanish* Bishops might have, who would not for certain have done as they did, had they not found themselves supported by some great Prince; and therefore they besought his Holiness to tell them what they should do, that for their parts they were resolved still to stand firm, and not to suffer the Bishops to think they could obtain that by Force, which would not have been granted them willingly; That since the greatest number of Voices carry'd every thing, there was a necessity for his Holiness, in order to secure a Majority to himself, to command the Bishops that were gone to *Venice* to return immediately to *Trent*,

As soon as the Pope received this News from the Legates, he wrote to his Nuncio at *Venice*, to order the *Venetian* Bishops to return to *Trent*; and the Nuncio contrived it so, that the Bishops of that Republick went thither along with them.

The Pope also at the same time called a Congregation, to examine the Writing of the *Spanish* Bishops. They were of Opinion, that the Method proposed by the Legates was the most honourable and advantageous for the Holy See, if it succeeded; but

The History of the Council of Trent.

Complaint of the Spanish Bishops.

The History of the Council of Trent. but then it was the most dangerous, if it did not; and that in such a Conjunction it was not Prudence to hazard all. It was concluded therefore, that if the Legates were not certain of Success, they might,

according to the Time and the Occurrences, grant part of their Demands, or all, according to the Modifications here set down to the Spaniards Demands.

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Articles contained in the Memorial presented to the Legates by the Spanish Bishops.

1st. **T**HAT the Qualifications of Bishops and Parish-Priests shall be determined by the Conditions set down in the Council of the Lateran; because the Method used at present, gives too much scope for Dispensations, which ought to be entirely taken away to avoid the Scandal which they occasion.

2d. That Cardinals shall be obliged to reside upon their Bishopricks at least 6 Months in a Year, as it was Decree'd about other Bishops in the precedent Session.

3d. That Residence be in the first place declared to be of Divine Right.

4th. That Pluralities of Cathedral Churches be condemned as a very great Abuse, and that Cardinals, as well as other Bishops, be admonished to hold but one Bishoprick, and to lay down the rest within a limited time, before the Council breaks up.

5th. That Pluralities of Inferior Churches be suppressed; not only by prohibiting them for the future, but also by revoking all Dispensations granted already, without excepting the Cardinals, unless there be just Causes, which in such Cases shall be tried before the Ordinary.

6th. That Unions for Life be called in, as being Methods made use of to cover Pluralities.

7th. That every Parish-Priest, or any body else that is obliged to Residence, be deprived of his Benefice if he does not reside, without being allowed to plead a Dispensation; unless it be in Cases permitted by the Laws.

8th. That all Parish-Priests shall be examined by the Bishops, and if they shall be found to be ignorant, vitious, or unable for other Causes, they shall be deprived of their Cures; which shall be given to Men that shall be found Worthy after a rigorous Examination, and not according to the fancy of the Ordinary.

9th. That for the future, no Cures be bestow'd, but after a rigorous Examination.

10th. That no Man be made a Bishop, till there has been a verbal Examination of his Life and Manners made upon the Spot.

11th. That no Bishop shall confer Orders in another Bishop's Diocese, without the Permission of the Ordinary, nor to any body besides those of his own Diocese.

The Legates having received these Answers from the Pope, conferred together. Cardinal de Santa Croce was of Opinion, that they should endeavour to bring back the confederated Prelates; by granting them some of the Demands which were consented to at Rome, but Cardinal del Monte said, that to yield to ones Inferior, and especially to a Multitude, was to put them upon the foot of asking more: That he would first sound the well affected Bishops, and if they should be more numerous than the others, he was resolv'd not to give back one

V O L. III.

The Pope's Answer.

1st. **A**S to the Demand of the Bishops to revive the Decree's of the Council of the Lateran, they may be gratified in it, provided that the Canons which they shall make, shall be reasonable:

2d. This Demand is not just, with relation to those who reside at Rome and actually serve the Universal Church; but for the rest, the Pope will take care about it.

3d. Perhaps the Decree that shall be made to declare Residence to be of Divine Right, when applied to particular Churches, may not be true, and would only introduce more Confusion. Leave of Absence for 6 Months would contradict such a Decree.

4th. The same things may be said about the Plurality of Cathedral Churches, which have been said to the 3d. Demand: And as for the Cardinals, the Pope will take care about them.

5th. If the Council proposes to make a severe Regulation, the Pope leaves it to the Bishops, only putting them in mind, that too much Rigour may produce an Effect quite contrary to what is expected, it being to be presumed that the Possessors will make all the Resistance they are able. Besides, if it be left to the Ordinaries to judge of Dispensations, they may make an ill use of it to enlarge their own Authority.

6th. Revocations of Unions for Life may be granted, if they are absolutely resolv'd to put them down; provided time be given to the Incumbents to dispose of their Benefices.

7th. To deprive Parish-Priests of their Benefices, that shall not reside, will be to use too much Rigour, and even supposing the Council should make such a Decree, it could never be observed.

8th. To depose ignorant Parish-Priests, or vitious ones, may be allowed, if the Inability be understood to be such, as of Right deserves Deprivation, and not otherwise; because this would be to make the Ordinaries Masters of the whole.

9th. Since this must necessarily be left to the Conscience of the Collator, it is to no purpose to make any other Decree.

10th. To what purpose is this Care, since there may be false Witnesses upon the Spot, as well as at Rome; and besides, it is superfluous to look for any other Informations, when they may come at a sufficient Knowledge of their Merit by other means; as it almost always happens.

11. The Remedies proposed in the Bull, seem to be sufficient, since they remove all the Inconveniences that can happen upon this Head.

single step; but if he saw they were the Weakest, he would then accommodate himself to the times.

Cardinal del Monte having found several Prelates in the Pope's Interests, and every day expecting those that were gone to Venice, began to hope he should carry his Point in the next Congregation; and from that time laboured in the Decree of Reformation.

The time of the Session drawing nigh, there was a general Congregation held in which the Canons that were con-

Reading of the Canons that were con-
drawn up

[5] X x x x x

concerning the Sacraments, and the Decree of Reformation, were read: Some desire that the Doctrine of the Canons should be explained, as had been done about Justification. It was answer'd that the Canons concerning the Sacraments were so clear, that it was not necessary to explain them any farther. Others demanded also the Decree which had been drawn up against the Abuses in the Administration of the Sacraments: They were told that it was more convenient to defer its Publication till the Council had made an end of examining the Doctrine of the Sacraments.

Difficulties about the Decree of Reformation.

The Decree concerning Reformation did not pass so easily; for there was a Murmur raised as soon as that Clause was read, *saving still in all things the Authority of the Holy See.* The Bishop of Badajos said, that Clause wanted to be explained; because the Council neither ought nor could hurt the Authority of any one whatsoever, much less of the Holy See, which all good Catholicks owned as their Head: But it looked as if the meaning was, that the Court of Rome was to proceed as it did formerly, and so the Decree should not hinder Dispensations, nor no other Abuses which had weakned the Authority of the Canons. He was answer'd, that Laws of Councils are not like the Laws of Nature, where Rigour and Equity are the same thing, whereas the others are subject to the common Defect of all Laws, where Equity must limit Universality in unforeseen Cases, in which they cannot be executed without Injustice: That since Councils are not always assembled, to which Men may have Recourse, and since they cannot foresee nor regulate all particular Cases, there will be need upon that account of the Pope's Authority. But it was replied, that though no Laws can be Universal, yet they are all published without any Exceptions; and that the same thing ought to be done here, because to put in an exception for the Pope, would be to say that he can dispense not only sometimes, and in unforeseen Cases, but always.

Cardinal del Monte, who did not relish this Doctrine, said, they subtilized too far, that they might not give the Holy See its due; which made all the Fathers silent.

The same Bishop of Badajos desired it might be said, that the Article of Residence was not omitted, but deferred. The Legates answer'd that was to mistrust both themselves and the Pope, and to oblige themselves to no purpose to a thing which always depended upon their own Will; but that for Complaisance sake it should be said in the Preamble, that the Council intended to pursue what it had begun concerning Residence; which would make it be understood that some part was still left.

The Spanish Bishop desired that the Cardinals might be expressly named in the Decree. The Italian Bishops said, that the general Terms which the Council used in its Decree, were sufficient to make it be understood that the Cardinals were included in it: But they were answer'd, that according to the Canonists, Cardinals are never included under any general Expression; and that they ought to be expressly named. The Legates replied that it would be convenient to draw up this Decree as they had drawn up the last, in which by *Quality* it was sufficiently understood, that Cardinals were comprehended; and besides they ought to consider that when they address to the Pope concerning the Residence of Cardinal Bishops, his Holiness put forth a Bull to enjoin them to reside, which was published in a Consistory held February 18. by which he sufficiently gave them to understand, that it belonged to the Pope to impose Laws upon them. Since the Pope named them himself in his Bull, replied William Duprat, Bishop of Clermont, it is our Duty to imitate his Holiness, and to Name them too. However it was carried by a Plurality of Voices, that the Cardinals should not be named.

Thursday March 3. 1547. The seventh Session was held. After Jacobus Caucus had celebrated Mass, the two Decrees were read, there having been no Sermon, because Martinus, Bishop of St. Mark, who was to have preached, had got a Cold.

The Session begins with a Preface, in which the Council declares, that for the finishing of their Explication of the wholesome Doctrine of Justification, begun in the precedent Session, it was thought convenient, by an unanimous Consent of the Fathers, to treat of the Sacraments of the Church, which either cause Righteousness to begin, or increase it when it is begun, or recover it when it is lost. Designing therefore to drive away Errors concerning the Sacraments, and to extirpate the ancient Heresies which have been formerly condemned, that are newly revived, with those that have been lately invented upon this Head, which are very prejudicial to the Purity of the Church and the Salvation of Souls, the Holy Council lawfully assembled in the Name of the Holy Ghost, the Legates of the Holy See presiding there, adhering inviolably to the Doctrine of the Holy Scriptures, the Apostolical Traditions, and the unanimous Sense of the other Councils and Fathers, thinks fit to make and publish the following Canons, hoping likewise, by the Assistance of the Holy Ghost, to publish hereafter the other Canons which remain to perfect the Work which it has begun.

These Canons are drawn up in these Terms.

1st. If any Man says that the Sacraments of the new Law were not all instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, or that there are more or less than seven, namely, Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extrem-Union, Order, and Marriage; or that any one of these seven is not truly and properly a Sacrament: Let him be Anathema.

2d. If any Man says that the Sacraments of the new Law differ from those of the old only in Ceremonies and outward Rites: Let him be Anathema.

3d. If any Man says these seven Sacraments are so equal, that no one of them is in any manner more excellent than the rest: Let him be Anathema.

4th. If any Man says that the Sacraments of the new Law are not necessary to Salvation; and that a Man may, without obtaining or desiring them, obtain of God through Faith alone the Grace of Justification, though it be truly said, that all of them are not necessary to every Man in particular: Let him be Anathema.

5th. If any Man says these Sacraments were instituted only to nourish Faith. Let him be Anathema.

6th. If any Man says that the Sacraments of the new Law do not contain the Grace which they signify, or that they do not confer that Grace to those who do not hinder it, as if they were only outward Signs of the Grace received by Faith, or of Righteousness, or bare Marks of the Profession of the Religion of Jesus Christ, which may serve to distinguish the Faithful from Infidels: Let him be Anathema.

7th. If any Man says that Grace is not given always, nor to all Men, by the Sacraments, as far as relates to God's part, though they receive them with requisite Dispositions; but that this Grace is given only sometimes, and to some Persons: Let him be Anathema.

8th. If any Man says that by these same Sacraments of the new Law, Grace is not conferred by their own Virtue and Strength, but that Faith alone, in the Promises of God, is sufficient to obtain Grace: Let him be Anathema.

9th. If any Man says that the three Sacraments of Baptism, Confirmation and Order, do not imprint in the Soul a Character, that is to say, a certain Spiritual and Indelible Mark, upon which Account these Sacraments cannot be repeated: Let him be Anathema.

10th. If any Man says, all Christians have a Power to preach the Word, and to administer the Sacraments, Let him be Anathema.

11th. If

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Session VII. Preface in the VIIth. Session, to Decree concerning Sacraments in general.

Canons of the VIIIth. Session concerning Sacraments in general.

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11th. If any Man says that an Intention, to do at least what the Church does, is not requisite in Ministers when they consecrate or administer the Sacraments: Let him be Anathema.

12th. If any Man says that a Minister who is guilty of a mortal Sin, though otherwise he observes every thing that is essential to consecrate or confer the Sacraments, does not consecrate nor administer that Sacrament: Let him be Anathema.

13th. If any Man says that the Ceremonies which are receiv'd and approv'd by the Catholick Church, and which she uses in the Solemn Administration of the Sacraments, can without Sin be despised or omitted, as the Minister pleases; and that every Pastor can change them into other new ones: Let him be Anathema.

The Canons about Baptism are these.

Canons concerning Baptism.
1st. If any Man says the Baptism of St. John was of the same Validity with that of Jesus Christ: Let him be Anathema.

2d. If any Man says that pure and natural Water is not necessary for the Sacrament of Baptism, and for that Intent wrests these Words of Jesus Christ, Whosoever is not born again of Water and of the Spirit, to any Metaphorical Sense: Let him be Anathema.

3d. If any Man says that the Church of Rome, which is the Mother and Mistress of other Churches, does not teach the true Doctrine of Baptism: Let him be Anathema.

4th. If any Man says that Baptism conferred even by Hereticks in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, with an Intention to do what the Churches doth, is not real Baptism: Let him be Anathema.

5th. If any Man says that Baptism is indifferent, that is to say, that it is not necessary to Salvation: Let him be Anathema.

6th. If any Man says that a baptized Person cannot lose Grace when he pleases, what Sin soever he commits, but only that of Infidelity: Let him be Anathema.

7th. If any Man says that those that are baptized are obliged by their Baptism only to have Faith, and not to observe all the Commandments of the Law of Jesus Christ: Let him be Anathema.

8th. If any Man says that those that are baptized are so free and exempt from observing the Commands of the Church, either written or traditionary, that they are not at all obliged to observe them, unless they are willing to submit to them themselves: Let him be Anathema.

9th. If any Man says that the Remembrance of Baptism once received ought so to be recalled into Mens minds, as to imagine all Vows made afterwards to be vain and useless, because of the Promise already made in Baptism, as if those Vows were derogatory to the Faith once received, and even to Baptism it self: Let him be Anathema.

10th. If any Man says that by the sole Remembrance and Faith of Baptism once received, all sins committed afterwards are remitted or become venial: Let him be Anathema.

11th. If any Man says that true Baptism, and rightly administered, ought to be repeated upon those who, having renounced the Faith among Infidels, return to Penitence: Let him be Anathema.

12th. If any Man says that none ought to be baptized till they are as old as Jesus Christ was when he was baptized, or at the Point of Death: Let him be Anathema.

13. If any Man says that baptized Infants ought not to be received into the number of the Faithful, because they cannot perform any acts of Faith, and that for that Reason they ought to be re-baptized when they are come to the Years of Discretion; or that it is better not to baptize them, than to baptize them in the sole Faith of the Church, since they cannot of themselves perform any Act of Faith: Let him be Anathema.

14th. If any Man says that baptized Infants ought, when they are grown up, to be examin'd whether they will ratify that their Godfathers promised in their names

when they were baptized, and that if they answer No, they ought to be left to their Liberties, and not to be constrain'd to live as Christians under any other Penalty than that of being deprived of the Eucharist and the other Sacraments, until they shall come to Repentance: Let him be Anathema.

The Canons concerning Confirmation are these.

1st. If any Man says that the Confirmation which is given to baptized Persons is an useless Ceremony, and concerning not truly and properly a Sacrament; or that formerly it was only a sort of an Instruction, by which those that were entering into their Youth, gave an Account of their Faith in the Presence of the Church: Let him be Anathema.

2d. If any Man says he injures the Holy Ghost, that attributes any Virtue to the Holy Chrism: Let him be Anathema.

3d. If any Man says the Bishop is not the sole Ordinary Minister of Confirmation; but that every simple Priest may confer it; Let him be Anathema.

The Word Ordinary was added in this Canon, because they would not determine against the Opinion of those Divines, who asserted, that a Priest may sometimes, by a delegated Power, confer the Sacrament of Confirmation; and because they would not strike at the Practice of Favourit.

The Decree of Reformation contains XV. Chapters; in the Preamble of which the Council declares, that being resolved to prosecute, for the Honour of God, and the Encrease of the Christian Religion, what it had begun in the Matter of Residence and Reformation, it thought it convenient to decree what follows, saving still in all things the Authority of the Holy Apostolical See.

Chap. I. No Man shall be admitted to the Government of Cathedral Churches, that is not born of a lawful Marriage, of a ripe Age, good Manners and Learned, according to the Constitution of Alexander III. published in the Council of the Lateran.

Chap. II. No Man of what Dignity, Degree or Pre-eminence soever, shall accept or keep, against the Disposition of the Holy Canons, several Metropolitan or Cathedral Churches, either by Title or Commendam, or by any other Name whatsoever; since one Man ought to be esteemed very happy that can govern one simple Church, and there procure the Advantage and Salvation of the Souls committed to his Care: And as for those who possess several Churches at present against the Tenor of this Decree, they shall be obliged to keep only that which they like best, and to lay down the rest, if they are wholly at the disposal of the Holy See, within six Months; and if they are not, within a Year; otherwise those Churches shall be esteem'd vacant from that Moment; except that which the Incumbent obtained last.

Chap. III. Other smaller Benefices, especially those which have Cure of Souls annexed, shall be given to worthy and capable Persons, who may reside upon the spot, and exercise their Functions themselves, according to the Constitution of Alexander III. in the Council of the Lateran, which begins with *Quia nonnulli*; and the other of Gregory X. in the general Council of Lyons, beginning with *Licet Canon*. Every Collation or Provision otherwise made, shall be null; and the Collator is to know, that he shall himself incur the Penalties set down in the Constitution of the same general Council, which begins with *Grave nimis*.

Chap. IV. Whosoever shall for the future accept or keep at the same time several Cures or other Benefices, that are incompatible, either by way of Union for Life, or by perpetual Commendam, or by

any other Name or Title whatsoever, against the Form of the sacred Canons, particularly against the Constitution of *Innocent III.* which begins with *De Multa*; shall be of right deprived of these same Benefices, according to the Disposition of that Constitution, as well as by virtue of this present Decree.

Chap. V. The Ordinaries of Places shall strictly oblige all those that possess several incompatible Cures or Benefices, to shew their Dispensations; in default of which, they shall proceed against them according to the Constitution of Pope *Gregory X.* published in the general Council of *Lyons*, which begins with *Ordinarii*, which this holy Council thinks necessary to revive, and accordingly does revive it; adding moreover, that the same Ordinaries shall take care to send into these same Benefices capable Vicars, to whom they shall assign a fitting Portion of the Revenue, that so the Care of the Souls may not be neglected, and the Duty of those Benefices may be performed; all Appeals, Privileges, Exemptions, References made by the Beneficiaries to particular Judges, and Prohibitions made by those Judges to the contrary notwithstanding.

Chap. VI. Perpetual Unions of Benefices, made within 11 Years, may be examined by the Ordinary as Deputy of the holy See; and such as shall be found surreptitious or obreptitious, shall be declared null. All that have been granted within 40 Years, that have not taken effect either wholly or in part, as well as those which for the future shall be granted, at the desire of any Person whatsoever, shall be presumed to have been obtained surreptitiously; unless it appears that they have been made for lawful and reasonable Causes, verified before the Ordinary of the Place, after the Parties concerned have been called: Such Unions therefore shall be of no force, unless the holy See declares otherwise.

Chap. VII. Benefices with Cures, which have been time out of mind united to cathedral, collegiate or other Churches, or to Monasteries, Benefices, Colleges, or other pious Places of what sort soever, shall be visited every Year by the Ordinaries of the Place, who shall take all possible care to settle capable Vicars, and those perpetual, unless the Ordinaries shall think it more convenient for the good of those Churches, to put in such as may be removed. And that these Vicars may wholly give themselves up to the good of Souls, the Ordinaries shall assign them a Portion of the Revenue, a Third for instance, more or less, according as they shall judge convenient, upon a certain Fund; all Appeals, Exemptions, Privileges, References to Judges, and Prohibitions by those Judges, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Chap. VIII. The Ordinaries of every Place shall be obliged to visit every Year, by apostolical Authority, all manner of Churches, let them be exempt in any nature or manner whatsoever; and to provide by proper legal Methods, that necessary Repairs be made, and that nothing be wanting that is necessary for the Cure of Souls, if it be annexed, or for any other particular Functions and Obligations of those Places; all Appeals, Privileges, Customs, immemorial Prescriptions, References to Judges, and Prohibitions made by those Judges, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Chap. IX. Those that shall be nominated to govern greater Churches, shall cause themselves to be consecrated within the time prescribed by the Law, and shall make use of no Delays that may be granted them above six Months.

Chap. X. When a See is vacant, Chapters of Churches shall not be allowed in the Year of Vacancy to grant a Permission to ordain, or to give Letters dimissory or *Reverends* (as some call them) by virtue of any Disposition of common Law, or any Privilege or Custom; unless it be in favour of any body, who upon the account of a Benefice received, or which he is ready to receive, may be straitned in time. In any other case, the offending Chapter shall be put under an ecclesiastical Interdict; and the Persons so ordained, if they be admitted to lesser Orders, shall lose the Privilege of their Clerkship, especially in criminal Matters; and if they have received greater Orders, they shall be suspended from the Exercise of them, as long as the Prelate, who shall fill the vacant See, shall please.

Chap. XI. Those that shall obtain leave to be ordained by any foreign Bishop, cannot make use of it, unless there be a lawful Cause exprest in their Letters, why they should not be ordain'd by their proper Bishops; and in that case they shall only be ordain'd by the Bishop of the Place, in which they are to be ordain'd, or by him that shall perform episcopal Functions in his behalf, and after they have been carefully examined.

Chap. XII. Dispensations not to go into Orders, shall not be valid above a Year, except in Cases exprest in the Law.

Chap. XIII. Those that shall be presented, elected and nominated to all sorts of Benefices, by any ecclesiastical Persons whatsoever, even by the Nuncio's of the holy See, cannot be instituted and confirmed, or put into Possession, what Pretence of Privilege or immemorial Custom soever they may alledge, till they have been first examined and found capable by their Ordinaries: And no Person whatsoever shall, by any Appeal, avoid undergoing this Examination, unless it be those who shall be elected or nominated by Universities or Colleges, in which all sorts of Studies shall be taught.

Chap. XIV. The Constitution of *Innocent IV.* concerning Causes of privileged Persons, published in the general Council of *Lyons*, which begins with the Word *Volentes*, shall be observed: And the holy Council has thought it advisable to revive it; adding moreover, that in civil Causes relating to the Salaries which they shall pay to the Poor, the secular Clergy, and other religious Persons, that live out of their Monasteries, howsoever they may be exempted, and tho' they have particular Judges upon the place nominated by the holy See, and in other Causes where they have no Judges, shall be heard before the Ordinaries of the Place, as the Deputies of the holy See for that purpose, and shall be forced by course of Law to pay what they owe; all Privileges, Exemptions, Commissions of Conservation, and Prohibitions made by such Commissions, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Chap. XV. The Ordinaries of Places shall take care, that all and all manner of Hospitals shall be faithfully and diligently looked after by their Administrators, by what Names soever they may be called, or howsoever exempt; still observing the Form of the Constitution publish'd in the Council of *Vienna*, which begins with *Quia continget*; which the holy Council has thought convenient to renew, and does renew, with the Derogations therein contained.

The next Session was appointed for *Thursday* after *Low-Sunday*, which in that Year was *April 21st*. 1547.

C H A P. IV.

The History of what past at Trent, and at Bononia, from the Time that the Translation of the Council was first mentioned, until it was suspended.

The History of the Council of Trent

The History of the Council of Trent

proposal to remove the Council because of the sickness.

MArch 4. there was a Congregation, in which it was proposed to examine the Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, which was to be publish'd the next Session.

At the same time there was a Report spread, that there was a Purple-Fever at *Trent*: The Death of *Henrico Loffredi*, Bishop of *Capaccio*, and of *John Calvi*, General of the *Cordeliers*, did not a little strengthen the Report. The Legates therefore ordered *Hercules Severollus*, the Promotor of the Council, to draw up a verbal Process of the Disease then current; and they consulted *Balduinus*, Physician in ordinary to Cardinal *del Monte*, and *Hieronymus Fracastorius*, Physician to the Council, who gave it as their Opinion, that the Disease which reigned then at *Trent* was mortal, and might degenerate in a short time into a very dangerous Pestilence, especially in Persons of Quality, who had nice Constitutions.

Upon these Opinions of the Physicians, Cardinal *del Monte* held a general Congregation, *March 9*. where he first caused the verbal Process of the Promotor of the Council, and the Opinions of the two Physicians to be read; and then asked the Bishops, what they thought convenient to be done? Several were of opinion, that every Man should have leave to return home. Cardinal *del Monte* replied, that if they took this Resolution, they would lose the Fruit of the Council, which they were just ready to gather; and therefore he was for removing the Council to some convenient Place, and where the Air might be more pure.

Cardinal *Paceco* made Answer, that there was no Fruit to be hoped for from the Council, if they thought of removing it; because since this Translation could not be made but by the Pope's Authority, and with the Princes Consent, it was to be feared they might be as long before they could agree upon a Place as they had been formerly: That the Bishops already settled at *Trent*, could not remove any whither else without very great Difficulties: That he believed therefore it was better to stay there and do nothing, and wait to see what would be the Consequences of this contagious Disease that was talked of; which he did not believe was true, because he himself had taken care to be informed by the Curate of *St. Peter's*, which is one of the biggest Parishes of the City; and where there are most inferior People, how many Persons had died the Month last past; and the Curate had assured him there died only one Child, and one that had a Dropsy; and having made the same Enquiries of the other Curates, he found there were not forty Persons sick in the whole City, and but five that had died (as was suspected) of the Purples: That these Evidences were much stronger than those of the two Physicians, who were paid by Cardinal *del Monte*; especially if it be considered, that no Physician in the Town would subscribe to the Opinions of these two Physicians; and consequently, that they ought not to think of removing the Council, but by the unanimous Consent of the Fathers, and the Authority of the Pope.

Cardinal *del Monte* replied, they need not apply themselves to the Curates to know the Devastation which this Purple-Fever had caused in *Trent*; they need only cast their Eyes upon the Church-yards, where they would see nothing but new covered Graves; and he could also acquaint them, that for fear of alarming the Fathers upon the first Reports

V O L. III.

that were spread of this Disease, he had commanded the Bells not to be rung when any body died, but that they should be buried without Noise: That the Opinion of the Physicians was of very great Weight, if Men considered their Reputation; and that if it was not signed by the Physicians of the City, it was not because they refused to do it at first, but because having afterwards consulted their own Interest, they thought it not proper to do it; and that consequently they had nothing else to do but to resolve to remove the Council.

Most of the Bishops, except the *Spanish* ones, voted to have the Council removed: ' But one of ours ' (*says Vargas in his Memoirs*) having before he was ' aware of it, said in the Heat of the Debate, ' that the Pope would not be well pleased that the ' Council was removed, and that he knew nothing of ' the Design of the Legates; but that if the Pope had ' a mind to it, it was another matter, and he could ' have nothing to say against it: The Legates (*says ' this Author*) not willing to lose so fair an Opportunity, immediately produced the Pope's Breve, which they caused to be read, and thereby stopped the Mouths of those who opposed their Design, and laughed at our People, by letting them see that they took them at their Words; and so it was resolved that the Council should be removed.

Next Day they met to consult whither the Council should be removed. The Legates proposed *Bononia* for a time; and it was agreed, that some Word should be put into the Decree, which might give hopes that they would return to *Trent*. Before the Congregation rose, a Minute of a Decree was drawn, which was read; and then the 8th. Session was declared for the next Day.

March 11. the 8th. Session was held. After the usual Prayers, Cardinal *del Monte* set forth in few Words what had past in the last Congregation, and declared, that tho' he was inclinable to remove the Council, yet he was disposed to stay at *Trent*, or to go away, just as the Council should think convenient: That the Concern which he saw the Fathers were in, who were affrighted at the contagious Distemper which was in the Town, made him take up this Resolution to propose the Translation of the Council, after he had informed himself how dangerous it was for the Prelates to stay at *Trent*, and after he had consulted the Physicians thereupon. Then he commanded the verbal Process, which had been drawn up concerning the malignant Fever that raged at *Trent*, with the Opinions of the Physicians, to be read.

When that was over, *Fracastorius* rose up, and took his Oath, that if they would give him 100 Crowns of Gold a Day to stay in *Trent*, he would not continue there a Month longer; and that who-soever would not go away, might very soon repent.

Cardinal *del Monte* said, he believed they had nothing more to do after that, but to read the Decree for the Translation of the Council. The Substance of which is this:

' **A**RE you willing upon what has been laid before you, concerning the Distemper which is rife in this Place, and upon what is notoriously known by the whole World, to order and declare, ' that

Session VIII.

Concerning the Translation of the Council to Bononia.

[5] Y y y y y

The History of the Council of Trent. that since the Prelates cannot stay here without Danger of their Lives, and that they ought not, nor cannot be kept here against their Wills; and considering, that several Prelates have withdrawn since the last Session, and that several others have protested in general Congregations, that they also would withdraw for fear of the Sickness, and that they cannot rightfully be detained; so that by their Departure, either the Council will be entirely dissolved, or reduced to so small a number of Bishops, that they could do nothing there; and lastly, that having regard to the imminent Danger of their Lives, and to the other Reasons alledged by the Fathers in the Congregations; it is necessary for the Support and Preservation of the Council, and for the Safety of the Lives of these same Prelates, to translate the Council for a time to *Bononia*, as to a more healthy and a more convenient Place? And likewise to ordain and declare, that it be from this Instant actually removed; that the Session already fixed for *April 21.* be held and celebrated there; and that they shall there continue to pursue the same Designs till the holy Fathers and the holy Council shall judge it to be convenient to remove it back to this Place, or to some other, after having communicated the Matter with the invincible Emperor, the most Christian King, and other Christian Kings and Princes.

This Decree was approved by 35 Bishops, and 3 Generals of Orders, and was voted against by Cardinal *Paceco* and 15 Bishops (*). The Bishop of *Sinigaglia* said, he believed there was a necessity to remove the Council, but that it was better to die than to take such a Resolution, unless all the Bishops were agreed; lest it should cause a Schism. *Claude de Guishe*, Bishop of *Agde*, gave it as his Opinion, that he had not yet taken any Resolution about the Matter.

As soon as the Session was at an end, Cardinal *Paceco* acquainted the Emperor with the Translation of the Council that was made to *Bononia*; at the same time desiring him to let him know what Methods he would have the *Spanish* Bishops take.

Departure of the Legates and some of the Bishops to Bononia. Next Day (*March 12*) the Legates went out of Town with the usual Ceremonies, being preceded with the Cross and a great number of Bishops, to go towards *Bononia*. They were followed by all those who voted for the Translation: The others staid at *Trent*; except the Bishop of *Fiesoli*, who at last was forced to go to *Bononia*; and the Bishops of *Agde* and *Porto*, who withdrew from *Trent*, but did not go to *Bononia*.

Complaints of the Emperor upon Removal of the Council. As soon as the Emperor understood, by Cardinal *Paceco*, that the Council was removed to *Bononia*, he wrote to the *Spanish* Bishops to stay at *Trent*, and to expect his Orders there; and at the same time dispatched a Courier to *John Vega*, his Ambassador at *Rome*, to order him to complain to the Pope, that the Council was removed to *Bononia* without acquainting him with it; shewing him that this was the Means to hinder the Success of his Majesty's Affairs in *Germany*, and the Restoration of Religion: That the Quality of Protector of Councils, which he had, was of no use, since he could not give the same Protection to the Council at *Bononia*, as he could have done if it had continued at *Trent*.

The Pope did not think it adviseable to make any Answer to the Complaints which *Vega* made in the Emperor's Name, but thought it was better to write to the Emperor by his own Nuncio. He sent therefore a Courier to *Verallus* his Nuncio, who, as soon as he had received his Holiness's Letter, went to the Emperor, and assured him, that the Pope had no

hand in what was done at *Trent* about the Translation of the Council: That the Legates were forced to do what they did by a sudden and an unforeseen Necessity: That most of the Bishops being gone already, and others ready to go away, it was better to remove the Council, than to dissolve it quite. That the Pope, for his part, was exceedingly troubled that they could not stay at *Trent*, and continue the Council there, which was so advantageous for Religion, and so necessary for Reformation: That his Holiness was nevertheless persuaded, that if his Imperial Majesty knew the just Reasons which the Legates had to remove the Council, he, who was so religious a Prince, would submit to the Order of Providence, and would take Measures with his Holiness for the Good and Interest of Religion.

The Emperor answered the Nuncio in a Rage, that the Pope should never persuade him that the Council was translated without his Privy: And he added, (if we will believe *Palavicini*) that the Pope was an old obstinate Fellow, that would ruin the Church. The Nuncio having replied, that the Bishops that left *Trent*, left it freely, whereas those that staid behind, were detained by his Orders; the Emperor made Answer, *Begone, Mr. Nuncio, I do not intend to dispute with you; go find out the Bishop of Arras.*

The News of the Removal of the Council got into *France* about the time of *Francis I's* Death, which happened *March 13. 1547.*

The *Spanish* Bishops, who stay'd at *Trent* by the Emperor's Order, deliberated among themselves, whether they should do any synodical Act? But being afraid of causing a Schism, they resolved only to study those Matters which were to be decided in the Council if it continued.

The Pope, to remove all Suspicions which might be taken by reason of the Translation of the Council to *Bononia*, where he had the sole Jurisdiction, dispatched a Bull *March 29.* in which, after he had set forth the Reasons which his Legates had for removing the Council, he invited the Prelates to go to *Bononia*; promising them, for themselves and Servants, all the Security which they could desire.

The Legates also wrote upon *April 12.* by the Pope's Order, to the Bishops that assisted in the Council, to pray them to come immediately to *Bononia*, that they might be there at the next Session.

April 19. The Cardinal Legate held a Congregation at his own House, in which, according to the Orders he had received from *Rome*, he set forth, That the Motions which they had been obliged to make to remove to *Bononia*, having much disturb'd the Prelates and Divines, they could not examine those things which were to have been proposed this next Session; wherefore he thought it was adviseable to make a Decree for the Prorogation of the next Session, with a Faculty of proroguing it farther, if it should be necessary. To this the Prelates agreed.

April 21. The Prelates being assembled in *St. Petronius's* Church, after *Sebastianus Leccavela*, Archbishop of *Naxia*, had sung Mass; and *Ambrosius Catharinus*, Bishop of *Minori* preached; the following Decree was read.

The general Council which was for some time held at *Trent*, and which is now lawfully assembled under the Guidance of the Holy Ghost at *Bononia*, under the Presidency of the same Legates, in the Name of Pope *Paul III.* considering, that upon the 11th. of *March*, in this present Year, is a Session held in the City of *Trent* with the usual Formalities, for lawful and urgent Reasons, and by the Authority of the holy See, and by a special

(*) These Prelates were *Peter Tagliavia*, Archbishop of *Palermo*; *Braccio Marielli*, Bishop of *Fiesoli*; *Coriolanus Martyranus*, Bishop of *St. Marc*; *Balthazar de Heredia*, Bishop of *Bosse*; *John Fonseca*, Bishop of *Castel-la-Mar*; *John de Salazar*, Bishop of *Lanciano*; *Hieronymo de Bononia*, Bishop of *Syracuse*; *Diego de Alava*, Bishop of *Astorga*; *Pedro Agostino*, Bishop of

Huesca in *Aragon*; *Bernardo Diaz*, Bishop of *Calahorra*; *Antonio de la Cruz*, Bishop of the *Canaries*; *Galeazzo Florimonte*, Bishop of *Aquino*; *Francisco de Navarra*, Bishop of *Bajadez*; *Balthazar Limpo*, Bishop of *Porto*; and *Marcus Viguierius*, Bishop of *Sinigaglia*.

The History of the Council of Trent. Power given to the Presidents of the Council, it was ordained, that the Council should be translated from *Trent* to this City, as it actually was translated; and that the Session appointed for this present Day, should be held here in order to the publishing the Canons concerning the Sacraments, and several Matters of Reformation; and considering also that some of the Fathers, who have hitherto assisted at this Council, being employed in their own Churches upon these late solemn Days in Passion-week, and the *Easter-Festivals*; and others having by other Hinderances been withheld from coming hitherto to this Place, whither it is to be hoped they will quickly come; the Matters relating to the Sacraments, and to Reformation, could not be examined and discussed in so numerous an Assembly, as the holy Council could have wished: For these Reasons, that every thing may be done with Dignity and mature Deliberation, it has judged, and doth judge it convenient, that the Session which was to have been held as this Day, as aforesaid, shall be put off and deferred; and it doth put it off and defer it, to *Thursday* in the Octaves of next *Pentecost*, then to regulate those things which have been designed; the holy Council looking upon that Day to be very proper and very convenient, particularly for the absent Prelates; reserving however to the holy Council a Power to act as it shall judge convenient, and as it shall esteem it to be expedient for the Affairs of the Council to restrain and abridge this Term, even in a general Congregation.

The Prelates that were at *Bononia*, that they might not seem to have done nothing, whilst they waited for the Session which they had an Order from the Pope to prorogue, made a solemn Service for the Queen of *Hungary*, and another for King *Francis I.*

Session X. June 2. the 10th. Session was held with the usual Ceremonies; and the following Decree only was read.

Another Prerogative of the Session. Tho' the holy, œcumenical, and general Council has ordained, that the Session which was to be held in this illustrious City of *Bononia*, April 21. last past, concerning Matters relating to the Sacraments, and to Reformation, according to the Decree published at *Trent*, last 11th. of *March*; should be put off and deferred to this Day, for several particular Reasons; and especially upon the account of the Absence of some Fathers, who it was hoped would quickly have been here; yet being willing to excuse with Goodness the Delay of those that are not as yet come, the same Council lawfully assembled, and the same Legates presiding there, orders and declares, that the same Session which was to have been held as this 2d. of *June*, shall be put off and deferred, as it does put it off and defer it, to the 15th. of *September* next; then to treat of Matters relating to the Sacraments and to Reformation: Upon condition nevertheless, that it shall not lay aside the Examination and Discussion, as well of things relating to Articles of Faith, as of the things which concern Reformation; and that the holy Council shall have full Liberty to shorten or to lengthen this Term, as it shall judge convenient, even in a private Congregation.

Victory of the Emperor against the Protestants. Whilst these things past at *Trent* and *Bononia*, the Emperor having gained a great Battel, April 24th. against the Elector of *Saxony* and the Landgrave of *Hesse*, took them Prisoners, and became Master of *Germany*. The Pope frighted with this Success, which made the Emperor very powerful, resolved to join with the new King of *France*, *Henry II.* and sent to him *Ferome Capo-di-Ferro*, Cardinal of *St. George*, as his Legate, with Orders to engage the King to own the Council of *Bononia*, and to send Ambassadors thither; and he sent Cardinal *Francis Sfondrato* into *Germany* to negotiate the Continuation of the Council at *Bononia*.

The History of the Council of Trent. There was a great Sedition at that time at *Naples*, upon account of the Inquisition; it lasted from the middle of *May* to the middle of *July*, and was quieted at last by the Emperor's Letters, declaring, that he consented to exclude the Inquisition, and granting a general Pardon to all the Inhabitants, except 19, upon condition likewise that they should pay a Fine of 100000 Crowns.

Treaty between the King of France and the Pope. Cardinal *St. George* found no great difficulty to succeed in this Negotiation. The Jealousy against *Charles V.* which *Henry II.* inherited of his Father, being encreased by the new Victory which he had got over the Elector of *Saxony*, induced that Prince easily to enter into all the Propositions, which were made him by that Cardinal on the Pope's behalf; and he quickly concluded a Treaty, some of whose Articles were kept secret, and others were made publick: The publick ones were these; that the King should send as many Bishops to the Council as he could, with all possible Speed: That he should give his natural Daughter *Diana*, then nine Years old, whom he had by *Diana of Poitiers*, Dutches of *Valentinois*, in Marriage to *Horatio Farnese*, Duke of *Castro*, the Pope's Grandson.

Pursuant to this Treaty, the King sent seven French Cardinals to *Rome*, as a Mark of his Friendship and good Understanding with the holy See; and the Pope, to shew Marks of his Affection for the King of *France*, sent Cardinals *Hats*, July 20. to *Charles de Vendosme*, a Prince of the Blood; and to *Charles de Guise*, Archbishop *Rheims*.

About the end of *August*, the Emperor came with all his Troops to the Diet of *Augsburg*, which was opened upon the 1st. of *September*. There the Emperor set forth all that he had done in the precedent Diets to restore the Peace of *Germany*; the Care which he had taken to call a Council, and to hold it effectually; and the Necessity he lay under to take up Arms, as the last Means to subdue the Rebels: That God, who knew the Integrity of his Intentions, had given such happy Success to his Arms, that he now saw *Germany* brought to a point, that he could promise himself there would be a Reformation; and it was with this view that he had summoned this Diet; but that the difference of Opinions in Religion had been the cause of all their Troubles, and therefore there they ought to begin, if they would apply a Remedy.

The spiritual Electors being to speak first, according to the Rules of the Diets, began with thanking his Imperial Majesty for what he had done in favour of *Germany*; and represented to him, that the only way to regulate the Opinions which every Man ought to have in Matters of Religion, was to abide by the Decisions of a Council. And therefore they most humbly petitioned his Majesty to solicit the Pope to continue the Council at *Trent*.

The *Lutheran* temporal Electors said, that they willingly agreed that a Council should be held to determine the controverted Points in Religion; but then they desired it might be pious and free; that the Pope might not preside there in person or by his Legates; that he should remit the Bishops Oaths; and lastly, that the Protestant Divines should have a deliberative Voice, and that the Decrees already made at *Trent*, should be re-examined.

The other catholick Princes desired of the Emperor, that the Council of *Trent* might be continued; and that the Protestants might have Liberty to go thither under the publick Faith, and freely to declare their Opinions; and that afterwards they should be obliged to obey its Decrees.

The Imperial Cities declared, that it might be of very dangerous consequence, if private Persons should be obliged to submit to all that should be decided in the Council.

The Emperor, who look'd upon it to be for his Glory, and his Interest, to finish the Pacification of *Germany* by the Continuation of the Council, brought

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brought the Electors, in his private Conferences which he had with them, to submit to the Decisions of the Council; and compelled the Deputies of the Cities by Threatnings; and so drew from them both a Writing, by which they submitted to it, and immediately sent the Cardinal of *Trent* to *Rome*, to solicit the Pope, to send the Council back to *Trent*.

Further
of Lewis
Farnese.

Whilst the Diet was held at *Augsburg*, the Pope received the dismal News of the Death of his Son *Peter Lewis Farnese*, Duke of *Piacenza*. The Nobility being tired with the Cruelties and Disorders of that Prince, resolved to be rid of him. Thirty six Gentlemen, who met upon *Sept. 10.* conspired to go and stab him in his Palace: When they came thither they found him in his Chariot, surrounded by his Guards, just going out to view the Outworks of the Town, on which Men were then at Work. Not being able then to execute their Design, they followed him, as if they were making their court. When they came back, these thirty six Gentlemen went first into the Court of the Castle; and as soon as the Duke's Chariot was under the Gate, they lifted up the Draw-bridge, that he might not be followed by his whole Guard; and then coming up to him, after they had upbraided him with his Vices, they stabbed him, with his Chaplain, his Esquire, and five of his Guards who were about the Chariot. Then they went and rifled the Palace, where they found considerable Sums of Money, which the Duke had laid by to fortify *Piacenza*. The Guards that were shut out of the Palace, all this while laboured all they could to get in. The People got together at the Noise; and the Murders appeared upon the Top of the Tower, and called out to the Mob that were assembled, that now they had nothing more to fear, for the Tyrant was dead; and at the same time they let down the Duke's Body by a Rope into the Ditch. Immediately the People committed a thousand Indignities on the Carcasses, which they trod under their Feet.

In the mean time, *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, Governor of *Milan*, to whom these Gentlemen had communicated their Design, advanced towards *Piacenza* with some Troops. As soon as he heard the Duke was dead, he entered into the Town, seized upon the Castle, and took possession of it in the Emperor's Name.

Prorogation
of the
Session.

Whilst Matters stood thus, the Legates did not think it adviseable to begin any synodical Debates: And therefore Cardinal *del Monte* called a general Congregation upon *Sept. 14.* in his own Palace; in which he declared, that the next Day was indeed the Day appointed for the Session, but that every one saw the Confusion the Council was in: That there were several Prelates upon the Road, especially from *France*, as he understood from the *Sieur D'Urfe*, the French Ambassador, who had been some Days at *Bononia*: That the new Comers had not had time yet to instruct themselves in the Matters which were to be determined; and that those that had assisted at the Congregations in the Summer, were not yet ready: That the late Murder of *Peter Lewis Farnese*, Duke of *Piacenza*, held all the World in suspense, and gave every Man Warning to look after the Security of the Cities that belong'd to the ecclesiastical State: That he and his Colleague rejoiced that they had reserved to themselves a Power of proroguing the Session in a Congregation, so much the more because *Mendoza* solicited it, and that this freed them from the trouble of celebrating it: That he was for making use of that reserved Power just then, and instantly to prorogue the Session, without holding it next Day. All the Fathers were of his Opinion.

Then he went on and said, that after he had laboured with all his Power to find a clear Light, in which they might go on firmly on the Subjects concerning which they were to treat, he could not do it: That when they were at *Trent*, and thought to have dispatched the Business of Justification in a

Fortnight, they were seven Months about it; and yet they held two Congregations a day: That when they examine Matters of Faith, and are obliged to confound Hereticks, they must walk step by step, and weigh every Word; so that he could not certainly know whether the Session could be held in a few Days, or whether it must not be deferred yet several Months: That he believ'd it was more convenient to prorogue for as long as the Council should please; and that this was without doubt the best Expedient: That if any one should reply, that Measures might be better taken if they knew the prefixed Time; he could answer, that in a few Days they would see what course things would take, and then they might determine more positively.

All the Fathers were of this Opinion; and so the Council stood suspended.

The Pope, who hoped to unite the City of *Piacenza* to the Church, immediately upon *Peter Lewis Farnese's* Death, named the Cardinal *del Monte* to be his Legate at *Piacenza*, and ordered his Powers to be dispatched, which were sent him by an express Courier. But the Aversion of the Men of *Piacenza* being as great to the Pope as it had been before to their Duke, they declared entirely for the Emperor; so that Cardinal *del Monte* did not go to take possession of his Legation, but staid at *Bononia* for the Business of the Council.

The Emperor, to give the greater Weight to the Solicitations which he intended to use to the Pope to renew the Council at *Trent*, engaged the Prelates of *Germany* to write to his Holiness: They did so, and represented to the Pope the dangerous Condition and State that *Germany* was in, which might be prevented if the Remedy of the Council came in time, or at least if it were held in *Germany* as it had been so often desired: That the *Germans* having large Dominions, they could not be long absent, and that that was the Reason why no German Bishop, especially in time of War, went to *Vicenza*, and very few to *Trent*, which is a City of *Italy* rather than of *Germany*: However, since they had hoped that upon the foot on which things were carried at *Trent*, they should soon see a Calm in *Germany*, they were very much surprized to hear that the Council was removed, not to say divided: That being deprived of this Remedy, they could only now recur to the apostolick See, desiring his Holiness to be pleased for the Good of *Germany* to restore the Council at *Trent*; after which, he might expect from them all manner of Service and Obedience: That as they had none else to fly to, in the Distresses with which they were threatned, so they desired that he would not refuse them the Favour which they so earnestly desired: That otherwise they could not avoid taking other Measures, without acquainting his Holiness, in order to put an end to those Differences which were in *Germany* upon the account of Religion.

The Emperor drew also from the Protestant Princes, and from the free Cities, a Declaration, that they would submit to a Council which should be held at *Trent*, where things should be handled according to the Doctrine of the holy Scriptures, and of the Fathers; upon condition that the Emperor, as Protector of the Church, would engage to procure, for those of the Confession of *Augsburg*, a full Liberty of Speech, and an entire Security to return home; and that Bishops of all Nations, and particularly of *Germany*, should assist there, either in person or by their Proxies.

The Cardinal of *Trent* was sent to *Rome* with these Letters, to desire, in the Name of the Emperor and the States of *Germany*, the Re-establishment of the Council at *Trent*, and the Reformation of Discipline, and that till the Council should determine it, Bishops should be sent into *Germany* to make a provisional Regulation of Faith. This Cardinal got to *Rome* about the end of *Novemler*. The Pope recalled Cardinal *Cervinus*, and settled a Congregation of Cardinals

The History
of the
Council of
Trent.

Negotiations
to re-establish
the Council
at Trent.

The History of the Council of Trent
 Cardinals to examine what he should do in that Con-
 juncture: Their Opinion was, that the Piety of the
 Emperor was to be commended, for engaging the
 Protestants to receive the Decrees of the Council:
 That the Council having voluntarily removed to *Bononia*, they were free to stay there, or to return to *Trent*: That it depended likewise upon the Council to take pains about Reformation, and to finish what it had begun: And that the Emperor should be satisfied in the last point, about sending Bishops into *Germany* as he desired. The Pope not being willing to discover his Resolution so soon, told the Cardinal of *Trent*, that he would have him open what he had to say in the next Consistory, which he appointed upon the 9th. of *December*.

The Cardinal of *Trent* came to the Consistory, where he made a long Recital of the Pains which the Emperor had taken, and the Perils he had undergone, to support the Dignity of the Council; and of all that he had done in the last Diet to oblige the Princes and States of *Germany* to submit to it. He prayed his Holiness, in the Name of the Emperor, of *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*, and of the whole Empire, to cause the Bishops that were at *Bononia* for the Love of God to return to *Trent*, that they might finish what they had begun, which besides was so necessary in it self; as also to send one or two Legates with unlimited Powers, that so, pursuant to their Advices, a Form of living might be settled till the Council should be ended; and that the ecclesiastical Order might be reformed.

The Pope answer'd these Propositions, by commending the Emperor for the Services which he had done for the Church; and concluded, that he would maturely examine his Demands, and after that do as God should inspire him.

After this Consistory, the Cardinal of *Trent* had several secret Audiences, in which he laboured all he could to obtain a positive Promise from the Pope: But when he saw he could get only general Words, he wrote to the Emperor; and when he had his Answer, he returned to *Augsburg*, leaving his Instructions with *Mendoza*, who by the Emperor's Order was returned from *Sienna* to *Rome*, whither he had gone to put an end to the Differences of that Commonwealth.

Mendoza, to acquit himself of his Duty, appeared at the publick Consistory, which the Pope held upon *December* 14. to give the Hat to the Cardinal of *Guise*, and there said the same things which the Cardinal of *Trent* had said before; adding, that he had Orders to protest against the Synod of *Bononia* as unlawful, if his Holiness deferred any longer to satisfy his Master.

The Pope replied, that he would first hear the Reasons of the Fathers at *Bononia*, and to communicate them with the Kings and Princes, and then resolve upon what should be for the Service of God and the common Good.

Cardinal of Guise's Harangue in the Consistory.
 The Cardinal of *Guise* made a publick Discourse in this Consistory, in the Name of the King of *France*; in which he first began with a Character of King *Francis* I. saying, that that Prince had spared nothing to maintain the Rights and Liberties of all Mankind. Then he said, that his Successor *Henry*, who was the Heir of his Mind and his great Endowments, having scarcely dry'd up his Tears and paid his last Duties to the late King his Father, was desirous to give Marks of his Respect towards the holy See and the Pope, wherein the Kings of *France* had always out-done all other Princes: That this happened at a time, when the Malice of Men was come to such a height, that they not only failed of their Respect towards the holy See, but threatned it, and put forth thousands of Reproaches against it: That his most Christian Majesty, could not make an Offer of all his Forces and his Assistance to the holy See, and to the Pope, to support his Honour and Dignity at a more convenient time: He added, that the King his Master wisht that he could have in person assu-

red his Holiness and the sacred College, with his own Mouth, of the Sincerity of his Thoughts: That therefore he entreated his Holiness to own him as the eldest Son of the Church, and to expect from him all manner of Assistance. And last of all, he exhorted his Holiness to take care that the Church received no Damage nor Disgrace; because it had been often seen, that from inconsiderable Differences great Factions had arisen, which had thrown Popes into great Misfortunes. He produced the Examples of *John XXIII.* of *Gregory VII.* and of *Paschal III.* whom *France* had defended against their Enemies; and concluded, that the King his Master would not come behind his Ancestors in the Glory of defending and preserving the Dignity of the holy apostolical See.

Many People believ'd that the Pope ordered the Cardinal of *Guise* to speak in this manner, to hearten the well-affected Cardinals, and to mortify the Imperialists, by letting them see, that they were not to imagine they could gain any thing of him by force.

December 16. The Pope wrote a Letter to Cardinal *del Monte* about the Emperor's demand, which he enjoyned him to communicate to the Council, and to send him immediately their Opinions about them. This Breve came upon the 18th. to *Bononia*; and next day Cardinal *del Monte* caused it to be debated in a Meeting of the Fathers, who were there to the number of 48 and he said that in this Business they were to consider the Satisfaction of the Emperor and the Good of *Germany* on one side, and the Honour of the Council and the Example to Futurity on the other; that they knew with what Freedom the Council had been removed to *Bononia*; that there were still Bishops at *Trent*, who calling themselves a Council, would not obey this lawful Synod; that it would be a pernicious Example, to oblige Bishops, who had acted according to their Duty, to go to find out a Parcel of obstinate Men; and that it was more just that they should come to the Place of the lawful Synod; that the Protestants Declaration was captious; they promised indeed that they would submit to a Synod that should be held at *Trent*, but they said nothing of the Decisions of the Sessions which had been celebrated there already; that they ought to express themselves clearly upon that Head; that they did engage to consent to the Christian Faith, but they did not say what they meant by that; and that it was reported they meant a popular Assembly, and not a Council of Bishops. The thing therefore being debated, all the Prelates but six, concluded, that they could not think of returning to *Trent* without prejudicing the Dignity and the Reputation of the Council, unless the Prelates that were at *Trent* would come to *Bononia*, and there acknowledge the Authority of the Council which had been removed thither: That when they had made this Step, then they might talk of returning to *Trent* in favour of *Germany*; but upon condition, that that Nation would give sufficient Security for their Obedience, as well to the Decrees already made, as to those to be made hereafter; and that they would satisfy the Fathers of the Council, that they would observe that Order which had been inviolably observed in general Councils, and that they should still have the Liberty to remove the Council by the Majority of Voices, and to conclude it when they should think they had satisfied the End for which it was called. The Legate concluded, that they should write a Letter to the Pope, in the Name of the Council, pursuant to this Opinion, and that it should be read next Day in the Assembly. He drew it up himself; and had it read the next Day: It was approved by all those who were of that Opinion the Day before. The Bishop of *Worcester*, who had been of the contrary Opinion, came over. The Bishops of *Porto* and *Aquino* demanded, that an Offer should be made to return to *Trent*: The Bishops of *Fiesoli* and *Venusia* persisted, that they ought to go to *Trent*: A *Dalmatian* Bishop was of opinion, that they ought

Debates of the Prelates at *Bononia*, about returning to *Trent*.

not to answer it so positively; and some found fault with the Terms of the Letter. The Legate was left at liberty to alter what he pleased in the Terms, so he did not change the Sense. It set forth, that the Fathers of the Council commended the pastoral Care of the Pope, and the Zeal of the Emperor for Religion; that they desired him to take their Answer in good part; that they had no other View, but the Peace and Good of the Church; that for three Years they had endured considerable Hardships; that they thought it hard to be obliged to return to *Trent* at a time when they ought to think of closing the Council, all things being examined, discussed and prepared; that however there was not one of them that was not ready to return to *Trent*, and to suffer yet more for the Good of the *German* Nation, if in endeavouring to procure it, they should not give the Church a mortal Wound, by exposing it to great Disturbances, both present and to come.

The Pope, having received this Answer of the Council's, *December 27.* communicated it to the Cardinals, who met in the Chamber where they put on their Habits (b), and the greatest part of the Cardinals having approved of it, the Pope caused *Mendoza* to be called in, and acquainted him with the Contents of it, and the Approbation which it had met with from the Cardinals. He added, that he could have wished, for the Emperor's and *Ferdinand's* sake, that he could have given them a more agreeable Answer; but that they ought not to expect from a Pope, and the Head of the Church, any thing but what good Government and the publick Good required: That he depended upon the Prudence and good Temper of his Imperial Majesty, who was too reasonable not to acquiesce in what so many Fathers judged necessary: That he assured himself the Emperor would command the *Spanish* Bishops that were at *Trent*, to go immediately to *Bononia*; and labour all he could to oblige the *Germans* to accept of the Conditions proposed by the Council, and would send the Bishops of that Nation as soon as he could, and give his Word to the Council, that the Conditions that were there required should be observed. *Mendoza* seeing the Pope's Resolution, would have immediately protested that the Assembly at *Bononia* was not a lawful Council: That if his Holiness would not send it back to *Trent*, he would be the Cause of all the Evils which should happen to *Christianity*; and that in his Default, the Emperor as Protector of the Church would take care of it. But at the Desire of Cardinal *de Trani*, a Dean of the sacred College, and of some other Cardinals, he consented to send the Emperor the Pope's Answer, and to expect his Orders.

The Pope considering that this Affair might have troublesome Consequences on the Emperor's Side, and that it might be dangerous to have the *German* Bishops upon his Shoulders, who declared in their Letter, that they should be obliged to take other Measures if he would not join with them; resolved at last (tho' he had taken an Oath to the contrary) to answer their Letter, that they might not be provoked by his Silence, which they might look upon as a Contempt. Accordingly he wrote them a Letter, dated *Jan. 1. 1548.* in which, after he had at first commended their Piety, and the Care which they had taken to redress the Miseries, and put a stop to the Heresies of *Germany*, he assures them, that he had omitted nothing which belonged to the Duty of a good Pastor to remove this Evil: That from the beginning of his Pontificate he had recurred to the great Remedy which they mention in their Letter, that is to say, to a Council, in which several Decrees had been made, as well to condemn Numbers of Heresies, as for the Reformation of the Church: That the Council was removed without his Knowledge; but since the Legates had a Power to do it, he supposed the Cause was lawful, till he saw the

contrary: That tho' some Bishops had not given their Consent, yet the Council could not therefore be said to be divided: That it was not removed to a very distant, or an unsecure City: That on the contrary *Bononia* was subject to the Church of *Rome*, and consequently safer for *Germany*, which had received the Christian Religion, and several other Benefits, from it: That it signified little to him, whether the Council was held there, or any where else; and he would not hinder the Fathers from choosing another Place, provided they were not forced to it: That if they desired to know why the Council could not return to *Trent*, they might know it by the Copy of the Letters of the Fathers of the Council at *Bononia*, which he sent them; as also what was to be done before they mentioned any Return; and therefore he desired them to come, or send their Proxies to *Bononia*, and to continue the Council there: And last of all, that he had deferred to answer them, because the Emperor had sent the Cardinal of *Trent*, and after that *Don Diego de Mendoza*, to treat with him; and he was willing to answer his Imperial Majesty first. He concluded with declaring that he was not at all concerned at their threatening to take other Measures if he would not join with them, knowing in his Conscience, that he had omitted nothing which it was his Duty to do, having all the Tenderness of a good Father for *Germany*; that he could not believe either they or the Emperor would do any thing imprudently; that if they struck at the Authority of the holy See, he could not help it, and Jesus Christ had foretold it long ago; but they must expect also that their Designs would come to nothing, because the holy See was founded upon a Rock which cannot be shaken; that formerly there had been several Attempts against the Pontificate, but God overthrew their Devices; that he promised himself, from the Piety of these Bishops, that they would never swerve from their Duty, and that they would beware of favouring the Designs of those who should be Enemies to the Dignity of the Church.

When the Emperor understood, by *Mendoza*, the Conditions proposed by the Fathers of *Bononia*, and the Pope's Resolution; being willing to shew that he had omitted nothing to procure the Return of the Council to *Trent*, he sent *Francis de Vargas Mexia*, a Lawyer, and *Martin Soria de Velasco*, to *Bononia*.

When these two Envoy's were come to *Bononia*, they desired an Audience, which was granted them *January 16. 1548.* Being admitted into the Assembly, where was Cardinal *del Monte*, and about 44 Prelates, taking in the Heads of Orders, *Vargas* presented the Emperor's Letter, superscribed thus, *Conventui Patrum Bononie.* As soon as it was read, *Vargas* beginning to speak, was interrupted by Cardinal *del Monte*, who said, that tho' they were not obliged to hear a Letter read, which was not directed to them, since they were not a bare Assembly, but a real Council, yet they were willing to hear it, protesting however that no Advantage should be taken against them from it, and that they would always be at Liberty to continue the Council, and to carry it on, so as to proceed against the obstinate and rebellious, according to the Holy Canons. *Vargas* demanded that it might be inserted in the publick Registers, that he had been interrupted before they had heard the Proposition which he had to make. Then he spake to the Assembly thus. 'Now you have read our Letters of Credence, I will lay my Orders before you, which are, to represent to you, that if you persist in the Resolution which you have too lightly taken up, it is to be feared that its Consequences may be very pernicious to the Publick; whereas if you yield to the Emperor's just Desires, there is Reason to hope all things will go on happily. But that you may the better

(b) *Chambre des Paremens*; i. e. the Vestry.

comprehend

comprehend the Truth of what I tell you, I shall resume this Matter from the beginning: There is no Man, I hope, that does not clearly see the troublesome Circumstances you have brought yourselves to, if you do not take other Courses, and do not at the same time enter into the Emperor's Measures for the publick good. I shall say nothing in all this of my self, I shall only follow my Instructions.' Cardinal *del Monte* interrupting him said, 'I am President of the Holy Council, and Legate of *Paul III.* St. *Peter's* Successor, and Vicar of *Jesus Christ* upon Earth, to continue the Council lawfully removed from *Trent* to this City, to the Glory of God; and we desire the Emperor to change his Opinion, and to repress the Disturbers of the Council. His Majesty well knows that those who trouble Holy Councils, of what Rank and Dignity soever they be, incur the most rigorous Penalties inflicted by the Canons; for what threatnings soever are made to us, we are all resolved to defend the Liberty of the Church, the Honour of the Council, and every Man his his own Honour in Particular.

Vargas went on to read his Orders. As soon as he had done, *Velasco* read his Protestation, setting forth, that Religion being shaken, Manners corrupted, and *Germany* separated from the Church, the Emperor desired a Council of *P. Leo*, *P. Adrian*, *P. Clement*, and *P. Paul*; and after a particular Recital of the Difficulties there had been to assemble one, and of the things which had been treated of since it was called, he went on to declare all that the Emperor had done during that time to pacify *Germany*; so that there was Reason to hope that the Protestants would assist at the Council, whither at first they absolutely refused to come: That notwithstanding this, the most Reverend the Legates, without the Pope's Knowledge, upon a very slight Pretence of their own Invention, had proposed a Translation to the Fathers, without giving them time to think of it; to which some Holy Bishops made Opposition by a Protestation that they would stay at *Trent*: That nevertheless the Legates with a small number of *Italian* Bishops, had decree'd a Translation and went away the next day for *Bononia*: That the Emperor being advertised of it, had solicited the Pope all manner of ways to obtain the Return of the Council to *Trent*, remonstrating to him the Scandal and the Mischiefs which would happen if the Council were not concluded in that City; and that in the mean time, his Majesty obtained in the Diet at *Augsburg* that the *Germans* should own the Council: That his Majesty had sent the Cardinal of *Trent* to give notice of it to the Pope, and to persuade him to command the Fathers to return to *Trent*: That *Mendoza* renew'd the same Solicitations; whereupon his Holiness desired time to communicate this with the Fathers of the Council, who had return'd a frivolous and captious Answer, and worthy to be condemned; which the Pope approved and authorized, treating the Assembly at *Bononia*, which is unlawful, as a general Council: That it was certain that the Council held at *Trent* could not be removed without a pressing Occasion, and without the Consent of all the Princes and the Fathers: That in the mean time, the pretended Legates, and some *Italian* Bishops, went hastily away upon Pretence of a malignant Feaver, and an Infection of the Air, upon the Report of some mercenary Physicians, though there was no Appearance of such a Disease, as the Event has shewn: That their Choice of *Bononia* could by no means be justified, whither it was certain the *Germans* would not come, as being a City of the Ecclesiastical State, and which every Man might except against on many Accounts; which tended manifestly to the Dissolution of the Council: That for these Reasons, the Emperor, to whom it belongs by his Dignity to defend the Church, and to protect general Councils, being desirous to put an end to the Differe-

rences of *Germany*, as also to bring back *Spain* and his other States and Kingdoms to a true Christian Life, to which the Translation of the Council was an unsurmountable Obstacle, demanded, that the Legates and the Bishops of their Party should return to *Trent*: That they could not refuse this, having promised to do it when their Apprehensions of the Plague were ceased: That otherwise they protested and declared, by the Emperor's express Order, that this Translation was unlawful and null, as also all that had been done in it, or should be done for the future; the Authority of the pretended Bishops of that Place not being great enough to give Law to all Christendom in Matters of Religion and Reformation of Manners, especially to People whose Genius and Customs they were unacquainted with: That they protested against the Answer of his Holiness and his Legates, as unlawful, illusory, and fraudulent; and declared, that all the Evils which had happened, or should happen, by this Translation, could never be imputed to the Emperor, but to this Assembly, which called it self a Council, since it had the Remedy in its own Hands. They added, that in their Default, the Emperor would provide with all his Might, and in no sort forsake the Protection of that which he was indispensibly obliged to take care of, by his Dignity of Emperor and King, pursuant to the Laws.

When *Vargas* and *Velasco* had read this Protestation, they demanded a publick Act of all that they had said; and that the Congregation would insert their Protestation. After which, *Velasco* presented the Writing which he had read just before, that it might be registred.

Cardinal *del Monte* replied with a grave Air, in the Name of the Council, to these Envoys, that all the Prelates would sooner die, than suffer a secular Power to call a Council; an Innovation, which would be of pernicious consequence to the Church: That the Emperor was a Son of the Church, but not its Master and Lord: That his Colleague and he were Legates of the holy apostolick See: That they would give an Account of their Legation to God and the Pope: And last of all, that they would give an Answer to the Protestation, which *Velasco* had read to them, in a few Days.

At the same time *Mendoza*, pursuant to the Orders which he had received from the Emperor, made a like Protestation, in a full Consistory, in the presence of some Cardinals and Ambassadors of Princes, whom he had invited, and read it upon his Knees before the Pope. Whereupon, since no Answer was made to him, he retired, leaving the Writing upon the Table which he had in his Hands.

The Pope, having reflected by himself upon the Consequences which this Protestation might have, which might engage him in some Difficulties, found no better way to disengage himself from them, than to make himself Neuter and Judge at the same time between those that approved of the Translation, and those that condemned it; and gave *Mendoza* to understand, that he did not well comprehend the Emperor's Orders; and that he did not take the Meaning of his Instructions; that he ought to have applied himself to his Holiness to provide against the Assembly at *Bononia*, and not make use of a Protestation, unless the Pope had refused to examine into the Causes of the Translation. To explain himself the better, he called a Consistory, Feb. 1. to which this Ambassador was called. He there immediately represented, that protesting was a thing of evil Example, which was never practised but by those who had shaken off their Allegiance, or that faltered in their Duty; that this Action had exceedingly disturbed him and the whole College; that he had always had a fatherly Tenderness for the Emperor; that this Protestation was made when it was least expected, after that Prince had gotten a Victory over his own and the Church's Enemies, by the means of the great Succours which he had sent him; that

The History of the Council of Trent. this deserved a much better Recompence than what he had received from the Emperor, who at the conclusion of one War, was beginning another by a Protestation against the Council; that however, he was willing to believe that *Mendoza*, as well as the Emperor's Proctors at *Bononia*, had exceeded their Master's Orders, who was too wise not to know, that the Pope was the only lawful Judge of the Cause of the Translation; that indeed there would have been reason to protest against him, if he had refused to take cognizance of it: And that thus *Mendoza* had overturned the Order of his Business, by omitting the Demand which he ought to have made, that the Pope would take cognizance of the Cause; and by doing what he ought not to have done, namely, protesting against the Council in his Holiness's Presence, instead of soliciting that the Decree of the Translation might be reversed: That however, without insisting upon these Formalities, he would judge whether this Translation was legal; and to that intent he deputed Cardinal *du Belley*, Bishop of *Paris*, the Cardinal of *Burgos*, Cardinals *Pool* and *Crescentino*, to examine the Cause; commanding both Parties to make no Alterations whilst the Cause was depending, and to give the Fathers at *Bononia* and at *Trent* a Month's time to give in their Reasons.

Decree to forbid the Assemblies at Bononia and Trent to make any Innovations. Accordingly the Pope caused the Secretary of the Consistory to draw up a Decree, forbidding the Bishops of both sides to innovate any thing whilst the Cause was depending; and pursuant thereto, he summoned the Prelates of the Assemblies at *Bononia* and at *Trent*, to send their Agents to *Rome*, forthwith to inform the Cardinals, whom he had named to examine the Reasons which should be alledged on both sides.

Answer of the Assembly at Bononia to the Pope. This Breve being given to the Assembly at *Bononia*, February 25. some Bishops represented, that the Authority which the Pope assumed, was prejudicial to the Council, and submitted it to the Pope. However, without stopping at this Consideration, it was resolved, that they should thank the Pope, and send Deputies to *Rome*. For this Deputation were chosen, *Michael Sarracenus*, Archbishop of *Matera*; *Thomas Campegius*, Bishop of *Feltri*; *Aloysius Lipomannus*, Bishop of *Modon*; *Philippus Archintus*, Bishop of *Salluzzes*; *John Baptista Cicola*, Bishop of *Albenga*; and *Sebastianus Pighinus*, Bishop of *Alifa*.

Answer of the Assembly at Trent to the Pope. The Prelates that staid at *Trent* had not the same Deference for the Orders of the Pope; However, they sent him back a Letter of Compliments; but they refused to go to *Bononia*, and to submit their Right to the Pope's Judgment, and sent him word, that they promised themselves from his Goodness and his Prudence, that he would easily discern, that tho' they had opposed the Translation of the Council, and tho' they had kept Silence, and staid at *Trent*, yet they had no design to offend him; that on the contrary they contradicted the others, only because they undertook a thing of that Importance without his Privy, and because they paid too little regard to the Emperor: That they did not believe this Translation could ever please his Holiness, or have his Approbation: That they desired him to believe, that if the Emperor prevented their Complaints, it was not because they address themselves to him, but he had done it out of his own proper Motion; looking upon this Matter to belong to him as Protector of the Church: That they could never think the Pope wanted to be advertised from them, of what they believ'd his Legates had inform'd him already, who spake in publick, and whose Opinions were set down by the Notaries: That they thought they were only to keep silence: That they did not see how their Presence could be necessary: That if they were mistaken, yet their Sincerity was evident: That they had nothing else to do, but to disagree to the Translation that was proposed, and to forbear to importune his Holiness out of Submission and Modesty,

hoping that he would be wanting in nothing which should be for the Service of the Church: That the Legates having promised in the general Congregation, and in the Session, to return to *Trent*, as soon as the Suspicion of the Disease should be removed, especially, if *Germany* would submit to the Council, they saw no Reason that should oblige them to go away from *Trent*, where they staid in expectation of the Return which they look for; and so much the more, since the Emperor, by God's Grace and his own Courage, had obliged the *Germans* to submit to the Council: That if any were scandalized, as his Holiness said, at their staying at *Trent*, it was sufficient for them that they had given no Cause for it: That on the contrary, the Departure of the Fathers that were at *Bononia* had surprized the whole World: That their Nation had always respected St. *Peter's* Successor; and that they had not failed in their Duty in that particular: That they desired his Holiness not to blame them, since they had done nothing but with a good Design, and that they might not be brought into Trouble; the Cause which they were engaged in not being theirs but God's: That if it had been really their own Cause, they would willingly have suffered Persecution; but since it was purely the Cause of God and of Jesus Christ, it could belong to none but to his Vicar: That last of all, they conjured his Holiness to restore the Council, which had been interrupted, and to cause the Legates and Fathers to return to *Trent*, without losing any time to talk of a Translation; begging him to take this their Remonstrance in good part, which was not made to teach him his Duty, but to let him see what they expected from him.

The Pope sent this Answer to the Cardinals Commissioners, who communicated it to the Agents of the Fathers at *Bononia*, that they might give in their Answer. They answered, that they were glad to see the *Spanish* Bishops acknowledge the Judgment and the Judge, and that they would not be Parties in this Cause; that however they were obliged to refute some parts of the others Answer, that the Truth might be set in a clear Light: That it signified nothing to say, that the Council ought not to be removed without giving the Pope notice, since the Legates did it by virtue of an express Bull which was then read: That it could not be said, the Emperor was neglected or contemned, since they used him but as they had done the Pope: That the Progress which the Contagion made in the City, and in the neighbouring Places, did not permit them to stay there any longer; and besides, that they must either have dissolved or removed the Council, from whence several Fathers were already gone, and others were just a going, to preserve themselves from the Distemper attested by the Physicians; besides the Fear they were in, that the neighbouring Cities would have no more Commerce with *Trent*. That after the Decree was published, the Legates invited the Fathers to go to *Bononia*: That when they were there, they solicited them by Letters to come after them; that they ought not to say, they could not in conscience follow the Legates, because they had not agreed to the Translation; for the Decree was made by the Majority of Voices, and consequently every Man was obliged to accommodate his Conscience unto it, otherwise no Business could ever be finished: That as to the Promise of returning, it was easy to see the Conditions of it in the Decree: That the Distinction of God's Cause and of their own was frivolous: That however, had it been their own, yet no Man designed to do them any wrong: That if it were God's, it ought to have been made evident, which it was far from being at present: So that since the Emperor had used the Expression *Pretended Legates*, and called the Fathers at *Bononia*, not a Council, but a private Assembly; and had said other reproachful things against the Translation, it was reasonable that his Holiness should call the Cause to himself, not to foment the Disputes that were on foot,

foot, but to allay them: That if by the Word *Interrupted Council*, they meant the usual Congregations, they had never been interrupted: That if they meant it of the Publication of Decrees that had been deferred in their Favour; besides that, they had examined so many Points of Faith and Reformation already, that they could make a long Session. That therefore they begged of his Holiness to pronounce Sentence: That these Delays prolonged the Council: That none had ever lasted so long as this, except those which had been held in times of Schism: And that it was just the Bishops should be sent home to their Churches, which impatiently longed to see them.

This Writing was presented about the End of April; after which all Proceedings were stopped, because the Commissioners could not tell what to resolve upon, and the Pope found himself exceedingly perplexed.

Whilst this Process went slowly on at Rome, the Nuncio, *Ardinghellus*, whom the Pope sent into Germany to treat of the Restitution of *Piacenza*, and the Business of the Council, sent word, that the Emperor would say no more of the Re-establishment of the Council at *Trent*; provided that at *Bononia* did nothing; and that the Pope would say no more of removing the Council to Rome; but that he wished the Pope would send Legates into Germany, with very ample Powers upon 13 Heads, which he set down, to re-unite the Hereticks, and to satisfy the Nation.

The Pope, who had offer'd to send Legates already, could not with Decency absolutely refuse this Demand: But he would send but one, with two Assistants; and designed *Sfondrato* for his Legate, and *Vercellus* and *Pighinus* for his Assistants. It was warmly debated, with what Powers he should be sent; and it was concluded, they should not be general and without reserve. The King of France's Ministers opposed this Resolution vehemently; how-

ever the Pope sent *Prosper Sancta-Crucius*, Bishop of *Chisama* *, Auditor of *Rota*, his Nuncio into Germany, to treat with the Emperor concerning the Propositions that were sent by *Ardinghellus*.

The Nuncio had no opportunity to treat with the Emperor about these Propositions: For before he got into Germany, his Imperial Majesty, judging by the Pope's whole Conduct, that he had no Reason to hope that the Council would be continued, from which he expected that the Troubles in Germany, which had been caused upon account of Religion, might be ended; believed that to appease them, and to give Peace to Germany, no way would be better, than to cause a Confession of Faith to be drawn up, which both Parties might consent to, and execute, until a solemn Decision could be had. *Julius Pflugius*, Bishop of *Naumburg*; *Michael Sidonius*, Suffragan to the Archbishop of *Mentz*; and *Johannes Agricola* of *Isleben*, a Lutheran, a Minister of the Elector of *Brandenburg's*; were chosen to review it. When they were met, the Emperor communicated it to *Sfondrato*, the Nuncio, that it might be approved by the Pope. It was examined at Rome, and at *Bononia*, by Divines: Particularly the Legates employ'd *Catharinus* and *Scripandus*, who were of opinion, that as to the Articles defined by the Council, they ought to be drawn in the Terms of the Council; and they made several Remarks upon the rest. During these Conjunctions, the Pope recalled Cardinal *Cervinus* to Rome, who was returned to *Trent*. His Holiness was sufficiently disposed to satisfy the Emperor, by sending a Legate into Germany, if his Nuncio in France had not sent him word, that if he did so, the King of France would recall his Ambassadors and the Prelates of his Kingdom from *Bononia*. The Emperor seeing the Pope would not content him, published the *Interim*, and caused it to be received upon May 15. in the Diet of *Augsburg*.

CHAP. V.

Articles of the Interim, and of the Decree of Reformation published by the Emperor. What past upon that Subject. Various Negotiations concerning the Council. Conclusion of the Assembly at Bononia. Death of the Pope.

THE *Interim* published in the Diet of *Augsburg*, May 15. 1548. was preceded by a Declaration of the Emperor's; in which he set forth, that his Imperial Majesty had used all his Endeavours hitherto to extinguish the Schism, and to restore Unity and Concord among Christians: That other Remedies having been ineffectual, he thought it was necessary to have recourse to a general Council: That at last he had procured one to begin to be celebrated at *Trent*: That he had obtained of the States of the Empire, that they should submit to the Decisions of a Council; and that on their parts they left it to the Prudence of his Imperial Majesty to find out Means, to make all the States of the Empire live at Peace and Unity, till the Council should regulate every thing: That there was an absolute Necessity that things should not be left in the Confusion in which they were; that Mens Minds should be brought nearer together if possible; and that contrary Opinions, which disturbed the Peace of the Empire, should not be suffered to be taught: That his Imperial Majesty being engaged in this Design, Persons of extraordinary Quality and singular Merit had proposed a Formulary to him, which they

promised to observe: That he had shewn it to able Divines, who assured him it contained nothing contrary to catholick Religion, the Doctrine of the Church, and its Statutes and Regulations, except in the Article of Communion in both Kinds, and in that of the Marriage of Priests; and that it was very proper to keep up Peace in the Empire, and to dispose Mens Minds to a greater Agreement in controverted Points. Consequently his Imperial Majesty requires those States, which have made no Innovation hitherto in the Doctrine or Usages of the catholick Church, to persist there without changing; and requires those other States which have made Alterations, to conform themselves to the catholick States, or at least to this Formulary, without establishing or suffering any thing which was not conformable thereunto. He exhorts at the same time all States to bear with this Formulary for the good of Peace; not to suffer Men to write or preach against it, and to expect with Patience the Declaration and Determination of an universal Council. In short, that his Imperial Majesty will use all his Endeavours to cause a general Council to be celebrated as soon as possible, according to the Petition of the

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States, and that the German Nation may be entirely delivered from this Schism: That he is also employ'd in drawing up a Decree, to be published in this Diet, which he hopes will be of great use to remove Abuses and Scandals, and to preserve Discipline till the Determination of the Council. Lastly, because in the Article of Ceremonies it is said, that those that may cause any Superstition shall be taken away; his Imperial Majesty reserves to himself to ordain and decree what he shall judge convenient upon that and other Articles.

The *Interim* consists of 26 Articles. The first is of the State of Man before his Fall. It sets forth, that God created him in a State of Grace and original Righteousness, without Concupiscence, and entirely free to do either Good or Evil: That if he had used this Liberty well, and obeyed the Commandments which he had received from God, he might have preserved to his Posterity the good things which he received, and had not been subject to Sickness, Pain and Death, &c.

The second is of the State of fallen Man. It declares, that the first Man, not having obeyed the Commandments of God, lost for himself and his Posterity original Righteousness, and is become subject to the Concupiscence of the Flesh, which hinders him from doing Good, and inclines him to Evil: That tho' he has still some Liberty left, yet it is weakened and hurt; and that without the Grace of Reparation he cannot aspire to that Righteousness which is true in the Eyes of God, but is a Slave to Sin and its Punishments: That these are common to the Regenerate and to Sinners, only they exercise the one, whilst they punish the others.

The 3^d. Article is of the Redemption by Jesus Christ. It asserts, that God, who is rich in Mercy, not being willing that Man whom he created, should entirely perish, sent his Son to redeem him: That by him alone we are redeemed; and God shews us Mercy in consideration of his Blood.

The 4th. is of Justification. Those, to whom the Merit of the Passion of Jesus Christ is applied, are justified; that is to say, they obtain the Remission of their Sins, they are delivered from eternal Damnation, filled with the Holy Ghost, and of unrighteous, which they were before, they are made righteous. For when God justifies a Man, he not only pardons his Sins, but he also makes him better; and by communicating to him his holy Spirit, he purifies his Heart, and excites him, by that Charity which he spreads into it, to desire what is good and just, and also to do it. Those however that are just, have still some Concupiscence left, so that they do not live without Sin, and have not perfect Righteousness whilst they live in this World. The Merit of Jesus Christ, and this inherent Righteousness, concur to make us live well in this World; but it is upon the Merits of Jesus Christ that we principally build our Hope, and in which we place our Comfort.

The 5th. Article is of the Fruits of Justification, which are Peace with God, Adoption, and a Right to succeed to the paternal Inheritance.

The 6th. is of the Manner how Man receives Justification, not by Works of Righteousness, but thro' free Grace, and by the Mercy of God, who does not move us like a lifeless Trunk, but draws us voluntarily, by driving our Wills thro' his preventing Grace to detest Sin, and afterwards by raising the Soul to God thro' the Motions of Faith: And thus the Man that believes in the Promises of Jesus Christ, and that is touched with a saving Fear of the divine Justice, considering the Mercy of God, and the Redemption of Jesus Christ, moved by the Grace of God, conceives a Confidence and a Hope of his own Merit, that he shall obtain Mercy, and is thereby led to Charity, justified by Faith, sanctified and regenerated by the Holy Ghost; because this Faith obtains the Gift of the Holy Ghost, which

diffuses Charity in our Hearts, and which being joined to Faith and Hope, justifies us with inherent Righteousness, which so depends upon Faith, Hope and Charity, that if any one of the three be wanting, it is imperfect.

The 7th. is of Charity, and good Works, which are the Fruits and Effects of it. It owns, that they are so necessary for the Salvation of every justified Person, that he that does them not, immediately loses Grace: That God rewards them out of his Mercy: That the more good Works men do, the more they encrease in Righteousness: That tho' Men ought more particularly to apply themselves to the Observation of the Commandments of God, yet the Actions which are advised to in Scripture ought also to be recommended; and that Works of Supererogation, which are above the Command, ought not to be confounded with Works contrary to the Precept.

The 8th. Article is of Confidence of Remission of Sins. There is a Warning given to take care on the one side, that Men are not inspired with too great Security and Confidence; and on the other side, that they be not thrown into Despair: That tho' they ought not to have a false Presumption, yet they ought to have an entire Confidence in the Blood of Jesus Christ, and in the Testimony of the Holy Ghost, which teaches us that we are the Children of God.

The 9th. Article is of the Church: The Maxims there laid down are these, that there can be no Salvation out of the Union and spiritual Communion of the Church: That tho' the Church, considered as the Body of Jesus Christ, who influences all its Members, be composed only of the Righteous, and be in that Sense spiritual and invisible, yet it is visible likewise: That it has Bishops and Pastors: That it is the Depository of the Word of God: That it has a Power to administer the Sacraments, Keys to bind and unbind, a Right of Excommunication, of ordaining Ministers, of making Canons: That all those things which belong to the visible and exterior Parts of the Church, ought to be serviceable to the perfecting of the Saints: That in this Church there are good and evil Men; but that Hereticks and Schismatics are separated from it.

The Qualities and Marks of the true Church are explained in the 10th. Article: Namely, sound Doctrine, lawful Use of the Sacraments, Unity, Catholicity, and Universality: These two last are explained in these Terms, that it be diffused in all Places, and in all Times; and that it have a continued Succession from the Apostles down to us.

The 11th. is of the Authority and Power of this Church. It declares, that the Church is to distinguish true Scriptures from false, to interpret them, and to draw true Dogmes from them: That it has its Traditions and Usages, which ought not to be touched: That it has a Power to constrain and to excommunicate; to make Laws, to decide doubtful Questions, and to make Canons in Synods.

The 12th. is of the Ministers of the Church. Jesus Christ established them in his Church ever since the Apostles times: The sacred Functions were reserved to the Ministers; and the inward Priesthood of all Christians ought not to be confounded with the outward and ministerial Priesthood, which belongs only to those who are rightly called and lawfully ordained.

The 13th. Article is of the Pope and Bishops. It sets forth, that tho' the Church has several Bishops who govern it by divine Right, yet it has one at the Head of all the rest, to avoid Schism: That this Prerogative was granted to St. Peter; and that he that fills the Chair, enjoys the same Right of governing the whole Church: That he ought not, however, to make use of this Power for Destruction, but only for Edification: That Jesus Christ has given this Fulness of Power to St. Peter in such a manner, as to command that other Bishops also have a share

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The 14th. Article is of Sacraments in general. Two Causes of their Institution are produced: One, to be Signs and Marks of that great Congregation, which is called the Church, and to denote its Union: The other is not only to signify, but also to sanctify, and to confer invisible Grace, not by the proper Vertue of outward things, nor by the Merit of the Minister, but by the Vertue of our Lord, who instituted this Sacrament, and operates secretly and inwardly. From this Principle it is concluded, that wicked Ministers can usefully administer the Sacraments: And they are laid to be in number 7.

The 15th. Article is of Baptism. The Points defined about that Sacrament are these: 1. That it is necessary for Salvation. 2. That it remits original and actual Sins. 3. That it consists in the Ablution of Water, and in the Word of God. 4. That the Form was prescribed by Jesus Christ; that those that are baptized by that Form are regenerated; that if they be adult, they ought to have actual Faith; and that in Infants this Faith is supplied by that of the Godfathers, and of the Church. 5. That baptized Persons ought to know they are consecrated, sanctified, and reconciled to God by Baptism. 6. That tho' the Office of Baptizing belongs to the Priest, yet a Layman may usefully and validly baptize in case of Necessity: That Baptism by Heretics is also valid. 7. That tho' Baptism takes away all Pollutions; yet it does not remove all the Infirmities of corrupt Nature, since it leaves that Concupiscence which inclines to Evil, and which ceases not to fight against the Spirit, as long as we are in this Life. 8. That the Vertue of Baptism fortifies the Mind against these Motions of Concupiscence, by the Holy Ghost, which it communicates to us.

The 16th. Article is of the Sacrament of Confirmation. It is owned, that the Apostles conferred it by Imposition of Hands, and that the Church added Unction soon after; that it is an Usage which the Church always approved; that it believes that the Faithful, who are regenerated by Baptism, are confirmed in this Sacrament by the Gifts of the Holy Ghost which they receive; and that that is the effect of this Sacrament. It is observed, that it were to be wish'd that it were given to none but Adults well instructed in their Religion, and that those that come to it should first fast and confess their Sins. Lastly, it declares, that the Minister of this Sacrament is the Bishop.

The 17th. is of the Sacrament of Penance, which consists in the Absolution of the Priest, founded upon the Words of Jesus Christ, which give him power to remit Sins. And because he has not only the power of loosing, but also of binding, it is necessary that he should judge which of the two he is to do. To make this judgment, it is necessary that he know the Disposition of the Man, which can only be done by his Confession and an enumeration of his Sins. Confession therefore, and Satisfaction, are approved of in this Article; and it is declared that the form of Absolution ought to be express'd in such terms as may make it known that Sins are remitted by the Vertue and Merit of Jesus Christ.

Concerning the Sacrament of the Eucharist, it is said in the 18th. Article, that it was instituted by Jesus Christ, under the visible Species of Bread and Wine; that he gives us his true Body, and his true Blood, and unites us to him, by this spiritual Nourishment, as to our Head, and to the Members of his Body; that the Form of this Sacrament are the Words of Jesus Christ, *This is my Body, this is my Blood*; that these Words being pronounced over the Bread and Wine, they become the true Body and the true Blood of Jesus Christ, the Substance of the Bread and Wine being changed into the true Body and the true Blood of Jesus Christ; that the Usage

of the Church, not to approach this Sacrament without being purified of our Sins, ought to be approved; and that the Eucharist has a Vertue to confirm us in spiritual Good.

The 19th. is concerning the Sacrament of Unction of the Sick. It is there observed that J. Christ, not being willing to leave Men without help in their Infirmities, has instituted this holy Unction to comfort their Bodies and to strengthen their Souls against the Attacks of the Devil: That St. James first gave notice of this Practice; and that he that despiseth this Sacrament, seems to despise Jesus Christ himself: However, that it ought to be administered only to those that are dangerously sick.

The 20th. is of the Sacrament of Order. Tho' all Christians are Priests, and may offer spiritual Sacrifices in all places, and call upon the Name of the Lord to advantage, yet some have been chosen from the beginning of the Church, for the ecclesiastical Ministry to perform its Functions; and God has so distinguished them, that they have not all the same power, lest this equality should introduce confusion: And therefore it is said in this Article, that the Sacrament of Order was instituted, whose Sign is Imposition of Hands, and other Rites proper for this Sacrament; that those who are thus consecrated receive Grace necessary to perform ecclesiastical Functions, and thereby become capable of administering them. That this Sacrament is founded upon the Words of Jesus Christ; that those on whom Bishops lay their Hands, receive a power to perform ecclesiastical Functions, which are of two sorts; some of Order, and some of Jurisdiction; that the Ministry of the Word of God, the Administration of the Sacraments, and the Government of the Church, are of the first sort; and the Power of excommunicating and absolving Penitents are of the second; that the Church acknowledges seven Orders, which have each their different Functions; and that those who despise or take away any one of them, do a very great wrong to the Church.

Of the Sacrament of Marriage, which is treated of in the 21st. Article, they say, that God instituted Marriage in the terrestrial Paradise, to unite Man and Woman in a Bond of perpetual and single Society; that nevertheless this Institution degenerated under the Law, because a permission was then granted to have several Wives, and to put them away; that Jesus Christ restored it to its first Estate, and made Marriage thereby more perfect and indissoluble; that to shew what Grace he granted to those that were married, he granted them an illustrious Sign, whereby they might learn that being joined, not only by the Authority of Men, but by that of God, they have received particular Graces.

The 22^d. Article is of the Sacrifice of the Mass; the Doctrine of that Sacrifice is thus explained. There is no Religion without Ceremonies, and the chiefest of these is the offering of Sacrifices: Jesus Christ offered himself for all Mankind upon the Cross, and they were reconciled to God by this sole Oblation: But the benefit of this Sacrifice is applied to them by other Sacrifices; and as before the coming of Jesus Christ, God enjoined Sacrifices to put Men in mind of this great future Sacrifice, so Jesus Christ left to his Church the salutary Oblation of his Body and Blood, under the Species of Bread and Wine, to renew the memory of the Sacrifice of his Body offered, and his Blood shed upon the Cross, and to apply to us the benefit of this bloody Sacrifice: It is the same Host which was offered upon the Cross, that is again offered upon the Altars in a bloodless manner; not to merit Remission of Sins; and the Salvation of our Souls, but to the intent that, by recalling in our Memories the Passion of our Lord, we may give God thanks for the Salvation he has obtained for us upon the Cross, and that we may apply and appropriate to our selves the Forgiveness of Sins, and the Redemption which he has merited for us upon the Cross. Jesus Christ first offered him-

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Here also it mentioned the Saints; which gave an opportunity to treat in the next Article of the Intercession and Invocation of Saints. When the Church honours the Saints, it thanks God for their Salvation: It hopes also, that it shall be assisted by their Protection, being persuaded that since they are Members of the same Body, and have the same Spirit of Charity, they wish for our Salvation, and have compassion of our Infirmities; and consequently, that they continually intercede with God the Father, and with Jesus Christ his Son, our common Mediator in our Necessities: That it is in this belief that we pray to them, and call upon them, not doubting but God, to whom all things are easie, can by the Ministry of Angels, or by some other way, cause them to be informed of our Petitions, since it is certain, that the Angels which are in Heaven know when a Sinner is converted, and rejoice at it. As to the Merits of the Saints, they are not like those of Jesus Christ; all their Merit is taken from the Passion of Jesus Christ; however, through the Mercy of God they may be useful to obtain favours for us.

The Church also mentions the Dead in this Sacrifice; that is the subject of the 24th. Article. The Charity which we ought to have for the Dead, unites us still to them, and inspires us to pray for them: This is an ancient Usage which Jesus Christ hints to us, and which comes from an apostolical Tradition.

It would be proper likewise to renew the ancient Use about the Communion; that the Priests should not communicate alone; but that the Deacons, other Ministers, and the simple Faithful, should communicate at least upon the solemn Days. This is the subject of the 25th. Article.

The 26th. is of Ceremonies, and the use of the Sacraments. It is there ordained, that the ancient Ceremonies in Baptism shall be observed; that nothing shall be changed in the ancient Ceremonies of the Mass; that in Cities two Masses shall be celebrated every Day in the Parish-churches; and in Villages once at least upon Sundays and Holidays; that Preachers shall exhort the People to go to Mass, and shall explain its true use; that nothing shall be changed in the Canon, which shall be explained to the People; that the Ceremonies prescribed in the Rituals shall be observed, only taking away what may minister to Superstition; that Altars, Priests, Habits, Crosses, and Candlesticks, shall be preserved in Churches; and Images, provided they serve only as Monuments, on condition they be not honoured with the Worship called *Latria*, nor there be any superstitious concourse to Images and Statues: That canonical Hours and Psalmodes shall not be abolished in Churches; but they shall be restored in places where they are no longer in use, especially on Sundays and solemn Festivals: That what has been added to the Offices of the Saints, shall be taken away according to ancient Custom; and the Abuses shall be corrected: That Vigils, and the Obsequies of the Dead, shall be celebrated according to the custom of the primitive Church; that the ordinary Feasts shall be solemnized; that the Days of Fasting and Abstinence anciently prescribed shall be observed; that Blessings shall not be condemned, provided the effect be only attributed to the Power of God; that as to the married Priests, they shall expect upon this Article the Decision of the Council, without being obliged for the present to quit their Wives, because of the inconveniences which an alteration in that matter might occasion; that the use of the Communion under both Kinds, in the places

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At the end of this Writing it is desired, that the Emperor would make a regulation in the Reformation of Discipline; this he did by a Decree containing a form of Reformation, which was read and accepted in the Diet, June 14. It contained twenty two Articles.

The first is of the Ordination and Election of the Ministers of the Church: It treats of the Faith, of the Manners, Learning, and Age, of those who are to be promoted to ecclesiastical Orders, or to Benefices, *Articles of Reformation on published at Augsb.*

The 2^d. is of the Duty of Bishops, Archdeacons, Rural-deans, Arch-priests and Curates.

The 3^d. is of the Duty of Deans and Canons.

The 4th. is of the divine Offices and Psalmody: The ancient Offices are recommended to be followed; and all that is added, which is apocryphal, or unworthy of the divine Office, is ordered to be cut off: And it is observed, that it would be convenient not to repeat the same Prayers, and the same Psalms, so often in one Day, nor to make so many Commemorations, and recite so many Suffrages, which lengthen the Office.

The 5th. is of the Reformation of Monasteries of Men and Women in spirituals and temporals.

The 6th. contains some Regulations of Universities and Colleges.

The 7th. relates to Hospitals,

The 8th. is concerning the preaching of the Word of God. Preachers are there exhorted to explain the Gospel in its purity, not according to their own sense, but according to the interpretation of the ancient Fathers: To say nothing in the Pulpit that is prophane, or fabulous, or unworthy of the place in which they speak; nothing suspected, nothing uncertain; in a word, nothing but what is approved of by the Church, and conformable to the Tradition of the Fathers: To abstain from difficult and knotty Questions in the Pulpit; not to make injurious Declamations, merry Jest or Raileries; and to instruct the People in sound Doctrine, and the Laws of the Church.

The 9th. Article is of the administration of the Sacraments: The custom of making use of the *Latin* Language is approv'd of; and the use of it is preferred to the vulgar Tongue.

The 11th. exhorts Bishops to confirm and instruct the People in that Sacrament.

The 12th. is of the Ceremonies of the Mass; the Canon is commended; the other Prayers in that Office are approved. Men are there commanded to explain the Gospel every Sunday to the People; low Masses are forbidden in Sermon-time, or during high Mass; they are admonished not to play lascivious or prophane Tunes upon the Organs; and it is observed, that they had better chant the whole Creed, than play any part of it upon the Organ; Anthems are forbidden to be sung during the Elevation of the Host; and the use of giving the Kiss of Peace, by making the People kiss the Image of Jesus Christ, is ordered to be restored. There are excellent Instructions given, which are to be made to the People, to teach them what they ought to know concerning the Sacrifice of the Mass. There are Regulations concerning the place in which the Eucharist is to be kept, the respect with which it ought to be carried to the Sick; and the indecencies, and the superstitions which might have crept in upon that occasion, are forbidden.

The 13th. Article is about the administration of the Sacrament of Penance; the Law to confess once a Year to ones own Priest is renewed; it is recommended to Priests to enjoin proportionable Satisfaction; they seem to wish that several Priests had a faculty to absolve in reserved cases.

The 14th. and 15th. relate to the administration of the Sacraments of Extreme Unction and Marriage.

In the 16th. there are several mystical Reasons given for some ecclesiastical Ceremonies.

The 17th. contains Rules for the Manners of Clergy and People.

The 18th. is against the plurality of Benefices, particularly of Cures: Provision is also there made that Benefices shall have sufficient Revenues.

The 19th. contains Regulations for the Conduct of the People.

The 20th. is about the Visitations of Bishops; the Rules and Form of which are prescribed.

The 21st. re-establishes diocesan Synods every two Years, and provincial Synods every three Years; and contains several Regulations concerning the Forms of proceeding in them, and the things to be treated of in them.

The last is of Excommunication. Ecclesiastical Judges are advised not to denounce it, but upon criminal, weighty and mortal Reasons, and only against those who cannot be corrected any other way. Excommunicated Persons are ordered to be separated from the commerce of the rest, not to be admitted into Communion, nor absolved, till they have done Penance, asked pardon, promised amendment, and satisfied the Church by a lawful Penance.

The publication of the *Interim*, and of this Regulation, did not please the Court of Rome: It look'd upon it as an encroachment of the civil Authority upon what belong'd entirely to an ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. The Fathers of the Council assembled at Bononia had not less reason to complain, because they were prevented; and here was a sufficient declaration that their Authority was not acknowledg'd. It was feared that the Prelates that remained at Trent would draw advantages from it. The King of France's Ambassadors at the Council desired the Pope to declare, that the Translation to Bononia was lawfully made; and that he would afterwards suspend the Council, and keep it in a more convenient time.

Cardinal del Monte was for having the Pope remove it to Rome: Cervinus thought it was sufficient, if he took off the prohibition which was made to the Fathers of the Assembly at Bononia, to do any thing; and was for having them continue their Congregations as formerly, but without keeping a Session. As for the *Interim*, some were for having the Pope send Prelates into Germany to correct and reform it: But some that were wiser said, that since it appeared by the Preface, that this Formulary was only granted by way of Indulgence, to restrain the Liberty of the Lutherans, the Pope ought not to seem to be offended.

In Germany the *Interim* was yet more odious to the Protestants than it was to the Catholics. The Emperor, however, employ'd his Authority to procure its reception in all the Cities of the Empire; but several would not receive it, without such Restrictions

and Conditions as overthrew it. The Cities of Saxony refused to receive it; and Magdebourg was put to the Ban of the Empire upon that account. Tho' it was forbidden to write against it, yet Gaspar Aquila, Johannes Epinus, and several other Protestants refused it; and on the other side, Franciscus Romæus, General of the Dominicans; Robertus Cenalis, Bishop of Auranches; and several others, wrote against it.

In short, this Formulary, which was intended to put an end to the Disputes of Germany, and to restore Peace to it, raised new Disputes, and caused new Troubles.

The Decree of Reformation did not meet with so much contradiction; and it was pursued in several provincial Councils. The Elector of Cologne held one in the beginning of Lent, 1549. where he made six particular Articles of Reformation for his own Diocese, and 38 Chapters for restoring ancient Ceremonies and ecclesiastical Usages. In the first part of the History of this Century, there is an Extract of them, as well as of the Regulations made by the Councils held at Mentz and Triers the same Year.

All this while the Assemblies of the Prelates at Trent and at Bononia continued in the same state. The Emperor desired the Assembly of Bononia to be dissolved, and that the Council might be continued at Trent. The King of France supported that at Bononia: The Court of Rome was afraid, that if the Pope should die, the Prelates at Trent might proceed to chuse a new Pope. The differences between the Emperor and the Pope encreased every day, because of the City of Piacenza, which the Emperor refused to restore to the Pope. The Prelates sent by the Pope into Germany, staid there without doing any thing. In this perplexity the Pope resolved to call four Prelates from the Assembly at Bononia, and four from that of Trent, to Rome, upon pretence that he had need of their Advice to deliberate upon the present state of the Church, and to make a general Reformation by the Advice of Prelates of all Nations. The Prelates whom he called from Bononia, were, Olaus Magnus, Archbishop of Upsal; Sebastianus Lecavela, Bishop of Naxia; John Hugar, Bishop of Noyon; and Richard Parr, Bishop of Worcester. Those from Trent were, Cardinal Paceco; Peter Tagliavia, Archbishop of Palermo; Franciscus Navarrus, Bishop of Badajoz; and John Diaz, Bishop of Calahorra.

The Prelates at Bononia obeyed immediately: Those at Trent, after having expected the Emperor's Orders, answered the Pope, 21 days after they received his Letter, that they met at Trent by his Holiness's order; that they there expected the return of those who had withdrawn, that they might continue the Council; and that they desired him to excuse them, if, whilst things were in that condition, they did not go to Rome.

At last, the Pope ordered Cardinal del Monte to send the Fathers of Bononia home, which he did, September 17, 1549. declaring, that it was not the Pope's intention that the Council should be continued, but that they should draw up Decrees for the formation of Discipline at Rome. During these Disputes, Pope Paul III. fell sick, and died soon after; Nov. 10. 1549.

C H A P. VI.

Election of Julius III. New Convocation of the Council at Trent.

It is customary for the Obsequies of the Pope to last nine days, and upon the tenth to go into the Conclave: But the absence of several Cardinals made them put it off till Nov. 28. Cardinal Paceco did not go into the Conclave till Dec. 4. not

V o L. III.

†

being willing to leave Trent without the Emperor's order. Cardinals du Bellay, Vendosme, Châtillon and Guise, went in upon the 12th. and were soon followed by the Cardinals of Amboise, Lorrain and Bourbon. One of the first Articles sworn to by the Cardinals,

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was, to continue the Council. It was hop'd that the Election of the Pope would be before *Christmas*, because upon the Eve of that day, the Holy Gate was to be opened, which is a Ceremony usually performed by the Pope. But the three powerful Factions that were in the Conclave hindered the Election's being made so soon as was expected. These three Factions were, the Emperor's; the King of *France*'s; and that of the Creature's of the late Pope, of which Cardinal *Farnese*, his Nephew, was the chief. This last Faction was the strongest, as well for number, as because the most powerful and most experienced Cardinals were engag'd to Cardinal *Farnese*. This made him Master of the Election, and made the Imperialists and the *French* equally endeavour to gain his Friendship; however, what advances soever were made towards him, he would never determine himself, but by the advice of those of his own Faction.

The Imperialists, who were willing to take the advantage of the *French* Cardinals, labour'd all they could to advance Cardinal *Pole* to the holy Chair, and believ'd they had taken sufficient measures to succeed. That Cardinal was recommendable for his illustrious Birth and exemplary Life; and his devotion to Pope *Paul III.* made him agreeable to Cardinal *Farnese*. He was therefore proposed, Dec. 9. but the old Cardinals, who discovered the Intrigues of the Imperialists, and who look'd upon the choice of a Man that was not very old, as a perpetual Bar to themselves, managed the matter with so much address, that they drew the young Cardinals over to their party: And the better to conceal the Reasons which hindered them from consenting to Cardinal *Pole*'s Election, they said, they believ'd they ought to stay till those Cardinals arrived, who were not yet come to the Conclave; so that Cardinal *Pole* had but 26 Voices, both at the *Scrutiny*, and at the *Accessit*: And since there were but 49 Cardinals, he ought to have had 33.

The Imperialists, who saw, after the first *Scrutiny*, of what importance it was to them not to stay for the *French* Cardinals, earnestly demanded they might go next day to the *Scrutiny*; and with extreme diligence they obtain'd it. When they opened their Schedules, they found that Cardinal *Pole* had 18 Voices at the *Scrutiny*, and 26 again at the *Accessit* (i).

Cardinal *Tournon* therefore, being apprehensive that the Imperialists should succeed in their design, publicly accused *Pole* of being suspected of *Lutheranism*; and protested against his Election, as null, until the *French* Cardinals were arrived.

This publick Accusation gave him so great a blow, that the Imperialists being again desirous to solicit for him, several Cardinals that had given him their Voices, publicly said, they would not choose for Pope a Man that came out of a Country full of Hereticks, suspected himself of *Lutheranism*, and who being young, might do Christendom a great deal of Mischief.

The *French* Cardinals, as soon as they were entered into the Conclave, took their measures to chuse Cardinal *Salviati* Pope. But that they might not have the Imperial Faction against them, they ingaged the Cardinal of *Mantua* to write to the King of the *Romans*, to get the Emperor's consent; and they proposed him to Cardinal *Farnese*, by Cardinal *Sforza*, the Head of the *French* Faction. The Cardinal of *Mantua*, not getting a favourable answer from the King of the *Romans*, and Cardinal *Farnese* having signified to Cardinal *Sforza*, that he had no incli-

nation for *Salviati*, and that he would be better pleased if they would cast their Eyes upon one of his Uncle's creatures, gave him at the same time to understand, that he would more willingly concur in the Election of Cardinal *del Monte*. The *French* Cardinals then thought no more of Cardinal *Salviati*, but lookt out for one of the creatures of the late Pope, whom they might advance to the Pontificate. *Sforza*, who was a particular friend of Cardinal *del Monte*'s, proposed him to the *French* Cardinals as a fit Man; telling them that they could not easily find a Man better affected to *France*; and that it was well known that he had upon several occasions given evidences of his affection for that Kingdom. Cardinal *de Guise* immediately declared, that he could not consent to it for particular Reasons, having had personal Quarrels with that Cardinal, who might resent it as soon as he should be in place. *Sforza* offered to make his peace with *del Monte*, before his Election, by Cardinal *Farnese*'s means, who should procure them an Interview together, and would get all the assurances from him which he could desire; and he assured him that Cardinal *del Monte* would forget all the causes of discontent which he might have against him. *Sforza* immediately left the Cardinal of *Guise*, and bad him go to the Chappel of the *Scrutiny*, whither Cardinal *Farnese* quickly came with Cardinal *Sforza*; and there they resolved upon the Election of Cardinal *del Monte*. It had been immediately published, if Cardinal *Farnese* had not desired him to withdraw his Word which he had given to the Imperialists. In the mean time, Cardinal *Capo-di-ferro*, who was for the Emperor, having understood the design of the *French* for Cardinal *del Monte*, went to find some Imperialists to cross his Election; but it being far advanc'd, after they had debated it for some time, when they saw they could not hinder it, they thought it was better for them to join in it, that it might not seem to be done against their Wills. Thus Cardinal *del Monte* was chosen Pope, Feb. 8. and took the Name of *Julius III.* in memory of *Julius II.* who made his fortune by raising his Uncle to the Cardinalate; and to shew the goodness of his Disposition, he embraced those whom he suspected to have opposed his Advancement most, and let them see, by the favours which he granted them, that he harboured no resentment. February 23. he was crowned by the hands of Cardinal *Cibo*, and February 25th. he opened the holy Gate.

Julius III.'s Name was *John Maria Giocchi*: He was born at *Rome*, in the Quarter *del-Perione*, of a very mean Family, originally of Mount *Sanseverino* in *Tuscany*, whence he took the Name *del Monte* when he obtained of the Duke of *Tuscany* the Investiture for his Brother. He was at first Archbishop of *Siponto*, by the Surrender of his Brother, and as such assisted at the 5th. Council of the *Lateran*, under *Leo X.* and made the solemn Harangue when it was concluded.

Clement VII. made him Governor of *Rome*; and *Paul III.* made him Auditor of the apostolick Chamber, Legate at *Bononia* and *Piacenza*, then Cardinal and Legate à *Latere* at the Council of *Trent*.

When *Clement VII.* was a Prisoner, he was a Hostage; and *Onufrius Panvinus* says, he was then in great danger of being hang'd.

In his first Employments he got great Reputation, allowing little time to his Pleasures, and much to Business. After he was advanced to the Popedom, he on the contrary minded Business very little and Plea-

[(i) In the Election of a Pope, every Elector writes his Vote upon a distinct Schedule; which Schedules, when fully gathered, are examined with great Ceremony: The taking and examining of these Votes, is called the *Scrutiny*; in which, if any one Cardinal has 2 thirds of the Votes of all the Cardinals then in the Conclave, he is actually chosen Pope: If no one Cardinal has a sufficient number of Votes, the number of the Schedules given in at the *Scrutiny*, and of the Persons named therein, is set down, and new Schedules are given to every one of the Electors, who declare in them that they do allow or not allow, some one of the Persons named by their Brethren in the Schedules which they

gave in at the *Scrutiny*: In the one case, the Electors write, *Ego A. B. Accedo M. N.* In the other case, *Ego A. B. Accedo Nemini*. From this Word *Accedo*, these second Schedules are called *Schedule Accessus*, and are constantly given in after every *Scrutiny*, if in the *Scrutiny* a Pope happens not to be chosen; and the same number of Votes are requisite to choose a Pope in the *Accessit*, which were required in the *Scrutiny*. So that the *Accessit* is design'd as a Check upon the *Scrutiny*, because no Cardinal can, in the *Accessit*, name the Man whom he had named before in the *Scrutiny*.]

The History of the Council of Trent. lures very much, spending whole Days in walking in his Gardens, and making projects of building Houses of Pleasure. But nothing, in Cardinal Palavicini's opinion, sullied his Reputation in the beginning of his Pontificate, more, than the advancement of a young Man, one *Innocent*, whom he made to take his Name and his Arms, and gave him his Cardinal's Hat, tho' he had no other Merit, but that of serving to divert the Cardinal, nor any other business in his Family, but that of looking after his Ape; for which reason he was called the *Monkey*. When some Cardinals went to represent to him, that it was a dishonour to the Purple to cloath a young Man with it, without Merit, without Birth, without Knowledge: He asked them, what Virtue, what Nobility, what Knowledge and what Honour did you find in me, to make me Pope? Let us therefore advance this young Man, and he will deserve it. I came to the Papacy only to do him good, and I love him as the Maker of my Fortune. For it was said, that when he was Legate at *Piacenza*, and there took that young Man into his Service, the Astrologers foretold that he should be advanced to the Popedom, if he did that Child much good.

Propositions towards settling the Council on for again. When the Emperor understood that Cardinal *del Monte* was chosen Pope, he sent *Lewis d' Avila*, great Commendator of the Order of *Alcantara* to him, to wish him joy of his Advancement, and to desire him to re-settle the Council at *Trent*. The Pope answered the compliment with great assurances of Tenderness towards the Emperor; but as to the demand of the Council, he gave him only general Words; and he spake with the same uncertainty to the Cardinal of *Guise*, who returned into *France*; assuring him only upon that Head, that he would do nothing without first communicating it with his most Christian Majesty.

The Emperor, who was not pleased with this general Answer of the Pope's, ordered his Ambassador to press him vehemently to restore the Council, and wrote to him several times, desiring a direct and not a general Answer, as that was which he gave to *Don Lewis d' Avila*, and praying his Holiness to explain himself precisely upon the Conditions, that they might be heard and agreed to by the Protestants of *Germany*.

Pope's Resolution to reassemble the Council. The Pope being resolved to assemble the Council, settled a Congregation of Cardinals and Bishops. There he proposed the Emperor's Demand, and commanded them to give their Opinions freely, and to declare what they in their Conscience thought to be for the Service of God and of the holy See. After several Consultations, it was concluded, that the Pope ought to continue the Council, as he had promised in the Conclave, and after his Exaltation; that it was more to the purpose to settle it again at *Trent*, since *Germany* desired it, and upon its account it was called at first.

Nuncio's sent to the King of France and the Emperor, concerning the Council. The Pope approved of this advice, and acquainted the Cardinal of *Ferrara* and the *French* Ambassador with it; and about the latter end of *June* sent *Sebastianus Pighinus*, Archbishop of *Siponto*, his Nuncio to the Emperor; and *Antonius Trivulcius*, Bishop of *Toulon*, to the King of *France*. The first was ordered to acquaint the Emperor with the Resolutions that were taken in the Congregation; and the second was commanded to make haste, that he might send a quick Account back of the Intentions of *France*, which he was willing to know before he went any farther. This Nuncio was ordered to lay before the King the Pope's Reasons for re-establishing the Council of *Trent*, which were these, that *Germany* accepted it, and submitted to it: That the Council should only be employ'd in explaining Matters of Doctrine, and in Reformation of Manners, without meddling with the Privileges of that Crown; and that his Holiness desired to know his most Christian Majesty's Intentions, which were such (he hoped) as a good Son ought to have for the publick Good. The King knowing that the Pope had not

The History of the Council of Trent. much reason to confide in the Emperor for what was past; and besides believing him to be entirely *French*, testified to the Nuncio abundance of Joy for his coming; and presently promised to send Bishops from *France* to the Council, and to spare for nothing to content and support the Authority of the holy See.

King of France's Answer. The Nuncio that was sent to the Emperor, was ordered to represent to him, in the first place, that means must be found out to make the King of *France* agree to the Council. Secondly, that his Imperial Majesty must give assurances of the Obedience of the Catholics and Protestants of *Germany* to the Council; by obliging the Diet to execute its Decrees. Thirdly, that the Decrees, made in the foregoing Sessions at *Trent*, shall not be again put under debate, but shall pass for Matters already determined.

Emperor's Answer. The Emperor replied to the Nuncio, by commending the Pope for resuming the Council, and promising to second his Holiness in giving all possible Assurances of his part to the King of *France*: He said, that the Diet of *Augsburg* did make a Decree last Year, to oblige all *Germany*, Protestants and all, to acknowledge the Council; that he would give a copy of this Decree to the Nuncio, and cause it to be confirmed in the Diet which he held at *Augsburg*; that he did not yet think it proper to declare that the Decrees made at *Trent* could not be re-examined; and that it would be time enough to make that Declaration when the Council should be met.

Convocation of the Council proposed to the Diet. The Emperor at that time held a Diet at *Augsburg*: He there proposed the observation of the *Interim*, and the finding of means to recover the Revenues of the Church, and the continuation of the Council. This last Proposition pleased the Catholic Princes; but the Protestants would not consent, but upon the following conditions: That the Articles determined should be re-examined; that the Divines of the Confession of *Augsburg* should not only be heard, but should also have a deliberative Voice; and that the Pope should not preside.

The Emperor inform'd the Nuncio of the Restrictions of the Protestants; but he told him that they were not put into the Acts, because the Princes promised him they would not resist his Will: That he might therefore assure the Pope that all *Germany* would accept of the Council. That he might be more certain of this, he treated with the Electors and principal Prelates of *Germany*; and having gotten their Words, he press'd the Pope to call the Council at *Easter*, or soon after.

The Pope, to whom the Nuncio sent the Emperor's Answer, thought there was nothing done, unless the Decrees already published at *Trent* were received by the *Germans*: For he foresaw, that if the mention of that Affair were put off till the Council were met, much time would be lost in disputing it, and at last all would end in the dissolution of the Council. On the other side, to press the Emperor, would make him uneasy, and throw him into Difficulties. Therefore he thought it was more advisable to suppose in his Bull, that the Decrees made at *Trent* were accepted by the *Germans*; and that when his Bull was carried to the Diet, it would either be received, and then he should have what he desired, or it would not, and that would begin a Dispute in the Diet, and rid him of his trouble. Accordingly he drew up a Bull of Convocation, and sent it to the Emperor, dated, sealed, ready to be published, and drawn up in those terms.

Bull of Convocation of the Council. ' *Julius*, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, for the future Memorial of the thing. Being willing to pacify the Dissentions which have been raised of long time in *Germany*, upon account of our Religion, and which have occasioned Disturbances and Scandals all over Christendom; it has seemed good and expedient to us; as also our dear Son, in Jesus Christ, *Charles*, Emperor of the *Romans*, always *Augustus*, has given us to understand from himself

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by his Letters, that the holy ſacramental Council, called by *Paul III.* our Predeceſſor, opened, begun and continued by us, then Cardinal and Preſident, in the Name of our Predeceſſor in the ſaid Council, jointly with two other Cardinals, in which ſeveral ſolemn Sessions were held, and ſeveral Decrees publiſh'd, as well concerning Faith as concerning Reformation, ſhall be aſſembled and fixed again at *Trent*. We therefore, to whom it now belongs, as ſovereign Pontiff, to call and direct general Councils, deſiring for the Honour and Glory of God to procure Peace to the Church, and the Encreate of the Chriſtian Faith and the orthodox Religion, and to provide as far as in us lies for the quiet of *Germany*, which in times paſt has yielded to no Nation whatſoever in what belongs to the Worſhip of the true Religion, the Profeſſion of the Doctrine of the holy Canons and holy Fathers, and the Obedience and Reſpect towards the ſovereign Pontiffs, Vicars of Jeſus Chriſt, our Redeemer upon Earth; and hoping, by the Grace and Goodneſs of God, that all Chriſtian Kings and Princes, will herein ſecond our pious and juſt Deſigns, and ſupport them with their Favour and Aſſiſtance; exhort by the Bowels of the Mercy of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, our venerable Brethren the Patriarchs, Archbishops and Bishops, and our well beloved Sons the Abbots, and all others in general and in particular, who of Right, Cuſtom and Privilege ought to be at general Councils, and whom our Predeceſſor thought good to call by his Letters of Summons, or any other Letters whatſoever, made and publiſhed on this account, to appear at *Trent*, all lawful Impediments ceaſing, upon the firſt day of *May* next enſuing; which day, after mature Deliberation, of our certain Knowledge, full Power and apoſtolical Authority, by and with the advice and conſent of our venerable Brethren the Cardinals, we appoint and aſſign to reſume and proceed in the Council, in the condition it is in at preſent, and to aſſemble and apply themſelves to the continuation and purſuit of the ſame Council, without any interruption: Promiſing on our parts, that we will cauſe our Legates to appear preſently at the ſame time in the ſame City; by whom, if we cannot in perſon aſſiſt our ſelves, by reaſon of our Age, our Infirmities, and the other Affairs of the apoſtolick See, we will preſide under the conduct of the Holy Ghoſt over the ſame Council; all Tranſlations, Suſpenſions of the ſaid Council, and all other contrary things, to the contrary notwithstanding; particularly, all thoſe things which our Predeceſſor deſigned ſhould be no Obſtacles, as is ſet forth in his Letters, which we will and deſign ſhall continue in full force, and which we renew as far as is needful, with all and every the Clauſes and Decrees therein contained; declaring every thing which may have been attempted by deſign or thro' ignorance, by whomſoever, or by what Authority ſoever, againſt theſe Preſents, to be void and of no effect. And if any Man be ſo raſh as to infringe and contradict any of the Points herein contain'd, let him know that he ſhall incur the Indignation of the bleſſed Apoſtles, *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*. Given at *Rome* in *St. Peter's*, *Nov. 14. 1550.* in the firſt Year of our Pontificate.

Difficulties of the Emperor upon the Terms of the Bull.

Before the Emperor would ſuffer this Bull to be publiſhed in the Diet of *Augsburg*, he order'd it to be examin'd in his Council; who believ'd it would be convenient for the Pope to alter ſome Expreſſions which were too harſh, and to ſpeak there with leſs Authority, that he might not provoke the Proteſtants, and give them a pretence not to come to the Council.

The Emperor ſpoke of it to the Nuncio, and wrote alſo to *Mendoza*, to make his Remonſtrances to the Pope upon the ſame Head.

Mendoza, in execution of the Emperor's Orders, demanded Audience of the Pope. When he had it, he repreſented to him, that nothing was more glorious to his Holineſs, than to terminate all thoſe Diſputes concerning Religion in a general Council, which divided not only *Germany*, but alſo all *Europe*; and that he was perſuaded theſe were his Holineſs's Intentions: But then he ought to conſider that the Proteſtants would ſcarcely come thither, if they were not invited in very gentle Terms, which might give them grounds to hope that they might declare their Thoughts freely, and ſupport them with proper Reaſons; that his Holineſs ought to have this condeſcenſion to bring them thither; that when they were once come, it would be eaſier to ſhew them the truth, than to oblige them now to receive the Decrees already made, which would give them reaſon to believe that they ſhould not be heard, ſince Decrees were pronounced againſt them already without being heard, and at the ſame time they were driven to deſpair.

The Pope made answer, that he had always loved Sincerity too much to uſe diſguizes towards the Proteſtants; that he would not deceive them with fine Words, and engage them by a falſe condeſcenſion to come to the Council, and then change his tone and manner of ſpeaking upon the place; that this would give them juſt grounds of complaint, and of recurring to all that Deſpair could ſuggeſt. However he ſhould be very glad to be freely told of the Terms in the Bull which might offend the Proteſtants.

Mendoza replied thus: Since your Holineſs invites me to ſpeak freely, I will tell you, that what is ſaid in the Bull, *That it belongs to the Pope to direct Councils*, is one of thoſe Truths which it is not neceſſary to ſpeak always; eſpecially when we know the prejudice it may occaſion. This Truth, replies the Pope, is one of thoſe which (as *St. Paul* ſays) ought to be preſt in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon; to do otherwiſe, would be to contradict the Commandment of Jeſus Chriſt, and to hide our Light under a Buſhel. You are, returns *Mendoza*, the common Father; and you ought to act accordingly: A Father that would inſtruct and correct his Child, does not ſhew him the Rod, leſt he ſhould run away and not hear him; but he hides it, that he may inſtruct and correct him at the ſame time when he has him in his Arms. The Bull answers the Pope, is drawn up in the Style of the Chancery, which cannot be altered. I ought to follow the Steps of my Predeceſſors; if I keep to the ordinary Forms, nothing can be laid to my Door; and I ſhould be to blame if I ſhould make any Alterations. Holy Father, I don't take this Answer, ſaid *Mendoza* withdrawing, for a Refuſal: I hope your Holineſs will have compaſſion upon *Germany*, and will reflect upon the Fire, with which you ſee all the Empire is enflamed, which was kindled by the Agents of *Leo X.* and Cardinal *Cajetan* his Legate, who might have quenched it in the beginning with gentle Words. But the Pope being reſolved to alter nothing in his Bull, diſpatched the following Breve, *December 27, 1550.*

We being determined by the advice of our Brethren the Cardinals, and by our apoſtolical Authority, to re-ſettle the Council of *Trent* where it began to be aſſembled, and to continue it to the end: And having for that purpoſe fix'd the firſt of *May* to reſume and continue its Sessions, and by a Bull made on purpoſe, having exhorted all thoſe who have a Right to aſſiſt in the Council, to be there at the day prefixed: Yet ſince it may happen that our Bull not having yet been publiſhed, ſome may pretend cauſe of Ignorance, we ordain, by theſe Preſents, the ſame things which are ſet forth in our Bull; willing that it be read aloud during divine Service, and afterwards affixed to the Doors of the Churches of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*,

Brief for the publication of the Bull.

The History of the Council of Trent. St. Paul, and of St. John in the Lateran. Given at Rome, under the Fisher's Ring, Dec. 27. 1550. Mendoza, who intended to demand a new Audience of the Pope to renew his Sollicitations, judged by this Breve that there was nothing to be hoped for; and sent immediately a Courier to the Emperor with a copy of this new Breve.

Emperor's Edict concerning the Council. The Emperor, upon this Intelligence from Mendoza, called a Council to deliberate upon what was best to be done. It was resolved, that they had nothing else to do, but to read the Pope's Bull in the Diet; and that his Imperial Majesty might easily sweeten the Minds of the Protestants with assurances of his Protection in the Council, when once they should be met.

Pursuant to this Resolution taken in his Council, the Emperor went, January 5, 1551. to the Diet, where he ordered the Pope's Bull for the Resumption of the Council to be read. Both Catholics and Protestants were discontented: The Catholics thought it was too dry, and the manner of proceeding too harsh: The Protestants could not endure the Pope to say, *That it belong'd to him, not only to call, but also to direct Councils, in which he would preside.* They complained, that notwithstanding all their importunity, the Pope took away from them the liberty of examining the Decrees which had been made in their absence, by declaring that he was resolved to continue it where they left off. Last of all, they said this Council was not called for them, but against them, since the Pope invited none but those that were devoted to, and entirely in the Interests of the Court of Rome, by the Oath which they had taken.

When the Emperor had heard both sides, he said, that since it was a general Council of all Christian Nations that obey the holy See, the Pope had drawn up his Bull in the usual Forms which were received by all Christendom; that if the Germans would leave it to him, he would set all things right; that they should let other Nations assemble there as well as themselves; and then he would go in person to the Council, or at least would remain hard-by, where he would act not by Words, but Deeds; that all things should go right; and that they should not mind what the Pope said, but what He promised as an Emperor and a King. This Remonstrance did a little calm their Spirits.

Pullication of the Bull in the Diet. February 13. the Emperor dismiss'd the Diet, and publish'd an Edict, setting forth, that since it was agreed that there was no means more proper to pacify the Troubles which were raised upon the account of Religion, than a pious and free Council, and that in the last Diet all the Members of the Empire had engaged to submit to it; it was now a fix'd and settled matter, which no Man could contradict: That pursuant to his Promises, he would take care that every thing should pass with all possible Order and Equity; that as Protector of the Church, and Defender of the Council, he would protect all those who should go to the Council, whether they had changed their Religion or not; that so they might stay there, or return home, with all possible security, and freely say there what in conscience they should think necessary for the publick Good; that he would use his Authority to get things decided according to Scripture and the Doctrine of the Fathers, and not according to the Passions of Parties; and that in order hereunto, he would abide as near as he could to the Council; and he exhorted all Men, both Catholics and those that adhered to the Confession of Augsburg, to conform to the Pope's Bull, and to be at Trent at the opening of the Council; and if they deferred to do it, they should not be received afterwards with saying that they had not been heard.

Disputes between the Pope and the Farnese. The Pope, to satisfy the obligation he ow'd to Cardinal Farnese for his advancement, and more particularly the Oath which he took in the Conclave, surrendred the City of Parma to Octavio Farnese, which Pope Paul III. had re-taken and kept in the Name of the Church. Octavio Farnese mistrusting

The History of the Council of Trent. Ferdinand Gonzaga, Governor of Milan, as well as the Emperor, whom he suspected to have a Hand in the Tragical Death of his Father; and not seeing how, with his own Forces, he could defend himself against those of the Emperor, applied himself to the Pope by the Mediation of Cardinal Farnese his Brother; beseeching his Holiness to assist him himself, or permit him to have recourse to the Protection of some Prince who could support him against the Emperor's Power. The Pope, not reflecting upon the thing, answer'd Cardinal Farnese, that the Duke his Brother might do as he should think convenient. Octavio thinking himself at Liberty by this answer of the Pope's, threw himself into the King of France's Hands, and received a French Garrison into Parma. The Emperor was so angry at that, that he perswaded the Pope, that this was an insult upon him, who was the Sovereign Prince. Whereupon the Pope embroiled himself with France, and publish'd a Decree upon April 3. against Farnese, ciring him to appear at Rome within a Month at farthest; in default whereof, he declared him to be guilty of High Treason, and ordered his Goods to be confiscated: He pray'd the Emperor by the same Decree to give all necessary assistance to punish this Rebel.

Legate and Nuncio's of the Pope at Councils. The time of the Council drawing on, the Emperor pray'd the Pope to send but one Legate to the Council, that the Protestants might not be affrighted with a greater number, and that they might have a greater Appearance of Security. The Pope agreed to it, to avoid the great expence of keeping 3 Legates there according to their Dignity, as Paul III. his Predecessor, had done before. But when, on the other side, he considered that it was too great a Burthen for one Man, to have never a Colleague he could confide in, and to pass for the sole Author of all that was done, he thought it necessary to join two Nuncios with the Legate, invested with the same Authority. He chose Cardinal Crescentius, by the Title of St. Marcellus, to be his Legate; and he named Sebastianus Pighinus Archbishop of Manfredonia, and Aloisius Lippomanus Bishop of Verona, to be his Nuncio's, and he dispatched a very ample Commission for them to preside in his Name in the Council, dated only in the second Year of his Pontificate. The substance of the Commission was this, that it is the Duty of a wise Father of a Family to appoint in his place Persons capable of doing what he can't do himself in Person: That having therefore re-settled the Council at Trent, which was begun by Paul III. his Predecessor, in hopes that Christian Kings and Princes would favour and assist it, he had exhorted Patriarchs, Archbishops and Bishops, and all other Persons who have a Right to assist at the Council, to appear at Trent upon May 1st. to resume, continue and finish the Council: That his great Age, and other Employments, having hindred him from personally appearing at Trent, and presiding there as he could have wish'd; that his absence might not be prejudicial, he constituted Cardinal Marcellus, a Man full of Zeal, Prudence and Learning, and verit in Businels, to be his Legate; and the Archbishop of Manfredonia, and the Bishop of Verona, Men valuable for their Piety, Learning and Experience, to be his Nuncio's, by a special Order, with promises of ratifying all that they should do, and with necessary Clauses, drawn up by the Advice of the Cardinals: That he sent them thither as Angels of Peace, with Authority to preside in the Council, to resume it, to continue it, to direct, and to close it; and in a Word, to do whatsoever they should judge convenient, according to the Tenor of the Bulls of Convocations, both his and his Predecessors.

Commission of Legate and Nuncio's. This Commission, thus drawn up, the Pope put into the Hands of Cardinal Marcellus. He order'd him and the two Nuncios to go immediately to Trent, and to open the Council upon the Day appointed, with what Bishops should be there, or

even without any, according to the Example of the Nuncios of Pope Martin V. who opened the Council of Pavia, though there were only two Burgundian Abbots there. He put also into Cardinal Marcellus's Hand the Letter which the Emperor wrote to him to engage him to re-assemble the Council

The History of the Council of Trent.

at Trent; in which, to take from him all manner of uneasiness, the Emperor promised, that the Council should not proceed to Reformation, but as the Pope should give his consent; and that the Bishops should give him no Disturbance of any sort: And this Letter the Legate was to use upon occasion.

The History of the Council of Trent.

C H A P. VII.

The History of the XI. XII, and XIII. Sessions of the Council at Trent.

Session XI.

THE Presidents of the Council being come to Trent, with some Prelates that had follow'd them from Rome, and some other Bishops that came thither a few days after, they all met with the usual Ceremonies upon May 1. 1551. in the Cathedral Church, where the Seats still stood as they did before when the Council was held.

The Legate sang Mass, and Sigismund Frederick Diruta, a Franciscan, preached: And after the Secretary of the Council had read the Bull of Convocation, and the Pope's Breve, whereby the Pope gave Cardinal Marcellus and his two Nuncio's Power to preside, the following Decree was read.

' Are you content, that for the Honour of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and for the Augmentation and Exaltation of the Christian Faith and Religion, the Holy general Council be resumed and continued according to the Form and Tenor of our Holy Fathers Letters; and that it shall proceed to examine what is still behind? All the Fathers answer'd, *We are content.* He then asked them, are you content that the next Session be held and celebrated the first day of September next? All the Fathers answer'd, *We are content.*

Declaration of War of the Emperor against the Duke of Parma.

May 13. The Emperor declared War against the Duke of Parma. This Declaration set forth, That his Imperial Majesty desiring out of Duty and Inclination to give the Pope and the Church of Rome their whole due, and to hinder the Troubles that were in Italy from encreasing and spreading in other Places; and considering the just Resentments of his Holiness against Octavio Farnese, especially after having made use of all means to retain him in his duty; he had made choice of Ferdinand Gonzaga, his Governor of Milan, to command his Armies; to whom he commands his Officers and Soldiers to pay the same Obedience during this War as to himself, by making War with the utmost extremity against the Duke of Parma. Gonzaga, pursuant to the Emperor's Orders, threw himself into the Parmesans, whilst the Pope besieged Mirandola.

Pope's Letter to the Swissers.

May 22. The Pope sent Hieronimy Franco into Switzerland, who had been Nuncio there under Paul III. to keep the Swissers from lending the King of France any Forces, and to obtain Levies for himself for the War of Parma. He wrote to them in these Words, that having taken up the Name of Julius II. who cherish'd them so tenderly, he was willing to follow his Example by loving them, and making use of their Militia; and that if he had not yet given them Marks of his Affection, it was only because he had been employed in the greatest and most important Affairs of Christendom: And that as a sensible Proof of what he said, he had taken a Swiss Guard for his own Person, and had sent another to Bononia, confiding entirely in their Valor and Fidelity: That now the Council being held at Trent ever since May 1. he prayed them to take care that

their Prelates be at Trent by the first day of September next; that he had sent Signior Hieronimy Franco, whose Merit they knew already, to tell them what he thought at greater length. Morlet, the King of France's Ambassador in Switzerland, so manag'd his Matters, that Franco could obtain nothing that he ask'd for.

Henry II. King of France, order'd Paul de Termes, his Ambassador at Rome, about the end of June, to represent to his Holiness in a full Consistory, that he was very unjustly blam'd for granting his Protection to the Duke of Parma, since it is the Duty of Kings to succour the afflicted: That he had not herein consulted his particular Interest, but that all that he had done was for the Interest of the Roman Church, wherein he had only follow'd the Example of his Ancestors, who had the Glory of enriching, protecting and defending it upon all occasions, by their Arms, more than all the other Princes of Christendom: That all that he had in view was to hinder Parma, which was the Patrimony of the Church, from falling into the Hands of Strangers: That the Pope ought to be obliged to him for the great Expences which he must necessarily be at every Day on that account: That he conjured his Holiness to lay aside that false Opinion which he had conceiv'd of him; that otherwise if he preferred War to Peace, he might expect to see War, not only in Italy, but in all other Parts of Europe, and Religion expos'd to evident Dangers, because the Council which was called could not be assembled: That his Majesty would not permit the Bishops of his Kingdom to expose themselves to go to Trent in such a dangerous time; and that he did not believe that the dismal Misfortunes of that War could ever be imputed to him, since he did not intend to impose Conditions of Peace, but to receive them.

This Remonstrance made little Impression upon the Mind of the Pope, who thought he need fear nothing, as long as the Emperor was of his side. But he was a little surprized quickly after, when he understood that the King had sent out a Circular Letter to all the Bishops of his Kingdom, to return to their Churches within 6 Months, to prepare for a National Council, and that these Letters had been even given to the Bishops of France that were at Rome. The Pope deliberated for some time, whether he should oppose the return of those French Bishops; but he was afraid he might do them harm, and expose his own Dignity, and therefore resolv'd to send Ascanio de la Corna, his Nephew, into France, to persuade the King to abandon the Duke of Parma, by remonstrating to him, that the Duke being a Feudatary of the Church, the Pope could not, without exposing himself to eternal Infamy, bear with his Contempt and Disobedience, which might be an Example to every body else, never to hold of the Holy See: That the Pope had a very great Inclination for his Majesty, and a great Aversion to the Enemies of his Person and Crown, as all the World knew; but that the Consideration of the Honour of the Holy See was so strong, that he should

National Council in France resolved upon and revok'd.

he

be obliged to throw himself against his Will into the Arms of some other Prince, if his Majesty would not relinquish the Duke of Parma. *Ascanio* also had Orders to represent unto the King, if he continued inflexible, the numerous Inconveniences with which a national Council would be attended; that it would be a precedent which would accustom his Subjects to take Liberties, which he would be very ill pleased with; that he would for the present hinder the general Council from being held, which would be a great prejudice to the Faith, and render him guilty before God of the greatest Offence which he could ever commit; that if he would send his Ambassador to *Trent*, he should there receive all manner of Honour and Respects from the Presidents and all the Prelates that were well affected to the Pope. Lastly *Ascanio* had Orders to propose to the King, if he saw him resolved to execute his Edict for the Convocation of a national Council, to publish a Declaration, setting forth, that by his Edict he did not intend to hinder the general one.

When the King had heard this Envoy, he told him that his Honour engaged him to continue to give his Protection to the Duke of Parma, and to support him: He accompanied his Answer with Expressions which shew'd his displeasure at their Differences, and his sincere desire to compose them amicably; and that he might make a return to the Pope's civility, he sent to him *John de Montluc*, Governor of *Sienna*, whom he had nominated to the Archbishoprick of *Bordeaux*, in hopes that he might mollify him. But notwithstanding all the Remonstrances of that Prelate, the Pope continued firm in the Article of Parma, and sent *Montluc* back with Orders to complain to the King of his sending his Edict as far as Rome for the Convocation of a national Council, and circular Letters upon the same account to the Bishops of France that were there.

The King, who thought he had Reason on his side, did not yield to the Remonstrances of the Pope, but gave Orders to *James Amyot*, Abbot of *Bellozane*, to go to *Trent*, and not to appear there till the Session was held, and then protest against the Council; and he wrote to his Ambassador at Rome, to do the same thing; which he did.

In June, the Emperor wrote to the Protestant Princes of Germany, to send their Deputies immediately to *Trent*, to be at the Session which was to be held upon the first of September; promising them that they should be favourably heard, and that they should have all the security they could desire.

Maurice, Elector of Saxony, to let the Emperor see how great a deference he paid to his Pleasure, commanded *Melanchthon*, and some other Divines, to draw up Heads of Doctrine, which they were to propose to the Council. *Christopher* Duke of *Wittemberg*, did the same thing likewise for his part. When these Articles were drawn up, they both wrote to the Emperor, that their Divines were ready to go to the Council, but that his Imperial Majesty's safe Conduct did not seem to be sufficient, since the Council of *Constance* proceeded against *John Huss*, tho' he had the Emperor *Sigismund's* safe Conduct; so that they could not send their Divines without a safe Conduct from the Council, as it had been practised in that of *Basil*, where the *Bohemians*, who had the Example of the Council of *Constance* before their Eyes, would not come without the publick Faith of all the Fathers: And therefore they desired the Emperor to procure, from the Fathers that were met at *Trent*, a safe Conduct drawn up in the same Form with that of *Basil*. The Emperor sent them word, that he had sent his Ambassadors to *Trent*, and that he would order them to procure it.

The Emperor at the same time named three Ambassadors to go to *Trent*: The first was a German, *Hugh Count de Montfort*; he was to act as Ambassador for the Emperor, in all that related to the Rights and Privileges of the Empire. The second, *Don Francisco de Toledo*, a Spaniard, was his Ambassador as

King of Spain; and for his other patrimonial Territories there. The third was *William of Poitiers*, who was his Ambassador as Earl of Flanders, and Lord of the Low-Countries. At the Emperor's Request, *Sebastian de Haunsfeyn*, Elector of *Mentz*, and *John de Eysembourg*, Elector of *Triers*, went to *Trent* about the latter end of August.

September 1. the day appointed for the Session, the Fathers went in this Order to the cathedral Church: Cardinal *Marcellus* went first; then the Cardinal of *Trent*, followed by the two Bishops of *Mentz* and *Triers*, the Count *de Montfort*, and *Francisco de Toledo*, the Emperor's Ambassadors; then the King of the Romans's Ambassador, who preceded the Archbishops. *Balthazar Eredia*, Archbishop of *Cagliari*, celebrated Mass; and then the Secretary of the Council read an Exhortation, in the President's Name, to the Fathers of the Council, drawn up in these Words: 'Seeing that as soon as the Council began to re-assemble, two illustrious Prelates and Electors of the Empire have come hither, we have reason to hope that several German Bishops, and of other Nations, will quickly, after their Example, appear in this Council, to finish and conclude it to the Glory of God. Now therefore to acquit our selves of what the Rank which we hold requires at our hands, we have thought it proper to begin with exhorting you in few Words: Tho' you are already carried by your Zeal and your Piety to labour after the Extirpation of Heresies, the Reformation of the Discipline of the Church, and the procuring Peace among Christian Princes; yet the importance and greatness of the Difficulties which must be overcome, oblige us to acknowledge our Weakness, and engage us to have recourse to the divine Assistance, which will never fail us, and of which we have had certain proofs already by the Arrival of two Electors. To draw which down, we ought, after the example of our Ancestors, to desire it without ceasing, with Tears, to dispose our Hearts, and to make them sufficiently pure, that they may be Temples of the Holy Ghost. You are not ignorant that general Councils have always been of great authority, because the Holy Spirit presides in them, and consequently their Decrees are not the Works of Men, but of the Holy Ghost. The Apostles first called Councils, and their Successors did the same, to condemn Hereticks, and to reform the Manners of Ecclesiasticks, and of the People. With this view the Pope has called this Council to recover the Sheep which are stray'd from our Lord's Flock, and to preserve those which still remain. On this account, all Posterity will have a Veneration for this Council, and will set forth its Praises. This however is not what we principally ought to consider, but rather the obligation which we lie under to perform our Duty towards God, to whom we are to give an Account of the Flocks which he has committed to our Care, and towards his Church, which is made desolate by the loss of so many dear Children, for whose Salvation she lifts up her Hands to Heaven, we have only this farther to say, that we ought here to treat of Matters with the Spirit of Meekness and Charity, as becomes so great a Council, avoiding Disputes and Differences, and remember that God is our Spectator and our Judge.

After this Exhortation, the Archbishop of *Cagliari* read the following Decree: 'The holy Council which in the foregoing Session determin'd to proceed, and has hitherto deferred to do it, because of the small number of Fathers, and the absence of the German Nation; hoping now that after the example of the Electors, many other Prelates will come to *Trent*, has deferred the next Session to the 11th. of October, the Council still continuing in the same state: And as they have treated of Sacraments in general, and of Baptism and Confirmation in particular, so now they will treat of the Eucharist; and as to what relates to Reformation, they

they will examine the Methods of making Resistance more eafie.' Then the Secretary read the Letters of Credence of the Ambassadors from the Emperor and the King of the Romans.

After the Promoter of the Council had answered the Ambassadors, James Amyot Abbot of Bellozane, the King of France's Minister, rose up, and presented a Letter from the King to the Legate, saying, *Here is the Letter which his most Christian Majesty writes to you, and to the Fathers of the Council.* The Legate having taken it, asked him if he had no other Order from the King his Master: Amyot reply'd, that he had nothing but this Letter, which was signed by his Majesty's own Hand, and by a Secretary of State; that the Council, by reading of it, would learn what he came to do; and that he desired him to open it, and to read it publickly. The Legate holding the Letter between his Hands, said to his two Colleagues, *This Superscription shews the King does not despise us, and at the same time gave it to the Secretary of the Council to have it read.* As soon as the Secretary had read the Superscription aloud, which was made in these Words, *Sanctissimis atque in primis observandis in Christo Patribus Conventus Tridentini;* the Spanish Bishops began to cry out, particularly Francisco Blanco, Bishop of Orense, that this Letter was not directed to them, since they were a general and a lawful Council, and not an Assembly, as the Word *Conventus* signified; and they opposed the Letter's being opened and read in the Assembly. Some said, *Let who will bear it read, for our parts, we are resolved not to bear it.* Others said, *If Amyot has any thing to propose, let him come to us every Man by himself, and we will bear him.* Amyot endeavoured to persuade the Prelates, that the King did not use the Word *Conventus* out of any ill design, because in what he had to tell them from his Majesty, sometimes the Word *Conventus* was used, sometimes the Word *Concilium*; and that they ought not to dwell upon a Superscription, which the Secretary only made use of, because he thought the Word *Conventus* was more Latin than *Concilium*. Dr. Vargas cited several Passages, to shew that *Concilium* was as good a Latin Word as *Conventus*; to which Amyot replied, by citing several others. When they had long disputed upon the signification of the Word *Conventus*, the Elector of Mentz demanded, how they would hear the Protestants, who called the Council *Conventum Malignantium*, since they would not receive a Letter from his most Christian Majesty, who gave it the Title of *Sanctissimus Conventus*? The Spaniards continuing to make a Noise, the Legate and Presidents said, *Let us go into the Vestry, and debate this Matter by our selves.* Immediately they withdrew behind the Altar, where the Vestry was. The Imperial Bishops and Ambassadors follow'd them; and after they had debated the Matter about half an hour, they came back, and sat every Man in his place; and the Promoter of the Council, directing his speech to the Sieur Amyot, said, *The Council thinks it convenient to have the King's Letter read, being persuaded that his Majesty did not put in the Word Conventus out of any ill design; otherwise, if the Council thought so, they would protest against it as null.* Then the Secretary opened the Letter, and read it; the substance of it was this: 'That his Majesty thought it convenient, pursuant to the Respect of his Ancestors towards the Church, to declare to the Fathers of the Council the Reasons why he did not send the Bishops of his Kingdom to the Assembly, which was called by Julius III. by the Name of a general Council; assuring himself, that they would be very far from condemning any Man unheard; and that when they should know what his Majesty had done, they would approve of it: That he was engaged in honour to persist in his Resolution to protect the Duke of Parma; that he would willingly desist, when he should see he had Justice done him; that he wrote to them as honorary Arbitrators; and pray'd them to receive his Letter, not as from

an unknown Person, or a Stranger, or an Adversary, but as a Remonstrance from the eldest Son of the Church, who was Heir to the Piety and Generosity of his Ancestors; assuring them, that notwithstanding he was obliged to repel Injuries, he would never divest himself of Thoughts becoming a religious Prince, who was devoted to the Church, whose Decrees he would receive when they were made in their ordinary Forms.' Dated Fontainebleau, Aug. 13. 1551.

Then Amyot read a Protestation containing the particulars of the Protestation which Paul de Termes had made at Rome; the substance of which is this: 'That the King, seeing what he had done about the Duke of Parma had been taken ill, had tried all manner of ways to remove that evil Opinion with which the Pope and Cardinals were prejudiced against him; having remonstrated to them by Paul de Termes his Ambassador, that if he had received the Duke into his protection, who threw himself into his Arms as into a place of Refuge, he therein had done an Action of Greatness and Humanity, and worthy of a King, in which there was no Artifice, nor a view of any other Interest but the Church's only, whose Peace and Liberty he was desirous to preserve at the expence of his Life and Estate, as his Ancestors had always done before; and that this could not be doubted after the Propositions of Peace which he had made, whereby he offered to secure the Sovereignty of Parma to the Church: That if the Pope believed this would be a means to throw all Europe into a War, he should be sensibly disturbed at it; but the fault could not be thrown upon him, no more than of the Dissolution of the Council, after he had not only accepted, but offered all honourable conditions of Peace: That he had desired the Pope to consider well of the Miseries which a War would draw along with it; and to prevent them by a good peace: That in the mean time, whilst his Holiness chose rather to see all Europe in a Flame, and the Council thereby interrupted, in order to exclude his most Christian Majesty, it would be easily suspected that he called it only for his own particular Ends, and for the good of those whom he favoured, and not for the advantage of the Church: That his Majesty could not avoid protesting, before his Holiness and the sacred College, that he could not send the Bishops of his Kingdom to Trent, because the Accesses to that Town were neither free nor safe; nor could he esteem that Assembly for a general Council, from which his Majesty was excluded, and where it appeared, that when the Pope called it, he had not the Extirpation of Heresies, the Reformation of the Church, and the restoring of Discipline in view, but the management of his private Interests preferably to the publick Good; and consequently neither he, nor his People, nor the Prelates of his Kingdom, were in any manner obliged to receive its Decrees: That he protested he would recur to the Remedies made use of in like cases by his Ancestors, yet without withdrawing himself from the Obedience due to the holy See; being resolved to let it be known every day more and more, that he justly deserves the Title of eldest Son of the Church, and Protector of the Faith: That therefore while he waits for a better time, that is, till the Pope lays down his Arms, his Majesty commands that the Protestation which he made at Rome, be also made at Trent; and demands, that it be inserted in the Acts of that Assembly, and that they give him a publick Attestation, which he may make use of in proper time and place.

When Amyot had made an end of reading this Protestation, the Promoter answered him in the Name of the Council thus: 'The holy Council is pleased with the Moderation which his Majesty shews in his Letter; but it receives your Person no farther than it has reason: It gives you notice to appear here at the Session upon the 11th. of October, to receive

receive the Answer which shall then be made to his Majesty's Letter; forbidding the Notaries to draw up any Act of this Protestation, but jointly with the Secretary of the Council. So this Session ended.

Next day after the Session, *Amyot* gave the Legate a Visit, to desire him to dispatch for him, by the Secretary of the Council and two Notaries whom he had brought with him, an Act of what had passed in the Session, to shew the King his Diligence; or at least that he would give him the Answer which the Promoter made him in the Name of the Council, in writing, that he might insert it in the Act which he would carry away with him. The Legate made answer, that he could not do this alone, and without calling the Prelates together.

September 2. there was a general Congregation, in which the Legate produced ten Articles, taken from the Doctrine of the *Zuinglians* and *Lutherans*, concerning the Eucharist, to be examined upon the 8th. Instant, and proposed a Reformation of the episcopal Jurisdiction. At the end of these ten Articles was added a very particular Regulation of the Order to be observed in Congregations; wherein it was ordained, that the Divines should declare their Opinions upon every Article, which they were to support by Holy Scripture, apostolical Tradition, Decrees of Councils receiv'd and approved, and the Authority of the holy Fathers; and this in few Words, avoiding superfluous and useless Questions; that the Divines sent by the Pope should speak first, then the Emperor's, and afterwards the others; that the Seculars should give their Opinions in order, according to their Seniority, and the Regulars according to the Pre-eminence of their Orders; that the Presidents, by vertue of their Power, should give the Divines that were to speak, a permission to read heretical Books, that they might refute their Errors; that there should be a Secretary to set down their Opinions; which Opinions, so reduced to Writing, should be carried into the Congregations, there to be examined by the Bishops; and that Canons and Decrees might afterwards be formed from them.

Now tho' it had been ordered, that no Divines but Doctors should give their Opinions in the Congregations; yet in consideration of the Electors of *Cologne* and *Triers*, *John Gropper* a Lawyer, and *John Delphius* a Divine, but no Doctor, were allowed to give their Opinions.

Sept. 3. the King of *France* put forth an Ordinance, forbidding all sorts of People, as well Laymen as Clergymen, to dispatch or send to the Court of *Rome* any Courier or other Person; to send or keep there, by Bankers or otherwise, any Gold or Silver for beneficiary Matters, Dispensations, Graces, Provisions, and other Dispatches, upon pain of Confiscation of Goods, and corporal Punishments, to the Laity; and of seizing their Temporalities, and Confiscation of their Goods, to the Clergy; that they might not furnish the Pope with Money to make a War against him, which he had unjustly raised to hinder the *Gallican* Church, which had always asserted the Superiority of Councils above the Pope, from appearing at *Trent*.

The same day also he published another Ordinance against Hereticks, that the Court of *Rome* might not take an occasion to say, that the Protestation which he made, and his Conduct afterwards, was only to favour Heresie.

In the Congregation of Sept. 8. and other subsequent ones, the ten Articles concerning the Eucharist were examined. The first, which was, that the Body, Blood and Divinity of Jesus Christ are not truly in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, but only figuratively, was unanimously condemned as heretical.

Concerning the second, in which 'tis said, that Jesus Christ is not there sacramentally eaten, but only spiritually, and by Faith; there were three Opinions: The first said it ought to be let alone, be-

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cause no Heretick denies sacramental Communion; the second only suspected it; the last desired it might be more clearly expressed.

As to the third, that the Body and Blood of Christ are indeed in the Eucharist, but along with the Bread and Wine, so that there is no Transubstantiation, but an hypostatical Union of the Humanity with the Substances of the Bread and Wine; so that a Man may really say, this Bread is the Body of Jesus Christ, and this Wine is his Blood: All the Divines agreed it was heretical; but they thought it was to no purpose to condemn, or even to speak of it, because it was an Opinion that was buried with its Author, *Rupertus* Abbot of *Tuitz*, in the Suburbs of *Cologne*, who lived in the beginning of the 12th. Century, under Pope *Paschal II*. And since this Council is called against modern Heresies, they ought not to go back to ancient ones.

Opinions were divided as to the fourth Article, which was, that the Eucharist was instituted only for the Remission of Sins. Some held it was catholic, if they took away the Word *only*, which no Heretick then made use of; whence they concluded, that that Article ought to be omitted. Others look'd upon it as heretical, even without the Word *only*, because the Eucharist was not instituted for the Remission of Sins.

All the Fathers condemned the fifth Article, that Jesus Christ is not to be adored in the Eucharist, nor carried about in Procession, nor even to the Sick; and that those that so adore him are real Idolaters.

The sixth Article, which forbids the Eucharist to be preserved, and orders it to be consumed and distributed immediately, declaring it to be an Abuse to do otherwise, and that it is not lawful to communicate alone, was generally condemned as to the first part; but as to the last, in which it is said to be unlawful to communicate alone; some said it was true, when applied to the Laity, and consequently ought to be censured as false only with relation to Priests: Others maintained, that it was heretical in no sense; the sixth Council of *Carthage*, *Can. 101*. not having condemned it: On the contrary, requiring those that present themselves to communicate, to receive the Eucharist in their Hands, in which they are to hold it in the form of a Cross, and not in Vessels of Gold and Silver; and some would have Cases of Necessity excluded, even in the Laity.

The seventh, which maintained, that the Body of Jesus Christ is not in those parts which remain after the Communion, but only whilst it is received, and not before nor after, was unanimously condemned.

The eighth, that it is of divine Right to give to the People, and even to Children, the Communion under both kinds, and that it is a Sin to constrain the People to receive it only under one, was censured; because *St. Luke* says, that Jesus Christ blessed and brake only Bread when he made himself known to his two Disciples at *Emmaus*; because only daily Bread is prayed for in the Lord's Prayer; because the *Acts of the Apostles* speak only of Bread; and lastly, because the Council of *Constance*, and the Practice of the Church, authorize the Doctrine of administering the Eucharist only under one kind.

The *German* Divines look'd upon the first part of the 9th. Proposition to be heretical, because it taught that one Species does not contain so much as two. But the *Italians* said it ought to be distinguished before it was condemned; for (said they) if this be understood of the Vertue of the Consecration, it is certain that under the Species of Bread there is only Body, and under that of Wine only Blood; but by a Consequence, which the Divines call Concomitancy, the Blood, the Soul, and the Divinity, are also in the Species of Bread, and the Body under that of Wine: Whence they concluded, that the first part of the ninth Article was not to be condemned when conceived in general Terms. Opinions were also divided upon the second part, that those

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King of France's Ordinances

Opinions of Divines concerning the Articles relating to the Eucharist.

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that communicate only under one kind, receive less: For several believed, that tho' they did not receive more of the Sacrament, yet they received more Grace; upon which they desired an Explication.

The tenth Article was, that Faith alone is a sufficient Preparation to receive the Eucharist: That Confession is not necessary, but free, especially to Men of Letters; and that every Man is not obliged to communicate at *Easter*.

Some were for having a Distinction upon the first part of this Article between dead and living Faith, it being out of doubt that a living Faith is sufficient. As to Confession, the *Dominicans* represented, that several Catholicks of a holy Life, and of great Learning, held this Opinion; and that if it were censured, they must be condemned. Others proposed this Expedient, to condemn it as Pernicious, and not as Heretical. Some were for having Confession declared to be necessary, with this Clause, if there be the Convenience of a Confessor. As to the second part, relating to the Communion at *Easter*, the common Opinion was, that this Communion not being a Commandment of God, but only of the Church, the Proposition ought not to be condemned as Heretical; it being unheard of, that any Man should be condemned of Heresie, because he do's not approve of a particular Humane command.

Several Divines proposed another Article taken out of *Luther's* Writings, namely, that tho' it be necessary to recite the Words of Jesus Christ, yet Jesus Christ is not produced in the Sacrament by the force of these Words, but by the Faith of him that receives it.

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After the Divines had spoken, the Prelates who were deputed to form the Decrees, drew up from the Opinions of the Divines, seven Canons with Anathema's, which were proposed in the general Congregation. There it was remonstrated, that this Matter ought not to be decided solely by Anathema's, which only reject the bad Doctrine, without teaching the good: That the Ancient Councils always proposed the Catholick Doctrine, and then condemned the contrary Error: That this present Council observed that Method in the Business of Justification; and that tho' it was altered in the following Session, yet that which was at first begun ought to be followed, especially since it was only interrupted through Necessity. Accordingly Fathers were named to draw up Chapters of Doctrine: They drew up eight, which treated of the Real Presence, the Institution, the Excellency and the Worship of the Eucharist; of Transubstantiation; of the Preparation to receive the Sacrament; the Use of the Cup in the Communion of the Laity; and the Communion of Children.

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The Count *de Montfort*, who was one of the Emperor's Ambassadors, perceiving that they treated of the Eucharist, and especially of the Communion of the Cup, reckon'd, that if the Council determined any thing upon that Head, it would be impossible afterwards to bring the Protestants thither; and consequently, that all the Pains which the Emperor had taken to engage them to come to the Council, would be lost: So he communicated this Matter with his Colleagues and with the King of the *Romans's* Ambassadors; and they resolved to go all together to find out the Presidents, to whom they remonstrated, after a long Recital of all that the Emperor had done by Arms and Negotiations to make the Protestants submit to the Council, that they must be brought thither, at what Price soever; and that for that purpose the Emperor had given them a safe Conduct, but that they were not contented with it, alledging, that the Council of *Constance* had effectually shewn, that no safe Conducts given by Secular Princes could bind the Hands of a Council, and therefore they

would have one from the Fathers at *Trent*: That the Emperor had promised to get it for them, and had charged his Ministry to ask it in his Name. The Legate replied, that he would propose it in the next Congregation. The Count *de Montfort* represented to him, that the Question of the Eucharist was one of the most Important of those that divided the Catholicks and Protestants, and consequently it would not be convenient to decide any thing about it, till the Protestants were come: That they might busie themselves sufficiently in the mean time upon Reformation, or other Matters which would not raise new Differences. The Legate replied, that the Fathers had resolved already to treat of the Eucharist; and that they could not do otherwise, when they had settled it as an Order to go through Decrees of Faith and Reformation at the same time: That the Doctrine of Confirmation having been examined already, there was a Necessity to treat of the Eucharist next, which concerned the *Zuinglians* much more than the Protestants, who were not Sacramentarians like the Others. The Count replied, that if the Point of the Communion of the Cup, which every body so ardently desired and expected, was determin'd against them, it would be impossible ever to reduce them; and therefore the Emperor had been obliged to content them in that Particular in his *Interim*; and so the Fathers might well defer mentioning that Matter till they came. The Legate answer'd in general Terms, being willing to consult the Pope, and to acquaint him with what had been decided in the Congregations concerning Doctrine.

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The Pope having received the Legate's Letters, caused the Matter to be debated. As to the safe Conduct, their Opinions were different; some were for refusing it, saying, it was never done but in the Council of *Basil*, which was a Precedent not to be imitated: That Rebels were not to be obliged; that when they saw more likelihood of their Return, then they might make Concessions; but now they were so far from having Reason to hope, that they had all possible Reason to fear that the Arrival of the Protestants might corrupt some, as it happen'd to *Vergerius* Bishop of *Justinople*, since this Contagion had even spread as far as to Prelates of the first Rank, who had been exceedingly obliged to the Holy See. Others said, that tho' their was no more Hope of converting them; yet however this Satisfaction ought to be given them, that they might be left without excuse; besides, that the Emperor, who was very much concerned in that Affair, would not fail to importune the Council again; which would be obliged to grant that by Force at last, which it would be more Honourable to grant willingly at first, that the safe Conduct might be given in such a Form as would bind the Fathers little or nothing, if they did not name the Protestants expressly, but only the Ecclesiasticks and Seculars of the *German* Nation in general of all Conditions whatsoever; which would seem to comprehend the Protestants, but in truth might be applied to the Catholicks, by saying, that the first could not be comprehended, unless they were named in express Words: That the Council might grant a safe Conduct for it self, and so leave the Authority of the Pope free; and that Judges might be deputed to examine any Faults that should be committed, and leave the Choice to the Protestants, to avoid all suspicion; and so thereby the Vigour of Discipline and the Authority of Punishing might be preserved, and no Appearance of Concessions or Relaxations in any thing be shewn. This Advice prevailed with the Pope; and because it agreed with the Opinion of the Legate, in the answer which his Holiness sent him, he commended his Prudence extreamly, and ordered him to draw up a safe Conduct according to the Minute which he sent him, and to suspend the Examination of the

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The History of the Council of Trent. Communion of the Cup for three Months, or more, in favour of the Protestants; and that whilst they were expected, there should be a Session held within forty Days concerning Penance. The Pope added also, that the Canons concerning the Eucharist being too long, they ought to be divided.

Project of Decrees concerning the Eucharist. While these things were debating at Rome, they were drawing up Chapters of Doctrine at Trent. They found the same easiness in that as they did in the Discussion of the Article: But when they came to explain the Manner of the Existence of Jesus Christ in the Sacrament, and Transubstantiation, the Dominicans and Franciscans quarrelled; both pretending that their Opinions ought to prevail. The Dominicans would have it said, that Jesus Christ was not present in the Sacrament, by coming thither from another Place where he was before, but because the Substance of Bread being turned into his Body, he takes the Place which the Bread held, without coming thither on purpose; and that since the whole Substance of the Bread is changed into the whole Substance of his Body, that is to say, the Matter of the Bread into that of Body, and the Form of Bread into that of Body, therefore this is called Transubstantiation: And so Jesus Christ exists two ways, both Real, both True, and both Substantial; one, as he is in Heaven, whither he went when he left the Earth; the other, as he is in the Sacrament, where he is in the Places which the Bread and Wine held before, that are now converted into himself; that the first way is called Natural, because it agrees to all Bodies; that the second, being Singular, cannot be express'd by any Name that agrees to other Modes of Existence: Neither can it be called Sacramental, since that would signify that the Body of Jesus Christ was not really in the Eucharist, but only by way of Sign; the Sacrament being nothing but a Consecrated Sign, unless by a Sacramental Existence we mean a Real Mode proper only to this Sacrament.

The Cordeliers desired it should be said, that a Body can be Really and Substantially in several Places by the Almighty Power of God; and that when it acquires a new place, it is there, because it goes thither, not truly by a Successive change, as when it leaves a first Place to go to a second, but by an Instantaneous Change, whereby it acquires a second Place without losing the first; and that God has decreed, that where ever the Body of Jesus Christ exists, no other Substance shall remain; not that the Prior Substances are thereby annihilated, because the Body of Jesus Christ succeeds in their Place, and that this is truly called Transubstantiation; not that one Substance is made of another, as the Dominicans said, but because the one succeeds the other: That the Manner of the Existence of Jesus Christ in Heaven, is not substantially different from his Existence in the Sacrament, but only as to Quantity: That he is in Heaven in the whole Natural Extension of his Body; but in the Sacrament, Substantially, without Extension: That however these two Modes are true, Real, Substantial, nay Natural as to Substance; but as to Quantity, his Presence in Heaven is Natural, in the Sacrament Miraculous; the one differing from the other only in this, the Quantity exists in Heaven in the Effect and Property of Quantity, which is Extension; and in the Sacrament it has the Nature of Substance.

The Dominicans and Franciscans drew up several Minutes containing their Explications of this Mystery; and some also were drawn up which were mix'd and compounded of what was best in the two Opinions. But the Bishop of Verona, who presided at the Discussion of this Controversie, approved of none of them; and in the general Congregation it was agreed to make a Declaration in such general Terms, that it might be accommodated to the Opinions of both Parties; and the matter was com-

mitted to some Prelates, and some Divines, under the Direction of the Bishop of Verona.

To remedy the Abuses proposed, which were committed in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, in some measure, five Canons were drawn up with a little Preface.

Whilst the Prelates and Divines were labouring in matters of Doctrine, the Lawyers endeavour'd to reform the Episcopal Jurisdiction, in which they found two Grievances: One was, that on the Superiors side Charity had degenerated into Dominion; the other was, that on the Inferior side Voluntary Obedience was turn'd into Complaints and Disputes. To remedy the first of these Evils, they were contented to exhort the Prelates to resume the Spirit of Charity, and to lay by the Spirit of Domination. As for the second, they thought it advisable to take away the Means by which the Sentences of Superiors were eluded, which were reduced to three Heads, Appeals, Absolutions, and Complaints against the Judges.

John Groppe, who assisted at the Congregations as a Divine, and as a Lawyer, speaking of Appeals, said, they were never heard of when the Faith of Christians was fervent; but that when Charity grew cold in Judges, and Passion mix'd it self amongst their Judgments, they crept into the Church by the same Gates by which they entered into Secular Tribunals, that is to say, by the Resistance of the Oppressed: That as formerly the Right of Judging did not solely belong to the Bishops, but to the whole College of Presbyters; so Appeals did not go to one Person, but to another College: That the Bishops took away Synods, to erect Tribunals, and to create Magistrates, as Secular Persons did; but that Abuses were greater among them than in the Laymens Courts, because in these, Appeals can go but to the immediate Superior, Men not being allowed to address themselves immediately to the Sovereign Judge, nor to appeal from Interlocutory Sentences given upon the Articles of a Cause, the End of which was to be expected; whereas in Ecclesiastical Courts they appealed from all Acts, which made Causes Infinite, and immediately depending upon the Sovereign Judge, and obliged the Parties to go out of their own Country, and so undid them with excessive Charges: That if they would reform this Abuse, which not only hinder'd Residence, but also corrupted Discipline, they ought to re-establish, as far as they could, the first Form of Judgments, by ordaining, that Appeals should not go out of the Provinces of the Appellants, and by forbidding Men to go immediately to the Supreme Judge without passing through their Subaltern Superiors, and to appeal from Interlocutory Sentences: And lastly, that if they would administer Justice with Sincerity, they should restore Synodical Judgments, as less subject to Corruption, and suppress the Judgments of Officials, at which Germany was so scandalized, that it could no longer bear them.

This Remonstrance, which was very agreeable to the Spaniards and Germans, did not please the Presidents at all, who saw that it ruin'd not only the Interests, but also the Dignity of the Court of Rome.

In the next Congregation, the Presidents order'd John Baptista Castello, a Bononian, to contradict Groppe. He began with commending the Primitive Church, but in a manner that shew'd, that in his Opinion its Government had also its Imperfections: That Synodical Judgments were very prejudicial, because of the Length of their Examinations and Dispatches, and of the Difficulty there was to inform so many Persons: That this gave the Occasion of introducing Officialities: That it was true, Men formerly appealed to Subaltern Judges before they went to the Supreme; but that this Custom

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was alter'd, because the Heads of Provinces and Nations became Tyrants of Churches: Lastly, that there was a Necessity of carrying every thing to Rome: And then concluded, that if we will preserve the Unity of the Church, we must leave things as they were.

This Discourse did not wholly please the Italian Bishops: For tho' they were not against preserving the Pope's Authority, yet they were willing to have some Power, especially if they were to be obliged to reside; therefore, that both might be agreed in some measure, they recurred to expedients. Synodical Judgments were not thought necessary for all Causes; Appeals from Judge to Judge were unanimously rejected; Appeals from Definitive Sentences were limited only to Criminal Causes, without touching upon civil Judgments. There was no farther discourse of remitting Judgments of Bishops to the Jurisdiction of Provincial Councils, but only so to order the Matter, that the Pope, in whose hands it was, should treat the Episcopal order with more Respect and Dignity, by moderating the Commissions which were given at Rome, in order to submit them to their Inferiors.

The German Prelates demanded, that the Laws of Degradation should be moderated, which were become insupportable, and produced only Complaints and Murmurs in their Country; because there being but few Bishops in Germany, that Ceremony could not be performed without a very great Expence, since there must be twelve Bishops to degrade a Bishop, six for a Priest, and three for a Deacon: For which Reason Crimes continued unpunished. This Point was long debated; and it was resolved at last to alter nothing in the Ceremony, but to find out an Expedient to remove the Difficulties, and to moderate the Expence.

The Legate, who was desirous to consult the Court of Rome about the Decrees, before they were published in the Session, caused a Minute to be read in a general Congregation; in which he set forth all that the Count de Montfort had represented to him, without mentioning that he had written to the Pope; adding, that the Demand of a safe Conduct seemed reasonable to him, as also the deferring of what might with Honour be delay'd; and that tho' it had been resolved to treat of the Eucharist in the Session which was held on the first of September, which could not now be altered, yet the Decision of some of the principal Heads in Controversie might without any damage be deferred. When they came to gather the Votes, all the Fathers voted for a safe Conduct, and directed the Presidents to take care to draw it up; but as to the Delay, some said it was not for the Honour of the Council to delay it, unless the Protestants would promise to come to the Council, and submit to its Decisions. Others said, it was sufficient to save the Reputation of the Council, that the Protestants desired this Delay. This last Advice was followed. Then the Legate added, that the Matter of the Communion of the Cup might be reserved; and to shew that they did not meet only to decide one single Article, they might add the Article of the Communion of Infants. Then the Decree that was made concerning the Eucharist was read. Some of the Fathers said, it was too small a Matter to reserve only two Articles, and that they had better have divided the first into three, and so have made four, and have joined the Article of the Sacrifice of the Mass to the rest, concerning which there were great Difficulties, and then it would have looked as if they had reserved many things, and even some of the most considerable. This Advice was approved; but when the Secretary came to read, that the Protestants solicited to be heard, a German Prelate stood up and ask'd, by whom and to whom that Demand had been made? adding, that it was necessary the World should be informed; otherwise, if the Protestants denied the thing, it would be a dishonour to the Council. The truth is, that Clause

having no other Foundation but what the Count de Montfort had said of his own head, they were exceedingly perplexed; and besides it was not honourable for the Fathers of the Council to declare that they reserved some Articles of their own proper Motion, since that would make People say, they ought to have reserved them all: Some Fathers therefore thought it was more adviseable to say, that the Protestants desired to be heard; which could not fail of being believed, since they had said so themselves upon several occasions. This Advice was followed; and it was put into the Decree, That the Protestants desired to be heard, instead of these Words, That the Protestants solicited to be heard.

October 11. 1551. the Fathers of the Council being met in the cathedral Church, held the 13th. Session, which began with the Mass that was sung by John Baptista Campegio Bishop of Majorca; and followed by a Sermon preached by Salvator Salaputius, Archbishop of Torre and Saffari.

When the Sermon was over, the Bishop of Majorca read the following Decree concerning Faith: Tho' the holy Council when it was first called, (the happy Success of which can only be attributed to the particular Conduct and Protection of the Holy Ghost) designed in the general to explain the ancient and true Doctrine of Faith and of the Sacraments, and to apply a Remedy to all sorts of Heresies; yet it is also true, that from its beginning it was its peculiar Wish and Design to tear up by the Roots those Tares of execrable Errors and Schisms; which in these deplorable times the Enemy hath sown in the Doctrine of Faith, and in the Worship of the holy Eucharist, which however our Saviour has left on purpose in his Church to be the Symbol of this Union and Charity, by which he designed that all Christians should be united together: The holy Council therefore declaring here, concerning this august and divine Sacrament of the Eucharist, that holy and sincere Doctrine which the catholic Church has always held, and will hold to the end of the World; having been instructed therein by Jesus Christ himself, and by his Apostles, and enlightened by the Holy Spirit, by whom it is daily inspired, and who discovers to it all truths; forbids all the Faithful to believe, teach, and preach, concerning the Eucharist, otherwise than is explained and determined by this Decree.

Chap. I. In the first place the holy Council teacheth, and plainly and simply declareth, that in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, after the Consecration of Bread and Wine, our Lord Jesus Christ, very God, and very Man, is truly, really, and substantially contained under the Species of these sensible things: For there is no repugnance, that our Saviour should always sit at the right Hand of his Father according to his natural manner of existing in Heaven, and that in the mean time his Substance should be sacramentally present to us in several other places, by a manner of existing which we may however conceive by a Mind illuminated by Faith to be possible, and which also we ought to believe, tho' we can hardly express it in Words: For thus our Ancestors, who were in the true Church of Jesus Christ, when they spake openly of this Sacrament, sincerely owned, that our Redeemer instituted this so admirable a Sacrament in the last Supper which he made with his Apostles; when, after the Benediction of the Bread and Wine, he declared to them in precise and formal terms, that he gave them his own Body and his own Blood. And these Words related by the Evangelists, carrying with them this proper and clear Signification, according to which the Fathers understood them, it is a most unworthy Crime to wrest their Sense, as some contentious and evil Minds do, to imaginary Tropes and Figures; by which they deny the Truth of the Flesh and Blood of J. Christ against the universal Sense of the Church, which is the

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Seff. XIII.

Decree of Faith concerning the Eucharist.